

The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance

Library of the Written Word

Volume 6

The Handpress World

Volume 4

Editor

Andrew Pettegree

The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance

Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces

Hendrik D. L. Vervliet

Volume 1

BRILL

Leiden · Boston 2008

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978 90 04 16982 1

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Typography: Marij Hereijgers, Antwerp

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Preface

This book is about printing types. Or more exactly, about historical printing types, though not about their physics and technicalities, such as alloy, weight, height to paper, or durability. It concentrates on their ‘face’ or ‘design’, as that can be seen on a printed page. The thirteen essays that follow share a common subject and a common goal. Their common subject is type design in sixteenth-century France. The typefaces that originated there from the early 1530s onwards influenced decisively the typography of the next centuries, and they continue to influence a great many of today types. The papers’ common goal is to ascertain the paternity of the typefaces described and to critically appraise their attributions, which often have been made on too weak grounds. Such an approach may be of interest to type historians and type designers looking for better documented attributions, or to historians, philologists, and bibliographers, wishing to describe more accurately the types used in the historical imprints they are studying.

The earliest essay in this collection dates from 1969 and the latest from 2007. Both deal with the same subject, which is the attribution of some early Romans to Claude Garamont. Others focus on Robert Granjon and Pierre Haultin. These papers thus cover the three most important letter-cutters of the French Renaissance, but it should be made clear that Guillaume Le Bé, who specialized in Hebrew type, is omitted.

The time span of nearly half a century that encompasses the preparation and writing of these studies is likely to generate some unevenness in the presentation of the material, but most papers tend to follow the same standard pattern, namely an introduction followed by type descriptions. The latter follow a common structure and method that are detailed in the Introduction. On the other hand, I have not tried to eliminate all redundancies in the descriptions, which would have so maimed some papers as to render them unreadable. I have also sought to leave the footnote numbering unchanged, adding some new ones as lettered sidenotes.

Many friends and colleagues have generously assisted with advice and help, whenever asked. They number too many to be specified here by name and to be thanked individually, but I endeavoured to mention them in the appropriate citations or captions.

A special debt of gratitude, however, is due to two excellent colleagues at the University of Antwerp, who are not named in the citations, namely Egbert de Smet of the Information and Library Science Department, and Frank van Coppenolle, head of the university’s Imaging Services. The first conceived and maintained the databases which laid the foundations for most of these papers; the second took responsibility for the image bank.

Finally, I should like to extend my most sincere thanks to the publishers and editors who graciously permitted the reuse of the materials they had previously published, that is to the Guido Pressler Verlag (Hürtgenwald) for the paper in the Kolb festschrift (1969), to Alastair Johnston (Berkeley) for the study of Granjon’s Roman exotics (1981), to baroness Francine de Nave and Pierre Delsaert for the articles on Granjon, Colines, and the early Paris Romans in *De*

gulden passer (Antwerp) of 1998, 2003, and 2005 respectively, to Anton Croiset van Uchelen for the Haultin paper (2000) in *Quaerendo* (Leiden), to Margaret M. Smith for the papers on the Paris Greeks and Italics (2000, 2002, and 2005) in the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* (London), to the editors of the *Borsa festschrift* (Budapest) for the paper on the young Estienne (2003), to The Bibliographical Society (London) for the article on Estienne's types in *The Library* (2004), and to Paul Stiff, Chris Burke and Eric Kindel of *Typography Papers* (Reading) for the essays on Granjon's Italics and Garamont's Romans (1998 and 2007). The latter moreover deserve a special word of thanks for allowing us to borrow from their concepts of typographical display and layout.

Antwerp, December 2007

Introduction

‘Palaeotypography’ is a seldom used term meaning ‘the study of early printing or typography’. It is here used more narrowly in the sense of the study of early printing types. The expression was introduced, I believe, by Henry Bradshaw when he published in 1870 his ‘Classified Index of the Sixteenth Century Books in the Collection of the Late M.J. de Meyer’, auctioned a year earlier in Ghent.¹ He constructed the neologism to recommend a new, more ‘scientific’, approach to the study of incunabula, many of which are silent about their place and date of origin. In the line of his own studies and as a reaction against the rather intuitive and impressionistic opinions of an earlier generation, he demanded a thorough study of the types and ‘habits’, *i.e.* shop practices, of each printer. Types or groups of types, if studied properly, proved to be good auxiliaries for securing the exact date or place of printing of many items that named no place or date of publication. The method was refined and formalized by Proctor in his catalogues of the incunabula in the British Museum, by Haebler in his *Typenrepertorium*, and the succeeding *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, both embracing the totality of fifteenth-century printing.

Bibliographers dealing with later centuries found the Bradshaw-Proctor-Haebler method hard to follow: first, because it became clear that Haebler’s axiom of the individual ownership of type – ‘the personal concern of each individual printer’ in his words (1925, 63; 1933, 78) – was no longer valid from the late-fifteenth or sixteenth century onwards and, second, because of the difficulties in naming and describing the types in an expanding universe of type development.

The present book attempts to address some of these problems, at least as far as they have been studied for a given country, France, and given century, the sixteenth. Both that country and that century are in many ways peculiar in the sense that the typography and commercial organisation of the typefoundry trade changed markedly from an incunabular, integrated in-house operation in the beginning of the century into an industrial network of outsourcing and specialization at the century’s end. Moreover, the type designs introduced gained global acceptance until the eighteenth century. Their popularity fizzled out in the next two centuries but returned in countless revivals and remakes from mid-nineteenth century onwards.

The subject of these studies being printing types, it must be made clear what is meant by the terms type, typeface, casting, or fount. A type or typeface is here defined as referring to the ‘ideal’ type, an abstraction which attempts to approximate as closely as possible to the basic set of punches, *i.e.* the artefact (or, more precisely, the assortment of artefacts) produced by the endeavours of the punchcutter and from which derive (1) the set or sets of matrices, and (2) further on in the cycle, the founts or castings (which in the handpress period were practically unlimited in number), and (3) the type as used in the printer’s cases, and, ultimately (4) the typefaces as they can be observed on printed pages. Such an attempt may seem far-fetched but, in any event, the fact that punches or matrices of many of these typefaces are preserved (in however good

1. Bradshaw, 1870, 15–16.
Full citations are given in the Bibliography below.

or bad state) in typographical collections at Antwerp, Haarlem, London, Paris, and Stockholm supports this aspiration.

This definition, which corresponds with the views expressed by palaeotypographers, such as Johnson (1936, 70), Isaac (1938, ix), or Shaw (1980, 445), is broader than the standard professional definition of the term used by manufacturers of metal type, for it ignores the traditional requirement for unity of time and place of casting. The same unity of casting is also subsumed by the definition that incunabulists and bibliographers tend to adopt. Aiming primarily at exhaustive and thorough descriptions of the founts (castings) of a given printer, they dwell on idiosyncrasies and minute characteristics observable in the printer's type cases. However, they should be aware that from a methodological point of view the practice of affixing different names to the same typeface if occurring at different presses, or failing to distinguish different typefaces of the same size occurring at the same press is questionable (Johnson, 1943, 47–8).

The notion of 'identity' is defined here as: 'deriving basically from the same set of punches'. This definition is soft, as it ignores accidental, often unplanned differences (however important these accidentals may be when studying a particular press) that may occur in the phases of justifying, casting, rubbing, kerning, and dressing, or may be caused by foul or broken sorts, or the inclusion or exclusion of peripheral sorts, such as small capitals, spaces, ligatures, punctuation or numerals, which, in the sixteenth century, were not or not always included in a bill-of-fount (Davis-Carter, 1958, 19n).

It also disregards slight differences in the position of diacritics, or of strokes and dots, as these may result from differences in matrices if 'stepped' punches were used. Nor does this definition address the normal configuration of an early sixteenth-century set of punches. Was punctuation or numerals included? Or even the capitals, in the case of a Greek fount? Nor does it settle the problem of the introduction of new or wrong sorts and of the contemporaneous replacement of broken punches by the originator, a successor or competitor. More research looking into actual printing house practices is definitely required here (Pottinger, 1940; Reed, 1952, 24; Shaw, 1980; Weiss, 1990).

On the other hand, it must be made clear that our definition is narrower than that used today, which equates the term fount or font (if digitized) with a whole type family of a uniform design regardless of its size or weight.

Apart from a historical narrative, the type descriptions below provide regularly:

1. the name of the type,
2. its measurements,
3. its first occurrence(s),
4. its early appearances, showing the spread and lifetime of the type,
5. the type-specimens which display the type,
6. the artefacts, such as punches, matrices, or cast type that have been preserved,
7. its key and variant letters,
8. the contemporary attributions as found in archival records,
9. the recent secondary literature,
10. a facsimile reproduction of the type.

The *name* of a typeface is composed of five elements: the punchcutter or, if he is unknown or questionable, an eponym (user, patron, place: in such cases,

the name is presented within quotation marks); the body size in old English and French body names; the letter family, such as Roman or Italic; within brackets, the siglum and mm measurement — the sigla used are: R (Roman), It (Italic), Gk (Greek), Hb (Hebrew), M (Music), Arm (Armenian), Sy (Syriac), Ar (Arabic), Cy (Cyrillic); and finally, within parentheses, the date of first occurrence. In most cases this combination, however complex, will define the typeface adequately.

The *measurements* are given by the traditional body size name, the Proctor-Haebler 20 line-measure, the x-height and the capital height of the type. The first component quotes the English and French traditional body size names as they are documented from the early sixteenth century onwards. Names of body sizes appear in French contracts from the 1520s onwards (Stein, 1905), but standardization began (though with notable regional differences) only after the middle of the sixteenth century (Wolf, 1979, 97–123), when regional typefoundries started their ascendancy. The body size names are borrowed from sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authorities, such as Le Bé's inventory of c.1618 (Morison, 1957), the Imprimerie royale's type-specimen of 1643 (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958), Moxon (Davis-Carter, 1958, 21), Truchet (Mosley, 1997, 23), Caslon (Gaskell, 1952), the *Encyclopédie* (Diderot, 1751, 2: 663–5), and Fournier (1764, 1: 133–8; 168–9). With some additions, they remained in use well into the nineteenth century. But it should be noted that some of these size names were uncommon in the sixteenth century.

The table p. 6–7 lists the old English and French body names, giving their approximate equivalents in Anglo-American and Didot points, and their measurements in mm. The measurements in mm stand for 20 lines unleaded type or for the face height of a titling type. But the reader should be aware that, as bodysizes were not standardised, both the values given in Anglo-American and Didot points and mm, and the reconstructed ancient size names are, at best, approximate projections of the sixteenth-century body sizes (Tarr, 1946; Vervliet, 1968, 16; Carter, 1969, 126; Gaskell, 1974, 14; Richardson, 1990).

The second component of the body size is a formula adapted from the Proctor-Haebler convention (Vervliet, 1967, 20, n.2; Gaskell, 1974, 14), as follows:

20 the measurement of 20 unleaded lines in mm
 x the height of a short lower case in mm
 : the height of an average capital in mm.

For example, 20 100 x 2.2 : 3.2 mm.

For Hebrew, the mean height is given of the non-projecting parts, such as of the Hebrew *aleph* or final *mem*. For music type two or three measurements are given: the stave height (measured from the middle of the thickness of the top and bottom lines), the number of stave-lines, if this is not five, and the height of a not-nested (full-size) minim (half-note) falling on a line and preferably not projecting from the staff (Heartz, 1967, 704).

The requirement that the measurement be taken from unleaded lines is essential, though not always straightforward to determine. If impossible or difficult, it has been suggested multiplying the ph-measure (the 'gauge') by 20 (Vervliet, 1968, 18; Carter, 1969, 23).

As said above and in spite of their mathematical appearance, these measurements are approximate. In fact, the measurement of 20 unleaded lines is

not measuring the face but the mould. Even the measurement of 20 unleaded lines can be affected by the use of a different or modified typefounder's mould. Moulds were frequently borrowed from the printer's ready stock or were locally made (Gaskell, 1974, 15–16). Their body could be packed (that is, increased) by inserting body brasses (Vervliet, 1968, 334). Uneven wetting too may cause the handmade paper to shrink differently, even within the same book. It therefore makes little sense to distinguish an 80 mm face from a 78 or 82 mm one by measurement alone. Furthermore, the apparent measure of single sorts as given in the second or third component of the formula above can be inflated by ink spread or be hard to ascertain because of unevenly designed sorts. In the descriptions of the Hebrew founts I have mentioned the measurement in mm of 20 lines and the traditional size names, though I am aware that for these typefaces they are barely suitable. Contrary to normal practice in casting Roman, Italic, and Greek type, founts of square Hebrew were usually cast with the *lamed* and descenders overhanging, in order to allow vowels, intonation marks and diacritical marks to be set floating. The same square Hebrew may occur vocalized or unvocalized, sometimes resulting in different mm measurements (Fournier, 1742, 3: 151–3). Therefore it seems preferable to measure Hebrew type by its x-height, i.e. the distance between its base and mean line. Again and in spite of its mathematical look, this measure is quite approximate. The same applies to most Eastern scripts, such as Arabic.

The third element refers to the *earliest occurrence(s)*; it cites the earliest date of occurrence (known to me), the printer's and/or the bookseller's name, the author, short title of the work and a reference to some well-known bibliography or catalogue.

The fourth element refers to the type's *Early appearances*; it does not attempt completeness, however appropriate exhaustiveness might have been here for assessing correctly the networks of which ostensibly linked some printers and typefounders. Aiming to provide a broad, certainly non-exhaustive, idea of the spread and lifetime of the face, it mentions the earliest dates of occurrence at given presses I have noticed. This rubric is merely intended to give a rough idea of the spread and users of a face and is to be considered as an indicative, rather than an exhaustive listing.

The following elements refer to the type's characteristic *key letters*, its occurrence in *type-specimens*, as far as known to me, its *punches* or *matrices*, as far as preserved, the *contemporary attributions* in archival records, and the *secondary literature*.

The *facsimile reproductions* joined to the descriptions, have not been retouched and are reproduced at actual size. The reproductions made from recent castings from surviving matrices have been purged of later additions, as far as goes my knowledge, but a caveat is appropriate here.

Abbreviations and Conventional Signs

'Name'	a term or name within quotation marks in the name field stands for an eponym or given name.																		
(1)	a bold number within parentheses refers to a type description further on in the paper.																		
20	in the size field refers to the measurement in mm of 20 solid lines text lines or of the height of a five-lines music stave; see above, p. 3–4.																		
x	in the size field refers to the x-height in mm of a non-projecting lower case letter, such as x; see above, p. 3.																		
:	in the size field refers to the height in mm of an average non-projecting capital letter, such as I and H in Roman; for Hebrew to the height of an <i>aleph</i> or final <i>sem</i> ; for music to the height of a minim (half-note); see above, p. 3.																		
[R 80]	square brackets surround the siglum of the letter family and the 20 lines/mm measurement (or x-height) in the name field. The sigla used are: <table data-bbox="411 1227 611 1552"> <tr><td>R</td><td>Roman</td></tr> <tr><td>It</td><td>Italic</td></tr> <tr><td>Gk</td><td>Greek</td></tr> <tr><td>Hb</td><td>Hebrew</td></tr> <tr><td>M</td><td>Music</td></tr> <tr><td>Arm</td><td>Armenian</td></tr> <tr><td>Sy</td><td>Syriac</td></tr> <tr><td>Ar</td><td>Arabic</td></tr> <tr><td>Cy</td><td>Cyrillic</td></tr> </table>	R	Roman	It	Italic	Gk	Greek	Hb	Hebrew	M	Music	Arm	Armenian	Sy	Syriac	Ar	Arabic	Cy	Cyrillic
R	Roman																		
It	Italic																		
Gk	Greek																		
Hb	Hebrew																		
M	Music																		
Arm	Armenian																		
Sy	Syriac																		
Ar	Arabic																		
Cy	Cyrillic																		
{ }	On pp. 274–214, the author or title are quoted within braces.																		
(Amert, 2005, 233)	literature references are in the author-date system. Full citations are quoted in the Bibliography.																		

Old English and French Names for Body Sizes

Types with capitals and lower case alphabets

Old English body name	Old French body name	Mm per 20 lines	Anglo- American points	Didot points
Pearl	Parisienne	30–39	5	4.5
Nonpareil	Nonpareille	40–43	6	5.5
Minion	Mignonne	44–49	6.5	6
Brevier	Petit-texte	50–56	7.5	7
Bourgeois	Gaillarde	57–64	8.5	8
Long Primer	Petit-romain	65–69	9.5	9
Small Pica	Philosophie	70–76	10.5	10
Pica	Cicéro	77–88	11.5	11
English	Saint-augustin	89–100	13	12.5
Large English	Gros-texte	101–109	15	14
Great Primer	Gros-romain	110–127	16.5	15.5
Paragon	Petit-parangon	128–135	19	17.5
Double Pica	Gros-parangon	136–145	20	18.5
Two-line Pica	Palestine	146–179	22.5	21
Two-line English	Petit-canon	180–219	28.5	26.5
Two-line Great Primer	Trismégiste	220–269	36	34
Two-line Double Pica	Gros-canon	270–329	42.5	40
Canon	Double-canon	330–379	51	49
Five-line Pica		380–479	60	56
Six-line Pica	Triple-canon	480–579	72	68
Seven-line Pica	Grosse Nompaille	580–679	82	77
Eight-line Pica		680–779	95	89
Nine-line Pica		780–879	110	103
Ten-line Pica		880–979	123	115
Eleven-line Pica		980–1070	136	128
Twelve-line Pica		1080–1179	160	150

Titling types

Old English body name	Old French body name	Face height in mm	Anglo- American points	Didot points
Two-line Pearl	Lettres de deux points de Parisienne	2.4–2.8	9.5	9
Two-line Nonpareil	Lettres de deux points de Nonpareille	2.9–3.3	11.5	11
Two-line Minion	Lettres de deux points de Mignonne	3.4–3.8	13	12.5
Two-line Brevier	Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte	3.9–4.3	15	14
Two-line Bourgeois	Lettres de deux points de Gaillarde	4.4–4.8	16.5	15.5
Two-line Long Primer	Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain	4.9–5.8	19	17.5
Two-line Small Pica	Lettres de deux points de Philosophie	5.9–6.8	20	18.5
Two-line Pica	Lettres de deux points de Cicéro	6.9–7.8	22.5	21
Two-line English	Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin	7.9–8.8	28.5	26
Two-line Great Primer	Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain	8.9–11.9	36	34
Two-line Double Pica	Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon	12–15	42.5	40
Four-line Pica	Lettres de deux points de Petit-canon	16–18	51	49
Five-line Pica	Lettres de deux points de Gros-canon	19–22	60	56
Six-line Pica		23–26	72	68
Seven-line Pica		27–30	82	77
Eight-line Pica		31–36	95	89
Ten-line Pica		37–42	110	103
Eleven-line Pica		43–50	123	115
Thirteen-line Pica		51–53	136	128
Fifteen-line Pica		54–56	160	150

The body size names are borrowed from Le Bé, *c.* 1618 (Morison, 1957), the type-specimen of the Imprimerie royale, *c.* 1643 (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958), Truchet, *c.* 1694 (Mosley, 1997, 19), Caslon (Gaskell, 1952), the Encyclopédie (Diderot, 1751, 2: 663–5) and Fournier (1764, 1: 133–8; 168–9). The measurements in mm stand for 20 lines unlead text type or the face height of a titling. Both mm-measures and point sizes are approximate.

Early Sixteenth-Century Parisian Roman Types

This paper attempts to describe exhaustively the Roman types, appearing in Paris during the first three decades of the sixteenth century and totalling up to fifty-one typefaces.¹ Some of them originated in the fifteenth century. Most were made locally. Half a dozen were imported from Northern Italy or Germany (in the medieval sense of that term).

Most of these Romans are unremarkable, apart from those by Colines. Nonetheless an inquiry such as this may throw some light upon two important developments in early printing history, viz. the Romanization of French reading habits and, as one of its effects in the centuries to follow, the ‘Francisation’ of European type design (as far as Roman, Italic, Greek, and Hebrew typefaces are concerned).

Such a study can also serve as a test field to develop a technique for describing sixteenth-century typefaces, to enhance the bibliographic methods used by incunabulists since Bradshaw, Proctor, and Haebler, and to adapt them to the changes occurring in the trade of printing types from the late fifteenth century onwards. In this it tries to reconcile the more general approach of typophiles and type historians (tending to describe selectively only those typefaces they like or consider important) with the methods generally accepted among incunabulists and bibliographers aiming primarily at exhaustive and thorough descriptions of the founts of a given printer. Understandably, the latter dwell on idiosyncrasies and minute characteristics observable in the printer’s type cases. However, they should be aware that from a methodological point of view the practice of affixing different names to the same typeface if occurring at different presses, or failing to distinguish different faces of the same size occurring at the same press, is questionable.²

The *terminus a quo* of this paper is 1501. Factually that year is no real breaking point whatsoever, but as the incunabular book production in Paris has been exhaustively dealt with by bibliographers such as Claudin or Scholderer,³ this starting-point should be acceptable. For the sake of completeness, however, such fifteenth-century types which stayed in use beyond 1501 (some of them well into the sixteenth century) have been included. Thus the first typefaces to be included here are two ‘Gering’ Romans, both originating in 1478 and being used into the 1530s (1–2).⁴

The *terminus ante quem* is 1530. At the end of that year Robert I Estienne introduced a series of new and very superior Romans, which grew into the norm for Roman type design in the times to come.⁵ The prestigious name of Garamont is often affixed to the new types, though there is no proof that the master was involved in their cutting.⁶ In any case, from that fourth decade of the sixteenth century onwards, Parisian type design becomes full-grown and ready for worldwide expansion.

This paper addresses three main points. First, it describes the coming-of-age of Parisian typography, illustrating how changing patterns of reading habits led Parisian typographers to invest substantially into designing and cutting new types *à l’antique*. The roles of Francis I (1515–47) and his court, and of the theoretician Geoffroy Tory (1529) are frequently cited here, as well as the influence

Summary

This paper describes fifty-one Roman typefaces, appearing in Paris from 1501 to 1530. Its introduction addresses three main points. First, the coming-of-age of Parisian typography and the seasoning of a general reading public to Roman letterforms. Second, the ways of type procurement, either by individual ownership of punches and matrices, or by concentration in and commercialization through typefoundries. Third, the problem of identifying the punchcutters involved. The paper comprises a description of the types in their order of first occurrence. At the end of the paper a table lists them by size.

Revision of a paper that appeared in *De gulden passer*, 83 (2005), 1–88.

1. For completeness, thirteen founts of Simon de Colines falling within the period covered here are included, though they were surveyed in Vervliet, 2003a, reprinted below p. 63–96. On the other hand, the Romans of Gerardus Morrhuis, who worked in Paris in the period 1530–32 with Basle founts, were omitted. This paper is also limited to cast type *stricto sensu*. Decorative initials, however important for fully assessing the evolution of letterforms, are not included.

2. Johnson, 1943, 47–8.

3. Claudin, 1900; Catalogue BM, part 8, 1949.

4. Bold-face numbers within parentheses refer to the descriptions of types further below in this paper.

5. Barker, 1974; Vervliet, 2007.

6. Vervliet, 2004, 114–16.

of the numerous Italian scholars and artists, that France received so warmly, mainly in the 1520s and 1530s. However, it should become clear that in Paris the seasoning of a general, i.e., non-humanistic, reading public to Roman letterforms started much earlier, viz. at the very beginning of the 1500s.

Second, the struggle between two models of type procurement, viz. individual ownership of punches and matrices *vs.* concentration in and commercialization through typefoundries. The first model was the rule in the first years after the invention of printing; the second (which was to exist into the twentieth century) became the standard from the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century onwards, when great regional typefoundries emerged in Frankfurt, Paris, Amsterdam, and Leipzig. The period in between was more or less chaotic: punchcutters, typefounders, printers, and publishers competing in the same market of type procurement. This study illustrates the confusion.

Third, there is the tantalizing problem of identifying the punchcutters involved. Names such as those of Nicolas I de Russangis, George Wolf, Guillaume Le Rouge, Petrus Caesaris, Martinus Caesar, Jean Vatel or Simon de Colines are quoted, but only the part of both last named can be established with some certainty. Admittedly in general the quality of the letterforms, as expressed by their evenness and balance, as far as covered here, is mostly unremarkable. However, this survey illustrates in how short a span of time Paris (and France) entered into the new era, that of a typographic Renaissance, in the years after 1520. It remains disheartening, though, that at the end of this inquiry one is unable to suggest any name of a punchcutter who could reasonably be linked to the celebrated Roman types which Robert I Estienne introduced in 1530.⁷

Sources

To the best of my knowledge the earliest archival documents describing French typefaces surface in the early 1520s in the estate inventories of Parisian booksellers or printers. However, apart from a single attribution of a Gothic type to Gaspar Trechsel of Lyons in the 1522–24 Hopyl inventory,⁸ none of them allows us to ascertain the origin of the typefaces.

Two other archival records, though only preserved in seventeenth and eighteenth-century copies, are of great importance for the history of French palaeotypography, basically for the period after 1530. They originate indirectly from the typefounder Guillaume I Le Bé (1523–98), a younger contemporary of Claude Garamont. The first document is an Inventory of Le Bé's typefoundry, preserved in an eighteenth-century copy in the hand of the elder Fournier.⁹ The original is lost but must have been written (or updated) by Guillaume II Le Bé probably around 1618.¹⁰ This Inventory mentions two Roman typefaces by Colines, belonging to the period considered here; they are described below (35 and 39). The second Le Bé document is a Memorandum of chiefly biographical notes about French punchcutters, typefounders and printers active in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.¹¹ Its first part was compiled and written by the same Guillaume II Le Bé about 1643. His father evidently was the main source for the earlier part of the story. The Memorandum mentions a 'Petit-texte' Roman of Colines, referring no doubt to the Minion described below (39).

In addition, there are some references in contemporary correspondences of scholars such as Budé, Erasmus, Giustiniani, Vatel.¹² At first sight, they concern

7. Vervliet, 2004, 116. See, however, Vervliet, 2007, 9–10.

8. Stein, 1905, 183.

9. Paris, Arch. nat., MC 65, f. 229; Morison, 1957.

10. Carter, 1967, p. 11, n.6.

11. Carter, 1967.

12. Secret, 1963, 269; Vervliet, 2002, 10–15.

the availability of Greek or Hebrew faces, but indirectly illustrate the ways of procurement of new type designs in Paris at the end of the 1510s.

Finally and, in substance, mainly, there are the books preserved from the period covered by this study: Moreau's *Inventaire chronologique* lists some 6,300 titles for the period surveyed here. In a few of them, the colophon refers to the types used, mostly to praise them. It seldom says anything substantial about their maker and in that respect the harvest is meagre. However, the books themselves, if properly dated, are telling witnesses. By trying to distinguish new or unusual faces, some hypotheses about their origin or maker may be ventured. That implies an overview as large as possible not only of Parisian books but of books printed elsewhere as well. Such exhaustiveness, however necessary, is a task that, given my resources, is unfulfillable within a limited time span. In addition, as I have only been able to inspect a small minority, perhaps less than one fourth, of the corpus, I must ask for indulgence for any incompleteness or other shortcomings.

The Romanization of French Typography

In the Romanization of French typography four waves can be distinguished, namely:

- a. The aborted introduction of Roman in the 1470s.
- b. Roman type used in classical and Neo-Latin literature in the 1490s.
- c. Roman type in prayer-books; the Kerver-experiment in the early 1500s.
- d. The use of Roman in vernacular books in the 1520s.

In 1470 France was slowly recovering from the devastations of the Hundred Years Wars (1337–1453) and despite continuing attacks by the English and Burgundian armies, in cultural and intellectual life, the French were ready to adhere to the new ways of thinking prevailing in Italy, or to the newly invented mechanical methods of book production such as those of Germany. As to the latter field, the names of Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer were not unknown in the French capital of the 1460s, but at its very beginning Parisian typography preferred to follow Italian rather than German type designs and to start with Roman (or Roman-like) types. The first Parisian printers in the years 1470–72 were three German craftsmen, Michael Friburger, Ulrich Gering, and Martin Krantz, recruited by the Sorbonne scholars Guillaume Fichet and Joannes Heynlin. They had just one fount, a Roman, which they used only up to 1472, opting for Gothic in the later part of their career (1473–78). Both the following Parisian printer, Petrus Caesaris, and the press housed *Sub signo foliis viridis* (Soufflet vert), active in 1473–74 and 1475–76 respectively, also used some kind of Roman typeface.

Gering returned to Roman type in 1478 when he alone became head of the press, starting out with two new Roman types. They were his sole assortments, until after his association with Bertold Rembolt in the mid 1490s, half a dozen Gothic types made their appearance. Gering's Roman types were ostensibly proprietary types only available in the 1480–90s to Gering's associates or assistants Maynyal, Wolf, Rembolt and Higman. They remained in use until the 1520s and early 1530s at the presses of Gromors and Chevallon (probably through the latter's marriage with the widow of Bertold Rembolt). Gering used

Roman indiscriminately, even for subjects which later Parisian printers tended to set in Gothic.

After these pioneering years, as printing became accepted within the thriving Parisian booksellers' guild, a concession to the Gothic tastes of the Parisian customer was made: in the 1480s major Parisian printers such as Bonhomme, Marchant, Vérard, Pigouchet, and Trepperel, published exclusively in Gothic type, including those works of classical or Neo-Latin authors, which, in later years, would conventionally be printed in Roman. Vérard, Pigouchet, Trepperel, whose careers extend into the 1510s, never had or used Roman type: Parisian typography became as Gothic as the cathedral of Notre-Dame.

Within Gothic, the formal Gothics, such as *texturas* (*lettres de forme*) or *rotundas* (*lettres de somme*) had a status differing from the current form of the French Gothic hand, the *bastarda* (*bâtarde*, *lettre bourgeoise*). As far as the printer's assortments went, the former were used as text types for 'serious' works in Latin, the latter for works in the vernacular. But that was a custom, not an iron rule.

A second wave occurred in the 1490s, when Wolf changed his old Gering Romans for new typefaces which he shared with Kerver a few years later. Parisian printing was moving nearer to the *mos Italicus*, where Roman prevailed. From then onwards Parisian publishers were beginning to publish classical and Neo-Latin authors as a standard in Roman, while other matter remained in Gothic. Parisian printers would adhere to this convention well into the 1520s, except perhaps Thielman I Kerver from 1503 onwards.

Kerver began his publishing career in 1497 as a bookseller and from 1498 until his death in 1522 he owned a press, using initially the typographical materials of Wolf and Philippi. His earlier publications mainly pertain to classical or Neo-Latin authors. Later he appears to have narrowed his scope to liturgical and devotional books. In the latter domain he shared the lucrative market of the *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis* with Pigouchet, Vérard, and Hardouyn. In that specific domain, Paris enjoyed a kind of monopoly, publishing a yearly average of twelve Hours (as far as preserved) during the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Kerver's average in that field was three Hours a year.

Availability of types was no problem for Kerver. He had a well-assorted stock of types: Gothics, Romans and in the 1510s, Italics. The use of these founts is, at least in the beginning of his career, wholly regular: Gothic for liturgical and prayer books, both in Latin or the vernacular, Roman for texts which could interest a humanistic readership. In 1503, however, he started an experiment, publishing a Latin Book of Hours in Roman – the first but not the last, as far as Kerver is concerned, of a series to come.¹³ The response of the Parisian readership must have been positive. In the following years Kerver (and he alone) pursues the Romanization, even intensifying the effort. Up to 1510 about one third of his Hours are set in Roman, the percentage rising in the second decade to eighty percent (if for the purpose of the present discussion we may add Italic to Roman). To be sure, the Hours involved were in Latin, with a few paragraphs in French. Sections in French – almanac, calendar, side-notes – remain presented in Gothic. The presence of French texts seems to imply that the production was not primarily intended for export, say to Italy. It should be remarked that Kerver confined the Romanization to his Books of Hours and did not introduce the change in his missals or other liturgical publications. Probably he sensed a readiness to accept Hours – which was the book *par excel-*

13. Moreau, I: 103, no. 62; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce BB 26.

lence and often the sole book of the common devout *homo unius libri* – in the new letterform.¹⁴

The fourth and final phase in the process of Romanization occurs in the 1520s, when Parisian printing starts to use Roman for its publications in vernacular. That too was following an Italian trend, introduced in the 1470s, where Venice's first printers, Joannes de Spira and Nicolas Jenson, used Roman for their Petrarca (1470) and Plinius editions in Italian (1476). The first press had no choice in 1470, but the second owned several Gothics at the time of publication.

In Paris, the Romanization of vernacular printing started at the very end of the 1510s. It has been suggested that the French court was involved in this change,¹⁵ because, apart from the *Heures ... selon l'usage de Rome* (Tory [& Colines], 1525), the titles involved seem to reflect the interest that an italophile Francis I and his court may have had in their subject: Platina's *Genealogies*, dedicated to Marguerite d'Angouleme (Galliot I Du Pré & Vidoue, 1519), a summary in French of Budé's *De asse*, made at the king's request (Vidoue, 1522), and the Seyssel translations which Francis I had ordered published, beginning with the Thucydides (Badius, 1527). The printers were Colines, Vidoue and Badius. They relied on the Roman types they owned and used regularly for their other humanistic editions.

In the field of typography, the expanding Romanization and the growing popularity of humanism can easily be quantified: in the two latest decades of the fifteenth century six new Roman typefaces appeared (one of which was imported from abroad). In the first decade of the sixteenth century, four Romans (two imported) and one Greek appeared. In the second decade, the count raises to thirteen new Romans, eight Italics, one Hebrew (none of them imported) and a few Greeks (one imported). In the 1520s eighteen new Romans appear (three imported), five Italics (one imported), two Hebrews (one imported), six or seven Greeks (two imported) and two music faces.

Towards an Independent Type Trade

As a rule, so the handbooks tell us, a fifteenth-century press went for an in-house production of type including its design, cutting, and casting. Our incunabula catalogues and descriptions of *adespota* are based on this principle of individual ownership of type. As always, however, there are exceptions to the rule and these seem to increase from the 1490s onwards. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the reverse was the norm, with printers only rarely owning proprietary types. The following case studies may help to illustrate the situation in Paris.

The 'Gering' Pica (2) offers an example of the pristine situation when individual ownership of a type was the rule – the term 'individual' as used here implies it was not shared with other presses, except if associated. The Gering Pica originated at Gering's press in 1478 and was used there and later at the presses of his partners and successors, Maynyal, Higman, Wolf, and Rembolt; the latest use is in the 1520s–1530s at the press of Chevallon, who had married Rembolt's widow, Charlotte Guillard. We do not know who may have cut that face. Wolf is a possible candidate; he used the face for a couple of years after he left Gering and before he had or had another one made of the same size, which he shared with Kerver (6). This pattern of individual (or restricted) use

14. Vervliet, 2004a.

15. Carter, 1969, 80; Martin, 2000, 183–95.

of home-made types is the usual one in Paris during the period considered here. It is also Kerver's model and towards the end of our period, that of Colines and Robert I Estienne.

A variant of this model is offered by the 'Ruel' Great Primer (13). Ostensibly it was in use at three presses, viz. those of Henry I Estienne, Le Rouge, and Maheu. But its use by them was sequential and therefore it is suggested here that the typeface was property of a bibliophile, perhaps Ruel, who sponsored the printing of selected publications.

A second case is the proprietary use of a set of matrices. This implies that other presses may use the same face, though cast on another set of matrices. A good example of this model is offered by two typefaces of Badius, his Great Primer and Pica (3–4). It appears that they were also used in Venice, Genoa, Augsburg, and Lyons. If so, such a spread seems to preclude the sale of cast type and to imply the sale of strikes or matrices. However, it is noteworthy that Badius, once in possession of his beloved *litterae Italicae*, used these Roman typefaces in the same incunabular fashion as his predecessors. At least, I know of no other users in Paris. Whether that implies that he owned his own typefoundry is more difficult to tell. It is quite possible that he simply contracted a type-caster to cast in his matrices.

A final case implies the existence of independent typefoundries, owning their own matrices and selling cast type to other printers, i.e. the pattern that will prevail in the later half century. Two faces are representative for this model: the Bergmann Great Primer (5) and the Tholoze Pica (8). Both were common to the majority of Parisian printers using them from the late 1490s until well into the 1530s. On a smaller scale the Gourmont 1503 Greek¹⁶, the 1519 Desprez and 1525 Vidoue titlings (16 and 33) are examples of the same phenomenon. The spread of these faces and their lifetime indicate that at least matrices were available in Paris and that a local typefounder probably supplied cast type to those printers who could not afford (or did not want) to invest in privately owned typefounding resources.

The number of Parisian Roman typefaces that were proprietary greatly outnumbered those which were in floating use: some forty-six against five. But when printed titles are concerned, the reverse can be observed. In this case, the Bergmann and Tholoze Romans, and later the Desprez and Vidoue titlings may be met in one case out of two. That a Le Rouge-Desprez-Savetier typefoundry was serving a sizable part of the open Parisian market is a tempting hypothesis.

The Growth of a Craft

If independent type-casters were active, does that imply that independent punchcutters were also available? Not necessarily, but it is highly probable that, in a world centre of book trade such as Paris, they were. Paris played a great role in the manufacture and trade of Gothic types, though we do not know the names of their engravers.¹⁷

The import of foreign Roman types was, in any case, limited. Italy supplied the two bigger sized Romans of Badius (3–4). Imports from Germany were more substantial. At the end of the 1490s the Bergmann Great Primer (5) was supplied from Basle and became the most used Parisian Roman in its size. In the 1520s, a few years after the first appearance in Paris of the Urs Graf and

16. Vervliet, 2002, 7–9.

17. Shaw, 1980.

Hans Holbein the Younger illustrations and decorations,¹⁸ German typefaces such as the Quentel Small Pica (9), the Cervicornus Pica (14), the Lotter Long Primer (18), and perhaps the Vidoue Brevier (27) surfaced. Their acceptance was limited.

In the period covered by this paper, Simon de Colines (15) and Jean Vatel (25) are the only more or less certain names that may be associated with letter engraving. Both seem to have worked only for their own presses. George Wolf too (6), if it can be established that he was a punchcutter. Some of his faces were later in the possession of Guillaume Le Rouge (7), another candidate-engraver but who, in first instance, may have been a type-caster. The roles of Nicolas I de Russangis (1), Petrus Caesaris (12), Martin Caesar, Le Rouge's supposed son-in-law (12), and Nicolas Desprez (16), can for the time being only be surmised.

The Gothic typefaces and Attaignant music founts attest to the technical competence of Parisian punchcutters. However, on the aesthetic side the autochthonous Parisian Romans look unbalanced and lacking evenness and symmetry. Many of them are unattractive and their readability is weak. Apart from the Tholoze Master (1499) and (at least from 1524 onwards) Colines, none of them produced Roman, Italic, Greek or Hebrew typefaces which could compete aesthetically with the better ones offered by Italian or Basle typography. If any great talent was active in Paris during these first three decades of the sixteenth century, besides the Tholoze Master and Colines, he must have been working on Gothic types. While the number of new typefaces dramatically increases in the third decade, the average quality remains low. As far as new Roman designs are concerned, there is, in the period studied here and again apart from Colines, no direct indication of the coming explosion of new talents in Paris during the 1530s with names such as those of Antoine Augereau, François Gryphius, the Estienne and Buffet Masters, Jean Arnoul dit Picard, and Claude Garamont.

18. Billeter, 1962, 47.

Conspectus of Types

A table at the end of this paper lists the types by size.

1478 Paris

1. The 'Gering' Roman on Large English [R 100]
or *Gros-texte* (1478)
2. The 'Gering' Pica [R 80] or *Cicéro* (1478)

1493 Venice

3. The 'Capsaca' Great Primer [R 105]
or *Gros-romain* (Venice, 1493; Paris, Badius, 1503)
4. The 'Capsaca' Pica [R 83]
or *Cicéro* (Venice, 1493; Lyons, ? Wolf, 1499;
Paris, Bocard, 1502)

1494 Basle

5. The 'Bergmann' Great Primer [R 102]
or *Gros-romain* (Basle, 1494; Paris, Levet, 1498)

1494 Paris

6. The 'Wolf-Kerver' English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1494)

1498 Paris

7. The 'Kerver' Pica [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1498)

1499 Paris

8. The 'Tholoze' Pica [R 78] or *Cicéro* (1499)

1499 Cologne

9. The 'Quentel's' Small Pica [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (Cologne, 1499; Paris, Vidoue, 1521)

1508 Paris

10. The 'Hopyl' English-Bodied Roman [R 99]
or *Saint-augustin* (1508)

1509 Paris

11. The 'Badius' Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1509)

1513 Paris

12. The 'Le Rouge' Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1513)

1516 Paris

13. The 'Ruel' Great Primer [R 117]
or *Gros-romain* (1516)

1517 Cologne

14. The 'Cervicornus' English-Bodied [R 88]
or *Saint-augustin* (Cologne, 1517; Paris,
Vidoué, 1522)

1518 Paris

15. Colines's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1518)

1519 Paris

16. The 'Desprez' Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1519)
17. Colines's First English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1519)

1519 Leipzig

18. The 'Lotter' Long Primer [R 66]
or *Petit-romain* (Leipzig, 1519; Paris,
Gromors & Savetier, 1526)

1520 Paris

19. The 'Du Pré' Great Primer [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1520)
20. The 'Desprez' English-Bodied Roman [R 91]
or *Saint-augustin* (1520)
21. The 'La Barre' Pica [R 85] or *Cicéro* (1520)
22. The 'La Barre' Long Primer [R 65]
or *Petit-romain* (1520)
23. Colines's First Bourgeois [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1520)

1522 Paris

- 24. Colines's First Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1522)
- 25. Vatel's Pica [R 86] or *Cicéro* (1522)
- 26. Colines's First Small Pica [R 75] or *Philosophie* (1522)
- 27. The 'Vidoué' Brevier [R 51] or *Petit-texte* (1522)
- 28. The 'Vidoué' Nonpareil [R 43] (1522)

1523 Paris

- 29. Colines's Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4]
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1523)
- 30. The 'Dauphins' Long Primer [R 65]
or *Petit-romain* (1523)
- 31. Colines's Second Bourgeois [R 63]
or *Gaillarde* (1523)

1524 Paris

- 32. Colines's Second Titling on Two-line Long
Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de
Petit-romain* (1524)

1525 Paris

- 33. The 'Vidoué' First Titling on Two-line Small Pica
[R 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1525)
- 34. The 'Vidoué' Roman on Large English [R 100]
or *Gros-texte* (1525)
- 35. Colines's Second Small Pica [R 73]
or *Philosophie* (1525)

1526 Paris

- 36. The 'Chevallon' Roman Titling on Two-line Long
Primer [R 5.2] or *Lettres de deux points de
Petit-romain* (1526)
- 37. Colines's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1526)
- 38. The 'Calvarin' Bourgeois [R 62] or *Gaillarde* (1526)
- 39. Colines's Minion [R 49] or *Mignonne* (1526)

1527 Paris

- 40. The 'Savetier' Long Primer [R 66]
or *Petit-romain* (1527)

1528 Paris

- 41. Colines's First Great Primer [R 117]
or *Gros-romain* (1528)
- 42. The 'Leber' Small Pica [R 70] or *Philosophie* (1528)
- 43. The 'Vidoué' Bourgeois [R 64] or *Gaillarde* (1528)

1529 Paris

- 44. The 'Vidoué' Titling on Two-line Great
Primer [R 10.5] or *Lettres de deux points
de Gros-romain* (1529)
- 45. Colines's Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529)
- 46. The 'Gromors' Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529)
- 47. The 'Tory' Titling on Two-line Pica [R 7.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1529)
- 48. The 'Vidoué' Second Titling on Two-line Small Pica
[R 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1529)
- 49. The 'Tory' Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1529)
- 50. The 'Gromors' Small Pica Roman [R 75]
or *Philosophie* (1529)

1530 Paris

- 51. The 'Vidoué' Titling on Two-line Pica [R 7.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1530)

1. The 'Gering' Roman on Large English [R 100]
or *Gros-texte* (1478)

This is the fourth Roman or Roman-like fount to appear in Paris in the 1470s. Coming after the *fere-humanisticas* of Friburger-Krantz-Gering, Petrus Caesaris and The Soufflet Vert, it has shed most Gothic reminiscences present in its Paris predecessors without, however, reaching the simple serenity of the 1470–73 Jenson Romans. We do not know who may have cut this face. Russangis and Wolf are the possible candidates. Russangis, possibly the medallist Nicolas I (Catalogue BM, 8: xx; Mazerolle, 1902, 1: cxlix; Renouard, 1965, 387; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 224), was one of associates in the Soufflet Vert, while George Wolf (Catalogue BM, 8: xxxii; Renouard, 1965, 436) used the Gering face during a couple of years after he left Gering and before he had or had made another one on the same size, which he shared with Kerver (6).

SIZE Large English (*Gros-texte*); 20 100 x 2.2 : 3.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN September 1478, Paris, U. Gering (Vergilius, *Opera*; after Catalogue BM, 8: 22 and pl. 3).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 29 November 1478, Paris, U. Gering (A. von Eyb, *Margarita poetica*; Brussels, Royal Library, Inc. B 501; Polain, 2: 1450; Gesamtkatalog, 8: 9540); 1480, U. Gering & G. Maynyal; 1491, G. Wolf; 1494, U. Gering & B. Rembolt (after Catalogue BM, 8: 29); 1504, U. Gering & B. Rembolt; 1510, B. Rembolt & J. Waterloes; 1521, P. Gromors; 1522, R. Chaudière & P. Gromors; 1531, C. Chevallon.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with slab-serifed top; high stem of G; singly-serifed M with splayed stems; wide P, S and V; tilt-barred lower case e; beaked link of g; rounded right stem of h; dotted i.

LITERATURE GfT, 154–6; Claudin, 1900, 1: 83–5; Haebler, 1905, 3¹: 148, nos. 60–1; Catalogue BM, 8: 20 and pls. 3, 18; Updike, 1937, 1: 84.

FIGURE 1 The 'Gering' on Large English [R 100] or *Gros-texte* (1478) as it appears in G. Fichet, *Consolatio luctus et mortis Parrhisiensis*, Paris, P. Gromors, 1521, f. πiv. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

Ⓒ Extraict des Registres de Parlement.

VEue par la court la requeste a elle baillee par maistre Pierre Gromors Imprimeur de liures demourât en ceste ville de Paris. Par laquelle il requeroit inhibitions & defenses estre faictes iusques a troys ans a tous Libraires & Imprimeurs/ & autres perfonnes quelxconques de ne imprimer ne faire imprimer/ vendre/ ne acheter vng Liure par luy nouuellement imprimé Intitule Guillelmus Ficheti de consolatione Parisiensis luctus: cum Rhetorica eiusdem Sinon de ceulx qui aurôt este imprimé par icelluy Gromors/ ad ce quil se puisse rembourser des grans fraiz/ mises/ & despens que luy a conueni faire en limpression dudit liure. Veues aussi plusieurs arrestz & ordonnances de ladite court dōnees en cas pareil/ & tout cōsidere ladicte court a faict inhibitiōs & defenses a tous libraires Imprimeurs/ & autres quelxconques de ne imprimer ne faire imprimer/ vendre/ ne acheter aucuns desditz liures iusques a Deux ans prochainement venant/ sinon de ceulx qui auront este imprimé par ledit Gromors/ sur peine de cōfiscation desditz liures & damēde arbitraire Faict en Parlement le. xiiii. iour de Aoust. Lan Mil Cinq cens vngt & vng.

Robert. Collation est faicte

2. The 'Gering' Pica Roman [R 80]
or *Cicéro* (1478)

A reduced version of the Gering Roman described above in (1) appeared at Gering's press a few weeks later. It was probably cut by the same unknown letter engraver. In the 1520s and early 1530s it occurs at the press of Claude Chevallon, probably via the dowry of his wife, Charlotte Guillard, the widow of Rembolt.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 80 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 30 October 1478, Paris, U. Gering (Guillaume d' Auvergne, *Postilla super Epistolas*; Brussels, Royal Library, Inc. A 495; Polain, 2: 1822; Gesamtkatalog, 10: 11936).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1480, U. Gering & G. Maynyal (after Catalogue BM, 8: 24); 1488, J. Higman & W. Hopyl (after Catalogue BM, 8: 130-1, pl. 16); 1489, G. Wolf (after Catalogue BM, 8: 143-4, pl. 18); 1495, U. Gering & B. Rembolt (after Catalogue BM, 8: 29); 1504, U. Gering & B. Rembolt; 1510, B. Rembolt & J. Waterloes; 1526, C. Chevallon.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with slab-serifed top; narrow E, F, H; high stem of G; singly-serifed M with splayed stems; wide P, S and V; tilt-barred lower case e; beaking link of g; rounded right stem of h; dotted i; thin diagonal of z.

LITERATURE GfT, 155; Claudin, 1900, 1: 87, 407-8; 2: 67; Haebler, 1905, 3¹: 4, no. 25; 140, no. 10; Catalogue BM, 8: 20 and pls. 3, 16, 18.

FIGURE 2 The 'Gering' Pica [R 80] or *Cicéro* (1478) as it appears in Ambrosius, *Omnia opera*, Paris, Cl. Chevallon, 1529, p. 558. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

» Syleas particeps laborum inuenitur apostoli. ¶ Obse-
» cro te de meo filio, quem genui in vinculis Onesimo
» quondā tibi inutilem, nūc vero tibi mihiq; utilem, quē
» remisi ad te. Tu autē illum itidē sicut mea viscera sus-
» cipe, quem ego volueram apud memetipsum retinere,
» vt pro te mihi ministraret in vinculis Euangelii: sed cō-
» tra tuum consiliū nihil volui facere, vt non velut ex ne-
» cessitate bonum tuum esset, sed volūtarium.) Nō ma-
B gnum est humilem inclinare se, laudabile vero sublimē
virum humiliare se. Ideo Apostolus rogat eū cui im-
perandi habet potestatem, vt in omnibus forma sit ad
profectum meritorum. Onesimū ergo profugum de-
currentē ad diuinum auxiliū, cum esset in custodia vr-
bis Romæ, baptizauit Apostolus videns in illo vti-
litatis spem. Quem sic cōmendat, vt suum animū in il-
lo significet idoneum ex inutili factum tam seculari-
» bus q̄ diuinis obsequiis. ¶ Forsitan enim idcirco rece-
» sit ad horam, vt æternum illū reciperes, non iam velut
» seruū, sed pro seruo dilectissimum fratrem, maxime
» mihi: quanto autem magis tibi & in carne & in domi-
» no? Onesimus offenso domino proprio confugit lon-
ga peregrinatione ad Apostolum, vt ostenderet se non
ad hoc recessisse, vt delictū esset obnoxius, sed vt oblitera-
tis peccatis utilis reuerteretur, intantum vt non solum
domino suo æqualis fieret meritis, sed ipsi magistro fra-
ter. Et ne Philemon aliquod, vt assolet, quasi dominus
aduersum seruū fastidium inflationis pateretur, hu-

mihi debes.) Siqua offensa est Onesimi, cautionē suā
testatur esse idoneam, vt pro illo satisfaciatur. Et vt verū
loquatur, suberigit se & dicit, quia minus ab illo exigit
q̄ debere p̄batur. In seruo enim cogitur satisfacere qui
seipsum debito onerat. ¶ Ita frater sic ego te fruar in do-
mino, refovere viscera mea in Christo. Fiduciam habens
obauditionis tuæ scripsi tibi, sciens quia super quā di-
co facies.) Modo blāditur, vt obauditiō eius volunta-
ria sit, vt possit fructum habere. Sic enim prouocat eū,
vt amplius faciat q̄ postulatur ab eo. Solet enim fieri
vt qui videt bene de se sentiri, meliorem se præbeat.
¶ Simul autem prepara mihi hospitium. spero enim q̄
per orationes vestras donabor vobis.) Vt sollicitiorem
illum faciat, & magis obediat, venturum se esse illis si-
gnificat. Solent enim absentes cōtēni. Et vt quid Apo-
stolus hic adhuc esse non dedignatur, qui semper tædia
passus est & exitia, cædes, persecutiones, ac vincula, &
cuius requies non erat nisi in solo Christo? Sed propter
profectū credētiū, vt & inimicos crucis Christi cōfunde-
ret, ad dei gloriam augmētādā carnem suam passio-
nibus offerebat, vt animæ suæ & corpori coronas im-
mortalitatis acquireret. ¶ Salutat te Epaphras cōcapti-
uus meus in Christo IESV, Marcus, Aristarchus,
Demas, Lucas, adiutores mei.) Hos omēs participes
gloriæ suæ testatur. ¶ Gratia dñi nostri IESV Chris-
ti cum spiritu vestro. Amē.) Hęc subscriptio Aposto-
li est confirmantis epistolam missam.

DIUI AMBROSII MEDIOLANENSIS EPISCOPI
TOMI QUARTI

FINIS.

LVTETIÆ PARISIORVM APVD
CLAVDIUM CHEVALLONIVM
MENSE FEBRVARIO M.D. XXIX.

3. The 'Capsaca' Great Primer Roman [R 105] or *Gros-romain* (Venice, 1493; Paris, 1503)

Badius's stay in Italy had aroused his interest in Roman typefaces well before he entered the printing trade. A passage in his introductory letter to Beroaldo's *Orationes* (Lyon, Trechsel, 1492, f. a2–a3; Gesamtkatalog, 4: 4145) alludes to his typographic preferences: 'Dum ... sciremq[ue] ipsum [i.e. Joannem Trechsel] italicam litteram paratam habere: qua tersius castigatiusque opus hoc imprimi posset'.¹⁹

However, when about 1503 he started his own printing press in Paris, he did not use the Trechsel fount, but a Venetian type which can be associated with Capsaca's name. The type, the R 108 in the terminology of the Catalogue BM (5: 482), is quite similar but not identical to a group of several types, originating in the 1470s and 1480s in Turin with J. Fabri [R 114], in Venice with B. Benali [R 110] and Ragazonibus [R 107^B]. But the Capsaca R 108 and Bevilacqua R 107 types, occurring in Venice from 1493 onwards, seem to be identical with the Badius face. Except for a single use in an imprint with Aliate's device (Renouard, 1964, 1: 18, no. 23 and pl. A8), I have not seen this face used in Paris, except by Badius's press, where it stayed in use up to 1535, and by Vascosan, Badius's son-in-law, in the first years of his career.

Johann Amerbach's second Roman on this size (his R 110 in use in 1495–96) is similar to this face. More research is needed to ascertain whether or not both types are identical (Catalogue BM, 3: 744 and pl. 72; GfT 897¹⁷). The same problem for the R 110 appearing at Dirk Martens's Antwerp press and other Low Countries presses from 1502 onwards (Nijhoff, 1926, 2: s.v., nos. 3, 4, sqq.) and the R 111 of Vietor in Vienna from 1510 onwards (Isaac, 1938, 243 and pl. 13).

SIZE Large English/Great Primer (*Gros-texte/Gros-romain*; 20 105 x 2.1 : 3.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 29 November 1493, Venice, M. Capsaca (Dante, *Divina commedia*; Liège, University Library, XV B 182; Catalogue BM, 5: 484 [R 108]; Polain, 2: 1226; Gesamtkatalog, 7: 7971).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: c.1502, A. Aliate (Renouard, 1964, 1: 18, no. 23); 15 March 1503; J. Badius (B. Spagnuoli, *De calamitatibus*; Ghent, University Library, G 9131; Renouard, 1964, 2: 28, no. 16); 1533, M. de Vascosan.

KEY LETTERS Pointed apex of capital A; slab top serifs of M and N; long-tailed R; narrow T; tilt-barred lower case e; g with large upper bowl; stroked i; flat tail of y; lozenge-shaped colon, period, point of question mark.

LITERATURE GfT, 1717–8; Catalogue BM, 5: 369 and pl. 35 [Benali R 110], 476 [Ragazonibus R 107^B], 482 [Capsaca R 108], 516 [Bevilacqua R 107]; 7: 1053 and pl. 95 [Fabri R 114]; Renouard, 1964, 2: 16 and pl. B 19; Carter, 1969, 77, n.3; Barker, 1974, 7.

FIGURE 3 The 'Capsaca' Great Primer [R 105] or *Gros-romain* (Venice, 1493; Paris, 1503) as it appears in B. Spagnuoli, *Opera*, Paris, J. Badius, 1513, part I, f. a iv. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Longe verēdo et primariis honoribus obseruādo Germano Degannayo Caturceñ. Epō Iodocus Badius Ascen. S.



Væ tuæ celsitudinī vir laudatissime cōsiliariū adhuc
regiū in principali Parrhisiōrum senatu et strennue:
et sancte obeuntī abhinc sc̄quilustrum nūcupauī-
mus: Baptiste Mantuanī poemata nostris vtcūq; cō-
mentatiunculis illustrata: ea constitui eidem nūc epī-
scopali dignitate fulgenti rursus nūcupare: ne me
præsidii tanti pœnituisse videatur. Cæterum vt istā
et virtute: et honoribus accumulata agnouī: ita hæc
et auctiora: et concinnatiora efficere conatus sum.

Cum enim sex duntaxat in superiore editione haberentur heroīdum san-
ctarum vitæ: huic posteriori accessit septima: et generis: et virtutis præstā-
tia admodum insignis Cēcilia. Quas syrenes illas a Platone planetarum or-
bibus infidere dictas equantes: vt denarius: q̄ p̄fectissimus putatur exple

19. 'And because I knew that he [Trechsel] had an Italian letter available, so that this work could be printed more nicely and accurately'.

4. The 'Capsaca' Pica Roman [R 83]
or *Cicéro* (Venice, 1493; Lyons, 1499;
Paris, 1502)

Carter (1969, 77, n.3) has related this face to one of the several Pica Romans of Matteo Capsaca, who was active as a printer in Venice in the 1490s. It belongs to a group of Venetian Romans with distinctive stylistic characteristics departing from the usual Jenson model. The new style favoured thin hairline serifs to the heavier and bracketed ones of the earlier model. The design seems to originate at Benali's press at the end of the 1480s and was used either in different states or as close copies in Venice by H. Foxius [R 81], Rubeus & Vercellensis [R 80], C. de Pentis [R 82], G. Ragazzo [R 82], M. Capsaca [R 84, R 81, R 80], and S. Bevilacqua [R 80^B]. In Bologna, the presses of Ben. Hectoris [R 83] and Caligula de Bazaleriis [R 87] displayed the type and in Milan those of U. Scinzenzeler [R 80] and L. Pachel [R 83].

Apart from Northern Italy, it enjoyed some distribution in France and Germany, probably one of the earliest Romans to do so. The identity of these founts, if confirmed, implies a trade of matrices beyond the regional boundaries from the late fifteenth century onwards (Johnson, 1943).

In Lyons, the Capsaca R 81 version seems to have been used by Nicolas Wolf. He was registered in 1493 as 'Nicolas Lupi, fondeur de lettres' and is known to have had relations with Badius, prior to the latter's move to Paris (Catalogue BM, 8: lxvi–lxvii). In this type he printed Badius's 1499 edition of the *Epistolae illustrium virorum* (Catalogue BM, 8: 330). The Catalogue BM and Gültlingen (1992, 1: 95–100) report no further uses of this Roman in Wolf's subsequent production. The first Roman of Sebastian Gryphius may exhibit its capitals but the lower case is, though similar, not identical to this type (Bertachini, 1525; Baudrier, 8: 41).

In Paris, André Bocard was first to use it. His imprints display the fount only in 1502–03 and 1517 (Renouard, 1964, 5: nos. 11, 13, 14, 48). Bocard's fifteenth-century type assortment consisted exclusively of Gothics. He began using Romans in 1501 with two Kerver founts (Renouard, 1964, 5: 9, no. 1 [state B] and pl. B iv 1) and the Bergmann and Tholoze Romans (see below 5 and 8). One is left wondering whether he owned this Capsaca type or simply borrowed it from Badius, who showed this type from his first imprints dated 1503 onwards. The prefatory matter of the three items Bocard printed in 1502–03 with this founts seem to imply some collaboration with Badius.

Apart from its sporadic use by Bocard, Badius was the sole Paris printer to have it. It stayed in use till the end of the firm in 1536. In order to obtain a more open and lighter text page, Badius had it cast on the next bigger size of English (*Saint-augustin*) at the end of 1505. The occurrence (as early as June 1503) of this face cast on that larger

size as mentioned by Renouard (1964, 2: 28, no. 15) is moot. It probably refers to Wolf-Kerver's R 92 mentioned below in (6). Later Badius had some sorts changed (as the us-abbreviation and the position of the stroke on i but the exact date of that modification remains to be fixed).

The type remained quite popular in Italy and Germany in the early 1500s. With proper reserve, I think it may occur in Venice at the presses of J. de Pentis, S. Bevilacqua, S. de Luere, M. Sessa, M. de Bonellis (Isaac, 1938, 196–7), in Genoa, at that of P.P. Porro in his polyglott 1516 Psalterium (Isaac, 1938, 112). It may be the face which Martens and Sassenus used in Antwerp and Louvain from 1504 onwards (Nijhoff, 1926, 2: s.v). In Germany, the face seems to appear at Oeglin's press, Augsburg, from 1506 onwards (Proctor, 1903, 77 [type 2] and pl. 10). Johnson (1964, 232 and fig. 4) reports further uses in Cologne, Nuremberg, and Strasburg. An occurrence about 1500 in Vienna at the press of Joh. Winterburg needs closer examination (Catalogue BM, 3: 810).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 83 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 November 1493, Venice, M. Capsaca (*Fior de vertu*; Antwerp, Loyola, 88 E 3; Polain, 2: 1485; Gesamtkatalog, 8: 9931).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 20 November 1499, N. Wolf (*Juvenalis, Saturae*; after Catalogue BM, 8: 329 [R 77]); Paris: March 1502, A. Bocard for J. I Petit and E. I & G. de Marnef (B. Spagnuoli, *Bucolica seu Adolescentia*; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, D 8403 Res.); and 28 November 1503, J. Badius for E. I & G. de Marnef (*Epistolae beati Pauli*; Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, A.7.1315; Renouard, 1964, 2: 25, no. 6); 1517, A. Bocard for J. Hoys; Orléans: 1517, Jacq. Hoys.

KEY LETTERS Capitals F and H with bar above centre; hairlined top serifs of M and N; two forms of Q; S leaning to the right; oblique left top serif of T; tilt-barred lower case e; g with large upper bowl; stroked i; flat tail of y; lozenge-shaped colon and period.

VARIANT LETTERS Poorly cast capital M of Bocard.

LITERATURE Claudin, 1900, 4: 250–1; Catalogue BM, 3: 810 and pl. 78 [Winterburg R 88]; 5: 482 and pl. 38 [Capsaca R 81], 500 [Ragazzo R 82]; 516 [Bevilacqua R 80^B]; 6: 761 and pl. 56 [Scinzenzeler R 80], 776 and pl. 57 [Pachel R 83], 836 [Bazaleriis R 84], 840 [Hectoris R 83] and pl. 64; 8: 328 [Wolf R 77] and pl. 54; Proctor, 1903, 77 [type 2] and pl. 10; Johnson, 1943, 51; Johnson, 1964, 232 and fig. 4; Renouard, 1964, 2: 16 and pl. 21; 5: 9 and pls. B iv 4–5 [R 91 and R 79a]; Carter, 1969, 77, n.3.

FIGURE 4 The 'Capsaca' Pica [R 83] or *Cicéro* (Venice, 1493; Lyons, 1499; Paris, 1502) as it occurs in A. Poliziano, *Opera*, Paris, J. Badius, 1519, f. A1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

corpus referrentur: sed ad vsum pſentē duntaxat: obla-
tis argumentis: non qſitis. Ita nec exēpla mihi retinui:
nīſi quarūdā: puto minus foelicium: q̄ diu iam cū blattis
& tīneis rixabantur. Verūtamen vt inſtar voluminis ef-
ficerem: nōnullas etiam miſſas ad me: ſed a doctis dūta-
xat: inferui: q̄ marcentem quaſi ſtomachū lectoris exci-
tarent. Eſt aut omnino ſtylus epistoſarū mearū: ipſe ſibi
diſpar. Quo nomine multum quoq; ſcio reprehendar.
Nā nec eadem mihi ſemp voluntas: nec idem cuiq; vel
perſona: vel materiæ congruebat. Non deerunt ergo q

5. The 'Bergmann' Great Primer Roman [R 102]
or *Gros-romain* (Basle, 1494; Paris, 1498)

Johann Bergmann de Olpe, a Basle cleric and publisher of Sebastian Brant, patronized a printing press from 1494 onwards. His main text type was a newly made Great Primer 109 mm Roman (Catalogue BM, 3: 793). Johnson (1926, 7–8) suggested a Venetian origin, but its distribution rather points to Basle. Though less well designed than the contemporaneous Amerbach Roman on that size, it was one of the earliest Basle Romans to enjoy an international distribution in France, England, the Low Countries, Poland. It is a Roman of the Jenson family with the usual doubly-seriffed top of the M and e with tilted bar. Noticeable are its E with high middle arm, high stem of the G and the large upper bowl of the lower case g.

In Paris it was the most popular Roman of the early sixteenth century in the range of Great Primer (110 mm) down to English (96 mm; as in Estienne's 1505 edition of the *Hermes Trismegistus*; Moreau, 1: 158, no. 82). The face was used from 1498 onwards by Levet, Le Noir, Tholoze (Catalogue BM, 8: 181; Renouard, 1964, 1: 105) and many others among whom Henry I Estienne, but not by Badius (except in the 1519 *Athanasius* which, however, was probably not printed by Badius) and the 1521 publications he issued with Jean Vatel. It stayed in use well into the 1520s and 1530s among others at the presses of Colines, Robert I Estienne and Tory.

From 1519 onwards some Paris printers as La Barre, Vidoue, Gromors and in the 1530s Tory used the variant state with a flattened bar in e and a small-bowled g. Both sorts may have been cut by or to the directives of Jean Vatel, who seems to have collaborated with La Barre and to have been responding to the newer ideas about the ideal letterforms of Roman letters. See below (25).

In Great Britain Pynson from 1508 onwards and many subsequent London printers up to the end of the century were among its users (Isaac, 1933, 88; 1936, 5; Johnson, 1936, 71–3; Reed, 1952, 86). De Worde, Redman, Berthelet had

the state with the variant lower case e and g. In the Low Countries it was used by Thibault with some divergent or poorly cast sorts (Vervliet, 1968, 256); in Poland by J. Clymes (Isaac, 1938, 240).

SIZE Large English/Great Primer (*Gros-texte/Gros-romain*); 20 102 x 2 : 3.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1494, Basle, J. Bergmann de Olpe (S. Brant, *In laudem B. Mariae carmina*; Brussels, Royal Library, A 1321; Polain, 1: 862; Gesamtkatalog, 4: 5047).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 23 May 1498, P. Levet (*Vergilius, Aeneis*, after Claudin, 1900, 1: 449), and in the same year, J. I Du Pré, M. Le Noir; 1499, M. Tholoze, G. Philippe; 1501, J. Antoine; 1501, A. Bocard, W. Hopyl & H. I Estienne, D. Roce; 1503, R. Augrain; 1505, H. I Estienne; 1506, J. Barbier & D. Roce; 1507, W. Hopyl; 1508, A. Bonnemère, G. de Gourmont; 1509, H. I Estienne & J. Hongont; 1510, G. de Gourmont & G. de Marnef & G. Du Pré, J. Marchant; 1511, B. Rembolt & J. I Petit; 1512, B. Rembolt & L. Hornken; 1513, J. Seurre; 1516, G. & G. Hardouyn; 1517, P. Vidoue; 1518, C. Chevallon & G. de Gourmont & N. Desprez; 1519, A. Aussourd, C. Resch & P. Vidoue; 1520, S. de Colines, G. Desplains, D. Higman, N. de La Barre, M. Lesclencher, J. Vatel; 1522, J. II Du Pré; 1523, P. Gromors & N. Crespin; 1526, P. Calvarin; 1527, R. I Estienne, N. Savetier; 1528, S. Du Bois & C. I Wechel; A. Girault; 1529, G. Bossozel; 1532, G. Tory; 1534, D. Janot; Cracow: 1504, J. Clymes; London: 1508, R. Pynson; 1528, W. de Worde; 1530, Th. Berthelet; 1532, R. Redman (more references in Isaac, 1933, 88); Antwerp: 1519, J. Thibault; Toulouse: 1522, A. Maurin & G. Recolène & J. II Du Pré; Edinburgh: 1530, Th. Davidson.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with pointed apex and high-placed bar; E with high middle arm; high-stemmed G; doubly-seriffed top of the M; tilt-barred lower case e; stroked i; g with large upper bowl;

VARIANT LETTERS Lower case e with less oblique bar and g with small upper bowl (both introduced about 1519).

LITERATURE GfT, 497–8, 1037–8, 2267; Haebler, 1905, 3¹: 18, no. 142; Catalogue BM, 3: 793; 8: 181 [R 104], 207 [R 108], 223 [R 105] and pls. 29 and 31; Claudin, 1900, 1: 449–50; 2: 172, 313–15, 361–2; Beaujon, 1926, 149, fig. 15–16; Johnson, 1926, 7–8; Isaac, 1930, fig. 21–2 and 66; 1933, 88 and pl. 4; 1936, 5; Johnson, 1936, 71–3, fig. 1; Reed, 1952, 86; Johnson, 1959, 43–4; Renouard, 1964, 1: 105; Vervliet, 1968, 256; Barker, 1974, 7 and pls. 2a–b; Amert, 1991, 28; Janssen, 1994, 198; Vervliet, 2002a, 274–8; Vervliet, 2003, 194.

FIGURE 5 The 'Bergmann' Great Primer [R 102] or *Gros-romain* (Basle, 1494; Paris, 1498) as it appears in J. de Monthon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1520, vol. 1, f. 62. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



Solent qui pro ediscendis iurium factionibus/varia peragra-
runt literarie negociationis emporia (Fratres amicissimi) ubi
terminato studio/delectum ab eis locum applicuerunt/ne mar-
cido quodam ocio tabescetes, publice sanne/popularive cachin-
no pateant: nonnullos sui studij indices actus exercendos affu-
mere. Alios nempe patrocinandis inhiare causarum dubietati-
bus/alios pro sopiendis iusticie equilibrio cotrouerfijis/ ad sub-
eundas anhelare iudicum partes / alios vero propulsatis litium
inuolucris/aut docetis obeundo munia/aut calcographorum typis lit raria quedam crea-
dendo/suam inuulgare doctrinam conspiciamus : non q aure sint popularis cupidi/ sed

6. The 'Wolf-Kerver' English-Bodied Roman
[R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1494)

Wolf, Jean Philippi and Kerver used consistently two Romans [R 92 and R 79] of which this is the larger one; both are stylistically related and may originate from the same source, perhaps Wolf; see the Catalogue BM (8: 214). The same catalogue (8: 144) points to the similarity of some capitals with those of Gering's Large English (above 1). Kerver used these types when in 1503 he introduced the use of Roman in Paris printed Hours. Normally and far into the sixteenth century these prayer books were set in Gothic type (Vervliet, 2004a).

Later, Paris printers or publishers used this face occasionally. It must not be excluded that Nicolas Desprez owned a set of matrices. He used this face until 1520 when he changed over to the type described below in (20). Desprez was originally from Troyes which may link him to Guillaume Le Rouge (12) and lead to the hypothesis of a Le Rouge-Desprez typefoundry in Paris.

Badius seems to have used this type once at the very beginning of his printing career, e.g. in the Bibliothèque nationale copy of Spagnuoli's *Bucolica* (Moreau, 1: 88, no.

119; BNF, Rés. mYc 691:1) but probably that issue (or its first quire) was printed by Bocard.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 92 x 2.2 : 3.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 5 January 1494, Paris, G. Wolf & J. Philippi (B. Spagnuoli, *Carmina*; after Catalogue BM, 8: 147).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 11 February 1498/9, G. Wolf & Th. I Kerver & J. I Petit (Juvenalis, *Satyræ*; Amsterdam, University Library, Inc. 272; IDL 2836); 1501, A. Bocard; 1502, G. Marchant & J. I Petit; 1503, J. Badius; 1511, N. Desprez & O. Senant; 1512, J. Philippi; c.1513, J. I de Gourmont; 1518, C. Chevallon & G. de Gourmont & N. Desprez.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with slab-serifed top; high stem of G; wide H; doubly-serifed M; unseriffed diagonal of N; tilt-barred lower case e; minute link of g; stroked i.

VARIANT LETTERS In Philippi's Beroaldo (1512), Desprez's Almain (1518) and Gourmont's Houckaert (c.1520), some sorts of the Bergmann Great Primer Roman (described above in 5) are admixed.

LITERATURE GfT, 2268; Haebler, 1905, 3¹: 86, no. 192; Claudin, 1900, 2: 100-1, 284-5, 342; Catalogue BM, 8: 144, 213 and pls. 18, 30.

FIGURE 6 Wolf-Kerver's English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1494) as it appears in B. Spagnuoli, *Contra poetas impudice loquentes*, Paris, G. Wolf and Th. I Kerver for H. de Bobencz & J. Petit, 1499, f. Aa3. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Contra impudice scribentes Lib. I Fol. III
Fratriſ Baptiſtę Mantuanı Carmeliſ theologi: cōtrapo
etas impudice loquentes carmen.

SVnt quibus eloquiū datur aurea uena poetarū:
Sed cadit in fordes inficiturq; luto.

Nam cyprię curas & olentia gaudia ponunt:

Claraq; tam foedo mergitur unda lacu.

Hoc decus: hoc animis carmen cælestibus aptum

Rebus in immundis degenerare nephas.

Dona dei carmen nitidum: facundia præstans:

Mittitur ex aſtris a ſuperiſq; datur.

Eſt tuba Romanę fidei legumq; poeſis:

Quę canat heroo ſacra deumq; pede.

7. The 'Kerver' Pica Roman [R 79]
or *Cicéro* (1498)

This face may have been intended as a smaller-sized companion face to the Wolf-Kerver Roman on English (6). Except for the capital A most letterforms are stylistically similar. Probably it was engraved by the same letter engraver. Noteworthy are its occurrence at the press of Guillaume Le Rouge, on which see below (12), and the fact that its capitals are all but identical with those of Kerver's 1516 Italic (Vervliet, 2005, no. 6). Kerver used this face for his Hours set in Roman (Vervliet, 2004a).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 79 x 1.6 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN May 1498, Paris, T. I Kerver for J. I Petit (Diomedes, *De arte grammatica*; Liège, University Library, 15e s. C 35[1]; Polain, 2: 1297; Gesamtkatalog, 7: 8405).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1499, J. Philippi; 1501, A. Bocard; 1514, G. Le Rouge & D. Roce.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with pointed top; high stem of G; wide H; doubly-seriffed M; unseriffed diagonal of N; tilt-barred lower case e; minute link of g; stroked i.

LITERATURE GfT, 2268, 2391; Haebler, 1905, 3¹: 4, no. 23; 66, nos. 51–2; Claudin, 1900, 2: 239–40; Catalogue BM, 8: 144, 213 and pls. 18, 30.

FIGURE 7 The 'Kerver' Pica [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1498) as it appears in B. Spagnuoli, *Contra poetas impudice loquentes*, Paris, G. Wolf and Th. I Kerver for H. de Coblencz & J. Petit, 1499, f. Aa3. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

SVnt quibus eloquiū &c. Sunt inquit quib⁹ natura diuītē venā in carmina dederit: quiq; egregiā laudē cōsequerent: si materiā dignā poeta assumeret: eaq; nō lasciuiis verbis inficeret. Dat ergo statim in principio egregiā doctrinā benignitate soli⁹ naturæ neminē bonū esse: neminēq; laudatū. Nā multi licet bene dicēdi venā a natura susceperint: quia tamē eam ad lubrica lasciuiaq; cōuertunt nihil verē laudis merentur. Vtī aut aptissima trāslatione. Nā facilis illa vbertas dicēdi vena vocatur/ eo q; suapte natura uerba per eam veniāt/ neq; extorqueātur. Nam in oibus q; profluunt venā dicimus. Aurea aut vena in metallis preciosissima est. Vnde quicquid bellū & pulchrū preciosūq; est aureū vocatur vt aurea venus. aurea coniunx. fici gītur aurea vena. i. ppulchra & p̄q; eleganti vena dicendī. Neq; a natura abhorret locutio. Nam reuera in metallis vena est. Quin et ipsa metalla terræ veng dicunt. Vnde in georgi. de italia. Hęc eadem argenti riuos grīsq; metalla Ostendit venis atq; auro plurima fluxit. Perstat aut docte i metaphora. nam sicut mundius purgatiusq; nihil est q̄ aurea vena: vt qua aurum purgatū fornacibus effluit: ita oblcœni⁹ atq; fetidi⁹ nihil est luto. Grātiter ergo peccant & incite agunt qui auream ingenii venam fordibus obruunt. Benedicit datur: quia quē nobis gratis aut dei aut naturæ be-

Vena
Aureum
Perstat i me-
taphora
Dari
Aa.iii.

8. The 'Tholoze' Pica Roman [R 78] or *Cicéro* (1499)

This 78 mm Pica originated in Paris occurring from 1499 onwards at the press of Tholoze, later at those of Le Noir, Levet, Baligault, Gaspar Philippe (Catalogue BM, 8: 169). In this body size it became the usual Roman of Paris printers (including Henry I Estienne and Badius) for the next four decades of the century. Colines used it until 1526 but other Paris printers put it to use until well in the 1530s. It is the text type of Tory's *Champfleury* (1529) and it appears in a freshly cast fount as late as 1538 at the press of Regnault. It was used by several printers in the Low Countries and in England by Wynkyn de Worde and many other London printers (Johnson, 1936, 72).

In its category and for its time it is a good and well balanced design. Though I do not know by whom, it was probably engraved in Paris. A set of matrices for a 'glaue romyn' mentioned in the estate of Wolfgang Hopyl (1523) may stand for this type (Stein, 1905, 182).

A number of Roman capitals of this face occur in Gourmont's Greek of 1507 coupled to new Greek capitals, which were fittingly cut in the same style as the Roman ones and, probably, by the same punchcutter in Paris. Indirectly this is confirmed by the reports of both Gourmont's editors, François Tissard in 1507 and Girolamo Aleandro in 1508, that the Greek type was locally made (Omont, 1891, 47 and 69; Vervliet, 2002, 7-9).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 78 x 1.7 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1499, Paris, M. Tholoze (F. Beroaldo, *Orationes et carmina*; Brussels, Royal Library, Inc. A 833; Polain, 1: 624; Gesamtkatalog, 4: 4147).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1500, F. Baligault, M. Le Noir, G. Philippe; 1501, A. Bocard; 1502, W. Hopyl & H. I Estienne, G. Marchant; 1503, J. Badius; 1505, A. Aliate; H. I Estienne, J. Marchant; 1506, J. Barbier; 1507, G. de Gourmont, W. Hopyl; 1508, A. Bonnemère; 1510, E. I & J. I & G. de Marnef; 1511, Th. Anguelart, G. Biermant; 1511, B. Rembolt & J. I Petit; 1512, B. Rembolt & L. Hornken; 1513, J. Seurre; 1514, G. & G. Hardouyn; 1515, M. Lesclencher; 1517, P. Vidoue; 1518, C. Chevallon & G. de Gourmont & N. Desprez, N. de La Barre; 1520, J. II Du Pré, S. de Colines; 1522, R. Chaudière & P. Gromors; 1523, N. Savetier; 1524, P. Calvarin, Dauphins couronnés, A. Girault & P. Viart; 1525, J. Boule; 1526, P. Calvarin & T. Charron; 1529, G. Tory; 1531, J. Bignon; 1530, A. Bonnemère; 1533, P. Leber; 1534, P. Gaudoul & N. Buffet; D. Janot; 1538, F. Regnault & P. II Regnault; Rouen: 1510, M. Morin; Ghent: 1513, E. de Vallo; 1514, R. de Keyser; 1521, P. de Keyser; Antwerp: 1519, J. Thibault; M. Hillen van Hoochstraten; London: 1519, R. Pynson; 1528, R. Faques, W. de Worde; 1532, R. Redman; 1544, J. Byddell; more references in Johnson, 1936, 72; Toulouse: 1522, A. Maurin & G. Recolène & J. II Du Pré; Wittenberg: 1524, H. Lufft; Dresden: 1525, H. Emser; 's Hertogenbosch: 1538, G. Hatard; Edinburgh: 1540, Th. Davidson.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with left top serif; steep tail of K; doubly-seriffed top of the M; double left top serif of N; wide Z; tilt-barred lower case e; stroked i.

VARIANT LETTERS Dotted lower case i.

LITERATURE GfT, 2258, 2267; Haebler, 1905, 2: 292-3, nos. 32⁷ and 34¹², 301, no. 2; 3¹: 4, nos. 2, 18, 22, 28; 62, no. 24; 3²: 140, no. 2; Catalogue BM, 8: 169 [R 79] and pl. 23, 207 [R 77] and pl. 29, 223 [R 74] and pl. 31; Claudin, 1900, 2: 193-202, 313-15, 361-2; Johnson, 1928, 63; 1936, 72; 1943, 62; Catach, 1968, 44, n.34; Vervliet, 1968, 64; Amert, 1991, 25 (Philosophie, state 1); Janssen, 1994, 198; Vervliet, 2002a, 279-81, no. 3.

FIGURE 8 The 'Tholoze' Pica [R 78] or *Cicéro* (1499) as it occurs in G. Tory, *Champfleury*, Paris, G. Tory & G. de Gourmont, 1529, f. xii v. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

LE SECOND LIVRE.

Similitude, Francois. Quant ie voy vng Francois escripre en Grec ou en latin. Il me sem-
ble que ie voy vng maillon veru d'habits de Philosophie ou de Roy qui veut re-
citer vne farce sus les chaux de la Baroche, ou en la Confrainie de la Trinité,
& ne peut assez bien pronûcer, comme aiant la lague trop grace, ne ne peut
faire bonne contenance, ne marcher a propos, en tant quil a les pieds & iambes
inufitees a marcher en Philosophie ou en Roy.

Autre Similitude. **Q**ui verroit vng Francois vestu de la robe domestique dun Lombard, la
quelle est pour le plussouât longue & estroicte de toille bleue ou de treil-
lis, ie croy q a paine celluy Frâcois plaifâteroit a son aise sans la dechi-
queter bié tost, & luy offer sa vraye forme de robe Lōbarde qui nest de costume
gueres souuant dechiquetee. car Lombards ne degastent pas souuant leurs bi-
ens a outrage. Ie laisse toute fois cela a la bōne discretion des scauâs, & ne mē-
pefcheray de Grec ne de Latin, que pour alleguer en temps & lieu, ou pour en
parler avec ceulx qui ne scaurōt parler Frâcois, ou si le scauent, quilz ne y voul-
dront parler.

Lettres Attiques font. **XXIII.** **en nôbre**
IE reuiens doncques a mon ppos, & dis que entre noz lettres Attiques, qui
font en nombre vingt & trois, Cest a scavoir. A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L.
M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. V. X. Y. & Z. En ya qui font plus estandues en largeur
que les autres, Car il y en ya qui sont estādues a vnze points qui font dix corps
comme font. A. D. H. K. O. Q. en telle. R. V. X. & Y. & celles font aussi lara-

9. The 'Quentel' Roman Small Pica Roman [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (Cologne, 1499; Paris, 1521)

In Paris I have seen this face only occurring at Vidoue's press from 1521 onwards. I suppose it was imported from Germany. Ostensibly it was part of German typographical, decorative and illustrative materials which, mostly in collaboration with Conrad Resch, Vidoue started to use from the early 1520s onwards. It seems to originate in 1499 at Quentel's press, Cologne. A close copy occurs at Johann Schoeffer's press in Mainz from 1518 onwards (Proctor, 1903, 18 [type 16]; Johnson, 1943, 53).

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 72 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1499, Cologne, H. Quentel, (Albertus Magnus, *De muliere forti*; The Hague, Royal Library, 169 F 4:1; Gesamtkatalog, 1: 699; Catalogue BM 1: 270; IDL, 128).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Strasbourg**: 1500, Joh. Schott; **Lyons**: 1505, J. Sacon; **Vienna**: 1516, H. Vietor; **Turin**: 1519, N. de Benedictis & A. Ranotus; **Paris**: 1521, P. Vidoue for J. I Kerver, J. I Petit, C. Resch (J. Crastonus, *Dictionarium Graecum*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 35 A; Moreau, 3: 68, no. 73); **London**: 1550, E. Whitchurch.

KEY LETTERS Slab-serifed top of capital A; doubly-serifed M with centre above the base line; splayed top serifs of T; wide V; tilt-barred lower case e; angular link of g; stroked i; flat tail of y.

LITERATURE Catalogue BM, 1: 270 and pl. 27 [Quentel R 72]; 1: 167 and pl. 16 [Schott R 72]; Isaac, 1938, 245, no. 14450 and pl. 14 [Vietor R 76]; 122, no. 13924 and pl. 28 [de Benedictis R 73]; Isaac, 1932, fig. 43b; Johnson, 1936, 75; 1943, 53.

FIGURE 9 The 'Quentel' Small Pica [R 72] or *Philosophie* (Cologne, 1499; Paris, Vidoue, 1521) as it appears in J. Lefèvre d'Etaples, *In quoscunque Philosophiae ... Paraphrasis*, Paris, P. Vidoue & F. Regnault, 1525, f. b3. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Ertij cap. scholia. ¶ 4. Quia de illo ente dicitur accedens. Philosophus contra Parmenidem & Melissum logicis agit & metaphysicis principijs, vt se facturum praedixerat. logicu autē proloquū est, accedens de substantia praedicari natum esse. quare si illud vnicū ens Parmenidis est sola substantia: de ipso natū est praedicari aliquod accedēs. Et cum sola sit substantia nullū de ipso poterit accedens dici. De illo igitur ente dicitur accedens: & nō dicitur accedēs. quo nihil absurdus. ¶ Si illud ens sit substantia: non erit magnitudo. Supponit metaphysicus, & substantias esse in hoc mundo sensibili itidem & accidentia, vt quantitates qualitates. neq; substantias sine accidentibus hic natura comperiri. Si itaq; illud vnum ens quod astruit Parmenides, esset sola substantia: tunc nullū esset accedens. quod dictę suppositioni metaphysicę aduersatur. ¶ Si substantia esset, ipsū esset diffinibile. Supponit enim logicus, omnē substantiā diffinibilē esse. si media fuerit & infra supremā, diffinitioni substantiāli & essētiāli. si suprema, descriptione, accidentariaq; finitione. Et q̄ in hac ratione adducūtur deiceps de accidentibus & partibus diffinitionis, tātē si de rebus intelligi possent, incongruū tñ visum nō fuerit, vbi Aristoteles logicis agit rationibus, & ea quoq; ad logicā intelligentiā accommodare. neq; id est quicq; pręter materiā subiectā experere. Itaq; accidentia assunt & absunt pręter subiecti corruptionē, quia vere affirmantur & vere negātur de suo subiecto accepto, p̄ eodē, cū pręsertim separabilia sunt, quibus solis id applicandū est. Diffinitio autē neq; diffinitionis pars vnq̄ abesse potest, quia diffinitio de suo diffinito nunq̄ negari potest, neq; diffinitionis item pars ab ipso diffinito dimoueri. Vt si animal gressibile bipes ponatur hoīs diffinitio: neq; animal de hoīe negari potest, neq; gressibile, neq; bipes. ¶ 16. Et idē esse magnitudinē & nō magnitudinē. Rō Parmenidis probans illud vnum esse indiuisibile, est valida & efficax. quia si diuidi possert continuum, ipsum

b iii

10. The 'Hopyl' English-Bodied Roman [R 99]
or *Saint-augustin* (1508)

Up to 1507 Wolfgang Hopyl's first Roman face in a text size was the popular Bergmann Great Primer, described above in (5). Thereafter and up to the 1520s, as in his Cyrillus editions of 1508, 1514 and 1521 (Moreau, 1: 273, no. 59; 2: 244, nos. 812–13; 3: 69, no. 76), he used this face which appears to have been proprietary to him. The set of matrices for a 'texte romyn' mentioned in his estate (1523) is almost certainly for this type (Stein, 1905, 182).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 99 x 2 : 3,2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 10 January 1508, Paris, W. Hopyl for Th. I Kerver and J. I Petit (Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Opus insigne ... in Evangelium Ioannis*; Liège, University Library, Rés. 773 C:2; Moreau, 1: 258, no. 195).

KEY LETTERS Blunted top of capital A; narrow E, S, T; long-tailed R; tilt-barred lower case e; rounded right stem of h; dotted i; flared tail of y; lozenge-shaped colon and period.

FIGURE 10 (opposite) The 'Hopyl' English-Bodied Roman [R 99] or *Saint-augustin* (1508) as it appears in Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Opus insigne ... in euangelium Ioannis*, Paris, W. Hopyl, 1508, f. a2. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.

2

**REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI ET DOMINO/D.
GEORGIO CARDINALI AMBOSIANO/LEGATO FRANCIE
IN DOCVICLIENTOVEVS MVMILLIMVM OBSEQVIVM.**

Non mediocre prestat hominibus beneficiū / Reipublice ec-
clesiastice princeps eminētissime: qui solē illis cōspicuum
reddit quē ob oculorū imbecillitatē / ualidiorēq; radorū
iactum in suo orbe contueri firma acie haudquāq; possēt:
in subiectis autē corporibus diffusū & multiformē facile
cōspiciātur. maxime ubi quippiā accesserit adiumenti: qđ
nebulas / caliginesq; interceptas dispulerit. Quod ideo dictū uelim: quia
sacra inter eloquia & potissimum euangelia / Ioannes deo imprimis dile-
ctus discipulus solari splendore radiās / de summa Christi diuinitate ce-
teris tanto sublimius locutus est: quanto ceteris syderibus sol rutilanti-
us emicat. Quo factum est ut non ab re deiloquētissimus Dionysius il-
lum euangelii solem nūcupauerit. & Ezechiel in sacra mysteriorum ui-
sione / eundem aquile per similitē describit: quod reliquis altiore uolatu
se se ad celestia sultulerit / irreuerberatoq; & minime trepidatē mentis
obutu illustre celi hauserit iubar. Verum cum non posset hic eximius
diuinitatis fulgor a Ioanne depromptus plane cōprehēdi / ob insignem
sue claritatis eminētiam: beatissimus pater Cyrillus urbis Alexandria-
ne patriarcha / diuine sapientie dux & moderator egregius / nostre fra-
gilitati cōsulens / radios illius multiplices lucida suorum commētariorū
explicatione nudauit / effususq; latius et expāso nobis spectabiles effe-
cit. Quantam uero sincere diuinorum cognitionis lucē omnibus affe-
rat / quotue impietatis hac sua elucidatione tenebras eliminat: cuius le-
gen: in promptu obuiumq; protinus erit. Vt strenuus enim Christi
ueritatisq; miles in Ebionitas / Sabellianos / Arrianos / Eunomianos / Ma-
cedonianos et reliquam patris mendacii cateruam classica concinit / ar-
ma mouet / spicula librat / et instructissimā ducit aciem: sacrarū littera-
rum testimoniis rationibusq; acerrimis lucifugas ipsos et errorum ma-
gistros omnis inuadens / profligans et in fugam agens. Ceterum huic
tanto propugnatori et antesignano mutilum quiddam et mancum in
hac sua militia temporum (ut crediderim) iniuria interuenit: nunq̄ pro-
fecto satis deplorandum. qđ e duodecim primos dumtaxat quattuor

11. The 'Badius' Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1509)

A small-sized Roman, clearly proprietary to Badius, was used from 1509 onwards. The reference by Renouard (1964, 2: 38, no. 41) to an R 64 occurring as early as 1505 in Badius's Plutarchus is probably a misprint for R 77; in all likelihood, this is the type described above in (8). The capitals of the R 67 seem to recall the hand of the Tholoz cutter (8), but it is hazardous to judge on style alone. I have not seen this face used outside the Badius press.

SIZE Long Primer Roman (*Petit-romain*); 20 67 x 1.5 : 2.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 31 May–15 July 1509, Paris, J. Badius for J. I Petit (J. Perez de Valencia, *Centum et quinquaginta psalmi cum expositione*; Munich, University Library, W2 Bibl. 950; Renouard, 1964, 2: 62, no. 106; Moreau, 1: 335, no. 156).

KEY LETTERS Blunted apex of capital A; terminals of C; doubly-seriffed top of the M; wide N; seriffed tail of R; tilt-barred lower case e; stroked i.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 2: 17.

FIGURE 11 The 'Badius' Long Primer [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1509) as it appears in A. Poliziano, *Opera*, Paris, J. Badius, 1519, f. A1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FRANCISCI SYLVII AMBIANATIS IN Primum Epistolarum Virorum Illustrum Commentarij.



Sibyllæ folia prouerbialis est senten-
tia in res ordine cōfusas: quas i or-
dinez pristinū redigere oīno sit dif-
ficillimū. Sibylla em̄ cum aia in pal-
marū folijs vaticinia scribebat: q̄
p̄pe os antri sui ordine digesta relinquebat: hęc
vbi tenuis vētus loco mouerat suo: in ordine
redigere nō curabat amplius: nec humanę po-
tēstatis erat ordinē pristinum eis reddere. Qua
ex re Virgilius libro Aeneidos tertio
Insanā (ingt) vatē aspicias: q̄ rupe sub ima
Fata canit: folijsq; notas, & carmina mandat.
Quæcumq; in folijs descripsit carmina virgo:
Digerit in numerū: atq; antro seclusa relinqt.
Illa manent imota locis: neq; ab ordine cedūt.
Verū eadē verso tenuis quum cardine ventus
Impulit: & teneras turbauit ianua frondes:
Nunq̄ deinde cauo volitantia prandere saxo,
Nec reuocare situs, aut iūgere carmina curat:
Inconsulti abeunt: sedēq; odere Sibyllæ. Hic tñ
de re quapiam aliqua ex parte difficili vsurpāt:
vt apud Plautū in Pseudolo. Has quidem pol
credo: nisi Sibylla legerit: interpretari aliū pos-
se neminē. De sibyllis in cōmentario nostro in
Ausonij Griphū plura scribimus: vbi itē scribi-
mus veteres in palmarū folijs scribere solitos.
eāq; ob rem musas palma coronari. Erasimus
in adagiorū collectaneis puerbiū hoc Sibyllæ
folia dicit vsurpari in rē indubitātā atq; verissi-
mam. Iuuenalis. Credite me vobis folium reci-
tare Sibyllæ. Cum Blattis & Tineis rixari di-
cuntur ea: q̄ negligentia quādā nō v̄sitata neq;
asseruata situ, blattis, tineisq; exeduntur & per-
eunt. Blattas enim & tineas appellamus ver-
miculos eos q̄ libros aut vestes corrodiūt. Mar-
tialis. Cōstrictos mihi das mihi libellos Admit

Sibyllæ
folia.

Cū blattis
& tineis rix-
xari.

12. The 'Le Rouge' Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1513)

In 1513 Le Rouge matched the upright capitals of his 1512 Pica Italic (Vervliet, 2005, no. 2) to a new small lower case Roman, yielding a new type in the size of Long Primer. Ostensibly the type appeared already in 1510 in some copies of a Berosus edition with an imprint of Geoffroy de Marnef (Moreau, 1: 352, no. 27). Such an early date, however, is questionable as this Roman seems only to occur in some copies of that item, which constitute a later augmented edition (Bernard, 1865, 97; unmentioned by Moreau). The same is probably the case for the *Epistole Francisci Nigri*, published by Roce and Le Rouge and dated c.1510 by Monceaux (1896, 402–3).

Le Rouge seems to mention this new Roman type in the colophon of the second volume (f. 04v) of his 1513–14 edition of Dati's *Orationes* (Moreau, 2: nos. 557 and 815); that work is described as being issued in 'Parisius oīa caractere Cesareo excusa ... in officina Guillelmi Le Rouge'. What he meant by that expression is something of a riddle. Obviously Le Rouge wished to call attention to the types and so the term does not simply stand for 'In praelo Cesareo', which was the address of Robert Caesar and Georges Biermant.

If it is a reference to the types, is it a reference to Petrus Caesaris and Russangis, who printed in Paris in the 1470s (Catalogue BM, 8: 9–14; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 222) and were mentioned above in (1)? Petrus Caesaris died in 1509 and was temporarily succeeded in Paris by Robert Caesar or De Keyser, before the latter's move to Ghent in 1513 (Renouard, 1965, 63–4); however, Robert or his associate Georges Biermant never used this type (Renouard, 1964,

3: 508; 1965, 34, 64). Or could it be a reference to Nicolaus or Konrad Caesar, who were printing in Cologne at the end of the 1510s, though none of their types occurred in Paris?

Or was Martinus Caesar, *vulgo* Martin Lempereur or Marten de Keyser, meant, who later printed in Antwerp, being married to a Françoise La Rouge (Vervliet, 1968, 23; Chambers, 1983, 118–19) and owning the decorated capitals of Le Rouge's Great Primer cursive, described below, p. 291. Or was yet another type intended? Le Rouge apparently did not introduce new types before 1512/3 and doubt is allowed whether he himself was a letter engraver. A possible role of Martinus Caesar, who is thought to be a son of Pierre and son-in-law of Le Rouge (Monceaux, 1896, 274; Rouzet, 1975, 113), is conceivable. The problem here is that we do not know what were Martinus's activities between, say, the death of Guillaume Le Rouge (1517) and Martinus's first Antwerp publication (1525). To be sure, he introduced some Paris Romans (33 and 40) and an Italic (Vervliet, 2005, no. 9) in Antwerp.

SIZE Long Primer Roman (*Petit-romain*); 20 67 x 1.5 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 26 January 1513, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce (P. de Ponte, *Incomparanda Genouefeum*; Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, 564a; Moreau, 2: 215, no. 696).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1519, N. de La Barre; 1520, B. Aubry & N. Desprez, P. Gaudoul & N. Desprez, J. I de Gourmont; 1524, A. Girault & N. Crespin & M. de La Porte & N. Savetier; 1526, N. Savetier for J. Olivier.

KEY LETTERS Oversized capital C; narrow H; doubly-seriffed M; N with right hand bottom serif; tilt-barred lower case e; stroked i; small tail of g.

FIGURE 12 The 'Le Rouge' Long Primer [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1513) as it occurs in P. de Ponte, *Incomparanda Genouefeum*, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce, 1513, f. A2v. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

EPISTOLA

FRATER Stephanus de nouant cantor dñe Genoues
fes Parrhyssi Petro de ponte Ceco Brugenfi uiro impri-
mis eruditissimo in quo est omnis salus. S.



Voniam egregia uirginis francigene pconia clarissime uates (infigne posteris monumentum) altrocudere dignatus es: cordis mei delicias tuæ deuotionis studium ammiratus expleui. Quod enim in te claritatis natum est: de spiritus sancto est. Si quidem (ne multis moliar) ingeni tui splendore necnon solerti industria noua & gesta p̄ciosa huius lampadis in aures extulisti populares: quippe qui noueras longa temporis intercapedine tantum thesaurum spurca latuisse cloaca. Cæterum ne creditam sarcinam leuiori quæ equum sit uestigio transcurreres antiquiora quæ sepultis codicibus facinora iugi sunt excerpta labore in apricum esse exaranda censuisti. Plurimi namque rhetoricæ & omne scibile callentes: heroyca antiquorum patrum scripta diuino stillo locuti ad aliquid iam texuerunt: uerum super hæc interpres qui metro uirginis actus palas absolueret (te saluor) nusquam inuentus est. Recentioribus etenim sæculis tuæ carnis ergastulum in uirga disciplinæ rerum opifex (quo frui uita eterna est) molestias passus coercuit. Proch dolor. Quid admisisti criminis. Cuium unitatem lesisti. In edictum principis grassatus es. Minime. sed ut te denuo per francorum patronam refarciret. Nec essarius est itaque aduocatus in causa i

13. The 'Ruel' Great Primer Roman [R 117] or *Gros-romain* (1516)

This is a peculiar Roman, to the best of my knowledge appearing only in four publications, one by Henry I Estienne (1516), one by Guillaume Le Rouge (1517), two by Didier Maheu (1519). All four titles share a medical subject: Dioscorides (1516) and three Galenus editions (1517–19). The Dioscorides was translated and edited by Jean Ruel (or Du Rueil); two of the Galenus editions were translated and edited by Thomas Linacre (Moreau, 2: nos. 1334, 1615, 2060–1). They are part of the Paris mid-1510s effort to surpass Venice in the field of medical publishing (Durling, 1961, 252). Instrumental were the physicians Cop, Ruel, Linacre and the humanists Budé and Lupset. The latter happened to stay in Paris during those years; with Budé he supervised the printing of Linacre's 1517 Galenus translation (Maddison, 1977, xxxvi, n.24). Moreover Budé wrote a prefatory letter for Linacre's edition of Galenus's 1519 *De sanitate tuenda*. Linacre on his part had visited Paris in 1514 as the physician of Mary Tudor during the few months she was compelled to be the bride of a moribund Louis XII (d.1515).

The forthcoming publication of the 1516 Dioscorides was announced in a letter from Badius to Erasmus of 19 August 1515: 'Budaeus opus de Asse relambit. A Ruella Dioscoriden impressioni aptat' (Allen, 2: 125, no.346¹¹).²⁰ The actual printing of the Dioscorides was not entrusted to Badius, but to Henry I Estienne, possibly because the latter had a better record in medical publishing. It was Estienne's sole work set in this type.

In 1517 the face reappeared at the press of Le Rouge (with an imprint of the Marnefs) in Linacre's translation of Galenus's *De sanitate tuenda* (Moreau, 2: 430, no. 1615). Clearly, the move to a new press was friendly, as Le Rouge was allowed to use Estienne's latest title-border 'aux armes de Paris', albeit with appropriately changed typeset words inserted into the woodcut. Estienne had three title-borders with the arms of Paris, datable to 1506, 1509 and 1513/14 onwards (reproduced by Mortimer, 1964, 2: nos. 217, 329, 322). The title-border was returned and used again at Estienne's press from 1518 onwards (Moreau, 2: nos. 1824, 1961). This is the sole use of the title-border and this Roman by Le Rouge, but he had access to a new Greek, ostensibly cut by the same engraver.

After Le Rouge's death in 1517, the fount was passed on to Maheu for the two last works known to have been printed in this face, viz. Galenus's *De differentiis februm* and *Methodus medendi* (1519). The last title was edited by Linacre (Moreau, 2: 530, nos. 2060–1).

Hereafter the fount disappears. Anyhow it was not listed in Maheu's inventory of 1520 (Coyecque, 1894, 204) and no further occurrences are known: no doubt, an indication that it was not in the hands of a professional printer or publisher. I am tempted to think that the type was engraved on behalf of one of the two French humanists involved in this publication program. Budé participated in at least three of the four publications and it could be envisaged that he was the driving force in this scheme. On the other hand, Ruel should not be ruled out because of the *materia medica* which, apart from this new fount, is the common element in the four titles.

Jean Ruel (d.1537), then professor of medicine at the Paris Faculty of Medicine and later physician to Francis I (Jourdan, 1918, 175–7; Delaruelle, 1922, 55–6; Deronne, 1971, 16; Wickersheimer, 1979, 1: 395–6) was a renowned scholar honoured by his humanist colleagues for his knowledge of the ancient Greek medical literature. Later Erasmus (1969, 1²: 675) was to cite him in his *Ciceronianus* as 'peritissimus rei medicae in vertendis Graecis religiosae fidei'.²¹

Clearly Ruel had a taste for fine books: his *Veterinariae medicinae libri II* (1530) and *De natura stirpium* (1536), both dedicated to Francis I, are among the finest produced by the Blaubbloom and Colines presses (Mortimer, 1964, 581–3, nos. 470–1), while three copies now in the British Library of the 1517–9 Galenuses printed in this face are preserved in Renaissance bookbindings. They were offered by Linacre to Henry VIII and Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. They belong to a group of early gold-tooled bindings and are thought to originate from the first Renaissance bookbinders shop in Paris (Nixon, 1956, 34; 1971, 9–12; Guignard, 1966, 238; Barber, 2000, 58). No doubt, Linacre and Lupset when in Paris were allowed into the inner circle of Budé and Ruel (Delaruelle, 1907, 27, n.3).²²

It is unclear to me why Ruel, if he rather than Budé was patronizing this novel type, had this type engraved and did not use the Bergmann Great Primer Roman described above in (5) that was Estienne's usual face in this size. Budé seems to have been less exacting: for his own publications he was happy with the old founts currently available at Badius's press, which was and stayed his preferred publishing firm. If my hypothesis of a patronage by Ruel is right, it may constitute one of the earliest involvements of a scholar in the creation of a private type, echoing the venture of Guillaume Fichet and Johann Heynlin in Paris of the 1470s.

Mainly because the time frame is right, Amert (2001, 24) has suggested that this face may be an early work of

20. 'Budé is refurbishing his *De Asse*. He arranges the Dioscorides by Ruel to be printed'.

21. 'A great medical expert, very scrupulous in his Greek translations'.

22. I am indebted to Mrs. Mirjam Foot for checking the bookbinding of the British Library copies of the 1516 Dioscorides and the 1519 *De differentiis februm*, but these are in eighteenth-century bindings.

a novice Simon de Colines. Three points seem to contradict this hypothesis. The first is the incongruity of the letterforms with those we can observe in the other early work arguably of Colines. Second, the reappearances of the fount at other presses—a practice which Colines avoided. Third, the type does not appear in any of the later imprints of Henry I Estienne or Simon de Colines (Vervliet, 2002a, 274). Some letterforms, as the capital N and the lower case g, recall those of the Le Rouge Long Primer, described above in (8), and this type may have the same origin.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 117 x 2.5 : 4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 24 April 1516, Paris, Henry I Estienne (*Dioscorides, De medicali materia*; Copenhagen, Royal Library, 16,–146/2°; Renouard, 1843, 18, no. 7; Moreau, 2: 366, no. 1334).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1517, G. Le Rouge; 1519, D. Maheu.

KEY LETTERS Singly-seriffed capital M; N with right hand bottom serif; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i; two periods.

LITERATURE Amert, 2001; Vervliet, 2002, 274; Vervliet, 2003a, 120.

FIGURE 13 The 'Ruel' Great Primer [R 117] or *Gros-romain* (1516) as it appears in Galenus, *De sanitate tuenda*, Paris, G. Le Rouge, 1517, f. 76. Courtesy of the University Library, Utrecht.

LIBER SEXTVS

FO.LXXVI.

Ac succus malorum cum aceto & melle, tantum ad præscriptam crassitudinem coctus dari. Qui vero medio temperamento ventres habent: ita vt nec biliosum excrementum, nec pituitosum congerant: his piperis & Gingiberis dimidiũ eius qui prædictus est modi, sat erit. Ita nimirum, vt sit piperis vncia vna, Gingiberis vna & semis. At quibus frigiditas temperiem viciat: his quatuor Gingiberis, piperis tris, aut duas & semis vncias iniicies. licebit & cum ad medium modum præparaueris: in ipso vsu piper addere. At quæ ad hunc modum, iis quibus in diuersis mēbris pugnancia tēperamēta sūt, consulēdum censemus.

Quib⁹
vero in
vna q̃

libet simulari iñstrumētali ve parte imparitas temperamenti vñsitur: de iis alio opere agetur.

τελος θεωχαις.

Impressum Parisiis per honestum virum
Guilielmum Rubeum Typographum. Anno
nostre reparationis. M.D.xvij.vndecimo ca-
lendas Septembris.

14. The 'Cervicornus' English-Bodied Roman
[R 88] or *Saint-augustin* (Cologne, 1517;
Paris, 1522)

This face is the third in a family of English-sized Romans whose letterforms point to a common source. As a family it appears at German presses, including Strasburg and Basle, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, afterwards spreading all over Europe. It deserves more research to ascertain whether the three founts came from different sets of punches or originated from one set with only some sorts replaced.

The youngest version of this letter family dates from 1517; its spot letter is the capital M, with a centre down to the base line. The typeface was probably cut by Peter II Schoeffer, in whose publications the earlier versions appear, while the third version appears at the press of Thomas Platter, whose autobiography reports him buying types from Schoeffer.

In Paris, it has only been seen at the press of Pierre Vidoue, who was using it well into the 1540s. Nevertheless it is tempting to assume that it was part of a new wave of imported German types which comprised not only Romans but also Italic and Greek typefaces and occurred in the early 1520s (Vervliet, 2002, 10–12; 2005, fig. 15d). Conrad Resch is cited as the broker with access to Basle types, borders, initials (Johnson, 1927, 355–6; Bietenholz, 1971, 33–4).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 88 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 10 March 1517, Cologne, E. Cervicornus (A. Manutius, *Ex Aldo Manutio, De literis Graecis ac diphthongis, & quemadmodum ad nos veniant. Item, Abbreuiationes perpulchrae scitu, quibus...*; Cologne, University Library, ADs 668).

EARLY APPEARANCES Augsburg: 1518, S. Grimm & M. Wirsung; Cologne: 1518, J. Gymnicus; 1519, H. von Neuss, J. Soter; 1521, K. Caesar; Antwerp: 1519, M. Hillen; 1522, A. van Bergen; 1536, G. II Spyridipoeus; 1538, M. Caesar; 1540, A. Goinus, G. Montanus; Deventer: 1519, A. Pafraet; 1523, W. Züseler; 1540, Th. de Borne; Zwolle: 1520, S. Corver; Paris: 1522, P. Vidoue for C. Resch (J. Lopez Zuniga, *Annotationes ... contra D. Erasmus*; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, Th 4° 645; Moreau, 3: 139, no. 345); 1528, G. de Gourmont & P. Vidoue; 1529, G. Du Pré & P. Vidoue; Nuremberg: 1523, F. Peypus; 1525, J. Petreius; Bruges: 1531, H. de Croock; Louvain: 1531, R. Rescius; Basle: 1532, A. Cratander; 1534, H. Froben & N. Episcopus; 1537, B. Lasius & Th. Platter; 1543, M. Isengrin; 1545, N. Brylinger; 1551, H. Petri; Marburg: 1532, F. Rhode; Hagenau: 1533, V. Kobian; Lyons: 1533, S. Gryphius; 1539, M. Bonhomme; Nijmegen: 1536, P. Elsenius; London: 1537, Th. Berthelet; 1543, R. Wolfe; 1545, Th. Raynalde; 1548, J. Day, H. Singleton; 1551, R. Grafton; 1555, Th. Gemini; 1557, Th. Marshe; Augsburg: 1538, H. Steiner; 's Hertogenbosch: 1540, G. Hatard.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1525, Nuremberg, J. Petreius, [*Specimen*, inc.: M.D.XXV.] 'Prae omnibus...' (Mori, 1924, pl. 9).

KEY LETTERS Slab-serifed top of capital A; M with centre down to the base line; bold-tailed R; splayed top serifs of T; tilt-barred lower case e; angular link of g; serifed tail of y; thin diagonal of z.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1903, 68 [type 1]; Johnson, 1936, 74 s.v. Berthelet 90a; Johnson, 1943, 51, s.v. Normal M.

FIGURE 14 The 'Cervicornus' English-Bodied Roman [R 88] or *Saint-augustin* (Cologne, 1517; Paris, 1522) as it appears in J. Lopez de Zuniga, *Annotationes contra Iacobum Fabrum*, Paris, P. Vidoue for C. Resch, 1522, f. dd6. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

EX CAP. XIII.

Vulgata editio. Sint mores sine avaritia. Interpres Pauli ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ θεός, Faber. Sit sine avaritia modus.

Stunica. θεός, praeter modum, more quoque significat. ps. lxxv. Deus inhabitare facit vnius moris in domo. ὁ θεός κατοικίζει μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ἐν οἴκῳ. Inde verbum θεοφορεῖ quod est alienos mores peti. Actuum. xiiij. Et per quadraginta annorum tempus mores eorum sustinuit in deserto καὶ ὡς περ ἀράκων ἡ ἀετὶς ἡρόνο μὲν ἐποφύεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν πέρῃ μω,

Lutecia apud P. Vidouæum, Sumptibus
Conradi Resch. Mense Iulij.

M. D. XXII.

15. Colines's Roman Titling
on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain (1518)

This titling is attributed to Colines because it appeared first at the press of Henri I Estienne and thereafter at that of Colines. It was probably Colines's first typeface (Vervliet, 2003a). With the 1519 Desprez titling (16) on the same size it is an answer to a well-designed and popular 8.2 mm Roman titling, appearing in 1517 at the Froben press in Basle and probably cut by Peter II Schoeffer. The Colines type has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 123).

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain*); : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 2 September 1518, Paris, H. I Estienne & R. Chaudière (J. Tixier, *Specimen epithetorum*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 190; Moreau, 2: 507, no. 1961).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1520, S. de Colines; 1522, D. Higman.

KEY LETTERS Capital E with long lower arm; blunt serifs of N; large bowl of P; slanted S; both top serifs of T slanting to the right.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002a, 287–8, fig. 6a–b; 2003a, 123.

FIGURE 15a Colines's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1518) as it appears on the title-page of the second volume of J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15b Colines's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1518) assembled from J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

BCDEFGHIL
MNOPQRSTVX

TOMVS SECVNDVS

16. The 'Desprez' Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1519)

As the Colines titling described above (15), this face is a hopelessly rough imitation of a Basle type, a painful illustration of Parisian backwardness in this time compared to Italy or Basle. The Basle design appeared at Froben's press in 1517, became very popular, and was on sale until well in the eighteenth century. It was the first in a coherent family of four typesizes. From 1518 onwards titlings on 14.5, 6 and 4 mm were to follow. It is generally (and plausibly) attributed to Peter II Schoeffer (Carter, 1969, 110–11).

The first occurrence of the Paris type is in the 1519 Nonius Marcellus. That publication is attributed by Moreau (2: 553, no. 2160) to the press of Nicolas Desprez because of the use of one of his title-borders. Earlier occurrences of this face such as in Jean II de Marnef's *Du Coste* of c.1518 (Moreau, 2: 473, no. 1808) are dated tentatively.

In the 1520s the Paris imitation was widely adopted by most Paris printers though not by the Estienne-Colines group, which continued to make use of their own Colines titling (15) on this size, nor by Wechel who began using the genuine Basle titling from 1530 onwards. Afterwards the qualitatively superior Basle titling drove out the imitations, not only in Paris but throughout Europe. It remained on the market into well in the eighteenth century (Mori, 1924, pl. 5, line 5, with some divergent sorts).

Another titling on the same size, much better designed than the Desprez one, appears on the title-page of Petit's 1518/9 *Athanasius*. As its printer or printers Badius or Aussourd have been suggested (Moreau, 2: 512, no. 1982; Renouard, 1964, 2: 171, no. 396). Apparently two printshops were involved, none of which used types of Badius's assortment. Its first title-line is a well-designed titling which shows a good understanding of the Roman classical

capital. Some three years before Tory's return from Rome this comes as a surprise. However, small differences in a couple of letters occurring more than once may induce one to think that the title-line was woodcut. Anyhow, so far as I know, the design was afterwards not used again. It is difficult to be firm about its designer or woodcutter but Jean Vatel is certainly among the candidates. In his later publications elegant open and wholly unadorned Roman and Greeks inscriptional capitals appear – the earliest in Paris to have such ones. Vatel may also have had a hand in the pseudo-Basle capitals – probably again woodcut – appearing on the title-page of the 1522 Vacet edition by La Barre and Vatel (Moreau, 3: no. 407). For another woodcut title, see below (36).

SIZE Two-line English (*Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*); : 8.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 20 January 1518 [=1519], Paris, [N. Desprez for] J. I Petit and E. I and J. II de Marnef (Nonius Marcellus, *Ad filium*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 74; Moreau, 2: 553, no. 2160).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1519, N. de La Barre, D. Maheu, P. Vidoue; 1520, J. Badius, C. Chevallon, N. Desprez & G. Desplains & G. de Gourmont & E. I & J. II de Marnef & F. Regnault, J. II Du Pré & J. Granjon, D. Higman, M. Lesclencher; 1521, N. Desprez & B. Aubry, P. Gromors; 1523, C. Chevallon, P. Gromors & N. Crespín; 1524, P. Calvarin; 1527, A. Bocard & J. I Petit; 1530, N. Savetier; Ghent: 1521, P. de Keyser; Deventer: 1522, W. Züseler; Alcalá: 1533, M. de Eguía.

KEY LETTERS Skew bar of capital A; short upper arm of G; singly-eared M; short tail of R.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 1968, 234 [R 9]; Shaw, 1981, 332, n.9.

FIGURE 16a The 'Desprez' Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1519) as it appears on the title-page of Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Troie*, Paris, N. Desprez for P. Gaudoul, 1520. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 16b (opposite) The Schoeffer Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1517) as it appears on the title-page of *T. Livius Patavinus historicus dvobus libris avctvs*, Mainz, J. Schoeffer, 1518. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

DARES PHRI
GIVSDE EX
CIDIO
TRO
IE.

✚ T. LIVIVS PA
TAVINVS HISTO
RICVS. DVOBVS
LIBRIS AVCTVS
CVM L. FLORI
EPITOME. INDI
CE COPIOSO. ET
ANNOTATIS IN
LIBROS VII. BEL
LI MACED.

CVM PRIVILEGIO DECENNII.

17. Colines's First English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1519)

This type is a close copy on reduced body of the Bergmann Great Primer (5) used regularly by Henry I Estienne. It exists in three states, the later ones being introduced in 1520 and 1522. The Colines type has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 124–5).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 4 August 1519, Paris, H. I Estienne (J. Clichtove, *De vita et moribus sacerdotum*; Leuven, University Library, Theo. P 279.106.4/Q*; Moreau, 2: 521, no. 2019).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1520, S. de Colines.

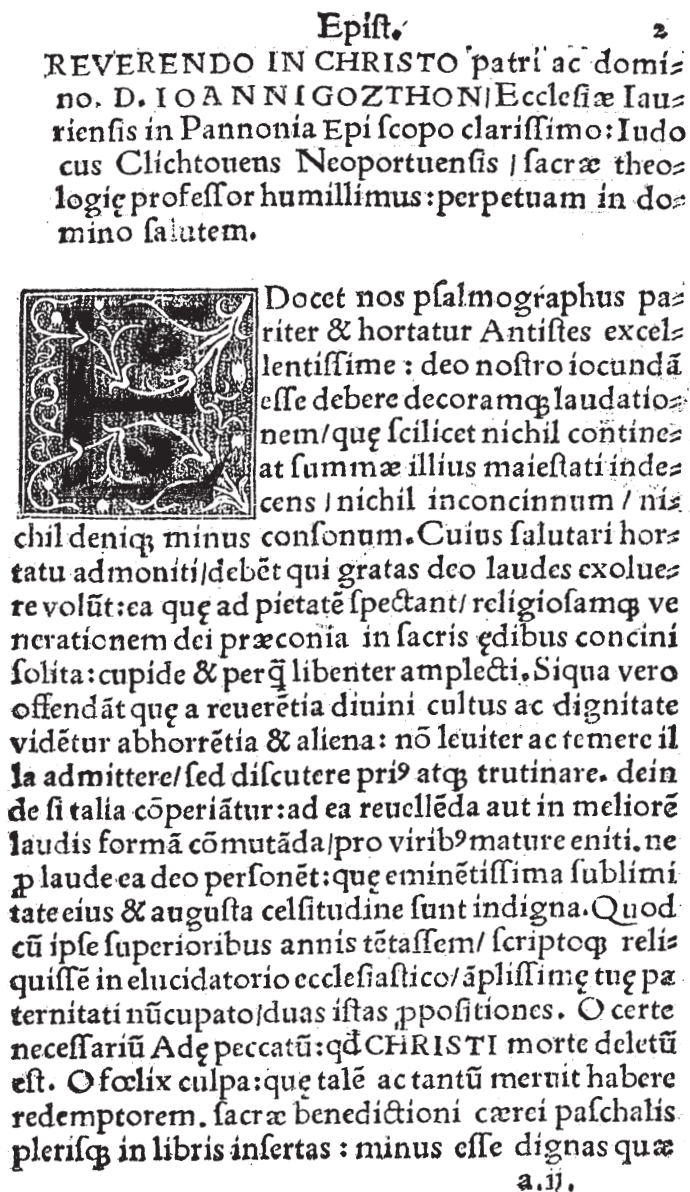
KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; high-stemmed G; M and N with double upper serifs; splayed M with centre above the

base-line; angular link of lower case g. Lozenge-shaped colon and period. Small capitals, perhaps the capitals of the first Small Pica, described in (24) much like those of the Tholoze 1499 Pica Roman (8), but a bit smaller (2.4 vs 2.6 mm). Capital K and lower case k are lacking.

VARIANT LETTERS At various times but beginning at the end of 1520 some sorts were recut, thus a lower case g with rounded link and small upper bowl. In 1522, the capitals E (long lower arm), M (centre descending to base-line), N (single left top serif) and R (small bowl) were recut.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002a, 288–90, fig. 7; 2003a, 124–5.

FIGURE 17 (below) Colines's English-Bodied roman or *Saint-Augustin* (1519) as it appears in J. Clichtove, *De necessitate peccatae Adae*, Paris, Henry I Estienne, 1519, f. a2. The small capital Z in the 3rd line is a foul sort. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.



18. The 'Lotter' Long Primer Roman [R 66]
or *Petit-romain* (Leipzig, 1519; Paris, 1526)

This Long Primer appears from 1526 onwards in a limited number of Parisian imprints, which Moreau assigns to the press of Gromors. Only the 1527 Cato (Moreau, 3: 390, no. 1400) shows Gromors's name, albeit as a bookseller. Anyhow, this type smells of some foreign, presumably German, origin. Earlier German Romans in this size date from the end of the fifteenth century, e.g. at the presses of Froben, Quentel or Cervicornus; they are similar, not identical. But the 1519 Lotter Roman as well as later German types in this class seem identical to the Paris face, except for some odd sorts (such as the pointed capital A) which the Paris printer mixed into his case.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 66 x 1.5 : 2.3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1519, Leipzig, M. I Lotter (M. Luther, *Resolutio super propositione decima tertia*; Leipzig, University Library, Pred. 264f/5; Proctor, 1903, 128, no. 11383; VD 16, 12: L-5781).

EARLY APPEARANCES Wittenberg: 1522, M. II Lotter; Antwerp: 1526, M. Hillen van Hoochstraten; 1534, S. Cock, J. Grapheus; 1540, A. Dumaëus; Paris: 1 September 1526, [P. Gromors & N. Savetier] (A. Manutius, *Institutionum grammaticarum libri quatuor*; Copenhagen, Royal Library, 166,-867; Moreau, 3: 304, no. 1050); 1527, R. Chaudière & G. Le Bret; 1529, A. Bonnemère [& P. Gromors]; Lyons: 1527, S. Gryphius; Cologne: 1528, E. Cervicornus.

KEY LETTERS Slab-serifed capital A; serifed C; overhanging top terminal of G; doubly-serifed M; long-tailed R; splayed top serifs of T; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i; large v; ampersand leaning to the right.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1903, 125 [Type 18]; Johnson, 1943, 62.

FIGURE 18 The 'Lotter' Long Primer [R 66] or *Petit-romain* (Leipzig, 1519; Paris, Gromors & Savetier, 1526) as it appears in Erasmus, *Opus de conscribendis epistolis*, Paris, [P. Gromors &] G. Le Bret, 1527, f. a2v. The capital A is a wrong sort. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

D. ERASMVVS
ROTERODAMVS, DE RA-
TIOE CONSCRIBEN-
DI EPISTOLAS.
QVIS EPISTOLAE CHA-
RACTER.



VI IN EPISTOLIS
vnum aliquem characterē vel
requirunt, vel præscribunt: id,
quod ab eruditioribus: etiā qui
busdam video factū: n̄ mihi ni-
mirum de re tam multiplici, pro
peç in infinitū varia, nimis an-
guste atq; arcte videntur age-
re. Neq; fane ita multo minus absurde facere eos e-
xistimo, quā si sutor oī pedī ad eādē formā crepidā
velit consuere, aut si pictor quoduis animal n̄sdē li-
niamētis, n̄sdemq; coloribus conetur effingere, aut
farcinator cōsimilem vestē pumilioni ac giganti tri-
buere studeat. Negant epistolam ferendam esse, ni-
si quæ intra exilem dicendi figuram sese contineat:
nisi quæ illaborata dissolutaq; fluat, & omnibus cō-
tentionis neruis careat: nisi quæ vulgo mutuatis ver-
bis contexta, nisi denique quæ breuitate ipsa episto-
læ nomen mereatur, potius quam voluminis. Hanc
formam si quis suo quodam instituto sequi maluit,
vt sępenumero pro ingeniorum varietate, aliud scri-
bendi genus, alij magis arridet, cum hoc equidem
non admodum pugnabo. Sit enim per me suum cui-
q; pulchrū. Verū si eā nobis ita præscribit vt vel solā

19. The 'Du Pré' Great Primer Roman [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1520)

This uncouth imitation of the Bergmann Great Primer (5) has only been seen at the press of Jean II Du Pré in 1520. In style it is reminiscent of the Romans made by the Le Rouge-Desprez typefoundry.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 110 x 2.5 : 4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1520, Paris, J. II Du Pré for J. Granjon (F. Licheto, *In Io. Duns Sco...Commentaria*; The Hague, Royal Library, 226 B 16; Moreau, 2: 68, no. 2398).

KEY LETTERS Capital C with flawed serifs; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i; g with protruding link and flattened lower bowl.

FIGURE 19 The 'Du Pré' Great Primer [R 110] or *Gros-romain* (1520) as it appears in lines 2–5 of the title-page of P. Bertrand, *Tractatus de origine iurisdictionum*, Paris, J. II Du Pré for R. Chaudière, c.1520. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.

Petri bertrandi Cardinalis Eduen=
fis De origine Iurisdictionum: seu de
duabus Potestatibus temporali sci=
licet ac spirituali.

20. The 'Desprez' English-Bodied Roman [R 91]
or *Saint-augustin* (1520)

Among the new types starting to appear in Paris in the early 1520s, a decently designed Roman on English, approaches the quality of the contemporary one by Colines (17). It most probably originates from the workshop Le Rouge-Desprez, attesting to the advances made in the preceding few years.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 91 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 15 May 1520, Paris, N. Desprez (P. de Ponte, *Apologie* (Ghent, University Library, BL 6513(5); Moreau, 2: 622, no. 2460).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: c.1519, N. de La Barre; 1520, P. Gaudoul & N. Desprez; 1524, A. Girault & N. Crespin & M. de La Porte & N. Savetier; 1526, N. Savetier for J. Olivier.

KEY LETTERS Wide capitals A, H, V; narrow E, N, S; spurred and splayed top serifs of T; tilt-barred lower case e; small top bowl of g; dotted i.

FIGURE 20 The 'Desprez' English-Bodied Roman [R 91] or *Saint-augustin* (1520) as it appears in P. de Ponte, *Apologiae ... in literoedones*, N. Desprez for B. Aubry, 1520, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

¶ Eiusdem tapinosis ad perspicacissimū in vtroq;
iure doctorem: & de latino sermone oratorem opti
meritum Petrum corderium.

Petre decoris apex/tipico corderius orsu
Dicere/nil præter cor tibi sanguis alit:
Fare/tace/vigila/dormi/bibe/mande/fer/arta
Perge/sede/recuba:nil nisi corda citas.
Vnde fit vt merito passim venereris honore:
Magnum oratorem magna trophæa decent.
Ceupede sermonem stringas/ceu rhetora torrens
Examples/proprium dant tibi cuncta decus.
Nec mirum in te vno generosa scientia plenum
Emporium cumulat: panarethumq; facit,
Simeagræcis arderent tempora flammis
Ex te præsidium(non aliunde) rogem.
Vel mea si placidos tentarent orale pores:
Sæpe vocata mihi iam tua dextra foret.

21. The 'La Barre' Pica Roman [R 85]
or *Cicéro* (1520)

About 1519 or 1520 several new typefaces began to surface in La Barre printings, one of them in Cicero's *Oratio pro lege Manilia*, dated 1519 by Moreau (2: no. 2015) but which may be from 1520. This work was edited by Jean Vatel, who lived at La Barre's premises, no doubt acting as an editor. He was perhaps involved in the type design, the level-barred lower case e departing from the then usual design. Other sorts, however, remain traditionally designed. The typeface may been cut by the engraver working in Le Rouge's shop. I have seen this face only in La

Barre imprints. In 1522 he had another face on the same size, described below in (25).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 85 x 1.8 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1519/20, Paris, N. de La Barre & N. Crespin (*Cicero, Oratio pro lege Manilia*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire et municipale, I-570; Moreau, 2: 520, no. 2015).

KEY LETTERS Doubly-seriffed capital M; horizontally-barred lower case e; stroked i.

FIGURE 21 The 'La Barre' Pica [R 85] or *Cicéro* (1519/1520) as it appears in Cicero, *Oratio pro lege Manilia*, Paris, N. de La Barre for N. Crespin, 1519, f. arv. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.

Epístola.

annes Vatellus Iacobo
Tufano suo
S.



MAREBAM amicis quibusdam nris morem, mi Iacobe, qui superioribus his diebus transcribendos mihi, ac recognoscendos clarissimorum duorum rhetorum Vincentinorum / Hieronymi Calui, & Antonii Lufchi commentarios in orationem Ciceronis pro lege Manilia commiserant, idque nauans fideliter, ut poteram, dum pro tenui nostra cruditione / deservitos quosdam, atque inditos locos / praesertim historiarum / reperissem: qui lectorem remorari ipsum posse vel prouectum / videbantur, has etiam obiter partes mihi assumere sum ipse auctor, ut praeter ea, quae tradebant viri illi doctissimi, & ego aliquid adicerem, quod nec certe statueram, quando coepi. Sic animi impingendo illexit cognatus labor, & praestandae utilitatis iuuenibus (si qua in me esse posset) cupiditas. Qua in re si id esse consecutus, quod volebam, si tantum dedissem operae, & licuisset per otium, quantum oportuit, erat literarum ille splendor Ludouicus Ruseus / ciuilis apud Parrhasios super me ritissimus / donandus mihi hoc munere. non tam quod Mecoenas tuus sit, cui tua etiam causa / hoc debui, qui ambo amicitiae iure vnum sumus, quod quod perspecta semel viri illius indoles, dum te inuiderem, fidem eorum nobis fecit, quae de tanti hominis fama in ore erant omni populo. Insuper / vegetus ille, ac vere splendidus suae ingenuitatis magnes / ferrum meae ignoratio nis ita attrahebat, ut honestatis pene oblitus, atque modestiae non haberem offerendi illi huius muneris incoditi / ratione. Vetus tamen, animumque repressit timor. & quod conspectu illius, atque auribus indignum credidi (de meo loquor, quod do

22. The 'La Barre' Long Primer Roman [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1520)

At La Barre's press, I have only seen this Long Primer in three printings usually dated 1519, viz. Cicero's *Oratio pro lege Manilia*, dated 1519 by Moreau (id., 2: no. 2015) but which may be from 1520, Andrelini's *Hecatodistichon*, datable after 15 July 1519 (id., 2: no. 1973), and Erasmus's *Christiani hominis institutum*, of c. 1519 (2: no. 2025). The later date of 1520 may be more likely, as La Barre used the Le Rouge Long Primer (12) up to 1519. In 1520 La Barre used the new type in Pico's *Epistole* (id., 2: no. 2451).

The type reappears in the early 1520s at the Vidoue press (id. 3: no. 354). It is also used from 1524 onwards in several publications of Ambroise Girault, attributed by Moreau (3: nos. 731, 734, 1571, 1890, 1892) to the press of Prigent Calvarin. However, this face is quite different from the Bourgeois [R 62] which Moreau (3: no. 1305) credits to Calvarin. See below (38).

The 1519/20 La Barre imprints were edited by Jean Vatel, who was living at La Barre's house and in a foreword to Angeriano's *Erotopaigion* (Moreau, 3: no. 12) was de-

scribed as 'sororius meus' by an Alanus a Barra. Vatel may have been involved in the design of this type, while the cutting may have been done by the same engraver as mentioned above in the paragraph on Le Rouge's Long Primer (12). It may as well be noted that the La Barre publications display also the Bergmann Great Primer with the variant sorts (5). The relation between the Le Rouge and La Barre Long Primers deserves closer inspection, as well as the occurrence of some odd sorts of these types in the books of a publisher such as Gromors (Moreau, 3: 1900).

SIZE Long Primer Roman (*Petit-romain*); 20 65 x 1.5 : 2.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 25 March 1519/1520, Paris, N. de La Barre & N. Crespin (Cicero, *Oratio pro lege Manilia*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire et municipale, I-570; Moreau, 2: 520, no. 2015).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1522, C. Resch & P. Vidoue; 1524, A. Girault & P. Viart.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; small G; singly-seriffed M; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i.

FIGURE 22 The 'La Barre' Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1519/1520) as it appears in P. de Ponte, *Ars versificatoria*, Paris, A. Girault, 1529, f. av. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

¶ Petrus Pontanus Cæcus Brugensis studioſe Palemonij laboris Iuuentutí.



MIrari ac sciscitari iam studioſa Iu-
uentus audio: quidam a triviali ſcriber. tium cō
ſuetudine nos depulerit. Alij ſiquidem ferme
quotquot videre eſt ſibi ex magnatib⁹ quēpiā
oportune ſeligunt, cuius nō mini ac magnificē-
tię, quas excuderint operas grauiter dedecent.
Tum quia magni atq; opulenti viri appellatio-
ne ſua monumenta feliciter arbitrantur illuſtra-
ri. Tum quia ex illorum ad quos ſcribunt gra-
tuita dapſilitate haud parum indipiſcuntur emolumēti. Ipſe vero tanq;
ad parietes aut vita fundos verba faciens: ignotis, inauditiſq; tam conſu-
ſim tanq; promiſcue ſcribā: vt quibus omnīū potiffime ſermociner fun-
ditus ignoretur. Ergo ne teneā vanis ambagibus aures. Si vacat & placē-
dī rationē admittis edam. In primis Cētones farcire neſcio: proinde mo-
lium auricularum pruriginem paraſitica verborū adulatione ſcurriliter
titillare floccipendo. Nihil quippe eſt, quod honeſtiſſimum quemq; anī-
mum ſcurrili aſſentatione magis dedecet. Ea tamen ſola eſt quæ regibus
alijsq; magnatibus, ac opulentis placere cōmperitur. Vnde fit vt nullum
proſus mecenate laboris habeam, præter ſolum in quo tota ſpes mea
recumbit, I E S V M C H R I S T V M, quod neq; ſegnicię, neque igna-
uitæ, mihi iure aſcribendū puto. Tot enim & tantis laboribus implico-
r, vt iam viceſimū vel eo cireiter annū pariſijs cōmuni Lyceo profitear:
& ita certe profitear: vt ſex mihi horas quotidiana læctio ſuffuretur: tā
grauisq; triſtem perturbantibus animū curis. Jam triceſimū qualiſcum-
que ſit codicē in propatulum luccr: q; dilaxauerim. Verumtamen Non
nobis domine Ieſu Chriſte, nō nobis ſed nomini tuo da gloriam. Cui &
me totum & mea omnia penitus trado, atq; deuoneo. Qui igitur fit vt
inter tantos tam longi temporis labores. Nullum neq; anguſtum: neque
Caſſium vllum adeptus fuerim, cum tot creſcatis heroibus, heroidibusq;
galliavbiq; redundet in promptu nimirum ratio eſt: veritatem vbi: geni-
tum occulere nequeo, virtutes magnifico, vitia reprimo, voluptatib⁹ bel-
lum aperio, religionem cōmendo, & id genus alia quæ molibus auri-
culis diſplicere ſolent, nemini aduloꝝ, aſſentor nemini verum præpono

23. Colines's First Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or Gaillarde (1520)

This face, reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 125–7), is a faithful copy on a smaller body of Colines's English-Bodied Roman, described above in (17). It occurs in two states, the first quire and the last quires (from ggg onwards) of Colines first imprint, the 1520 Montholon, exhibiting the second.

This second state is probably the Long Primer Roman, used by the anonymous press of the Crowned Dolphins and described below in (30) but, as this would be a non-proprietary use of a Colines face, I hesitate to be firm in this respect.

SIZE Bourgeois (Gaillarde); 20 63 x 1.3 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 26 October 1520, Paris, H. I Estienne (J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium divini iuris & utriusque humani*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar E 2728; Moreau, 2: 615, no. 2429; Schreiber, 1995, 3–4, no. 1).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1521, S. de Colines, P. Viart; 1524, R. I Chaudière.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with left top serif; high-stemmed G; M and N with double upper serifs; M with centre above the base-line; angular link of lower case g. Lozenge-shaped colon and period.

VARIANT LETTERS At the end of 1520 some sorts were revised, thus a capital A without top serif, M with counter descending to the base-line; a lower case g with rounded link and small upper bowl.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002a, 290–2, fig. 8a–b; 2003a, 125–7.

FIGURE 23a First state of Colines's First Bourgeois [R 63] or Gaillarde (1520) as it occurs in J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520, vol. 2, f. vii. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 23b Second state of Colines's First Bourgeois [R 63] or Gaillarde (1520) as it occurs in J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520, vol. 1, f. vii. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp. See also fig. 30.

septem horas canonicas: sed istę horę diuino iure determinatę non sunt. Vnde officiũ/ seu determinatio & distinctio officij/ est de iure positiuo: sed septies in die laudare/ est de iure diuino. Ex quo inferri potest/ q̄ papa licite potest dispensare circa mutationē officij: sed non vt ad nullum officium dicendũ clericus teneatur. Ita dicit Panor. in c. 1. colũ. 2. in verb. Septenarius/ dat carmīa subsequētia. Hęc sunt septenis propter quę psallimus horis Matutina ligat Christum qui crimina purgat: Prima replet sputis: causam dat tertia mortis. Sexta cruci nectit: latius eius nona bipartit. Vespera deponit/ tumulo completa reponit. Non sunt itaq̄ iste horę cōpetentib⁹ horis necessario persoluendę a dicentibus officium in priuato: sed secus est in persoluētibus in publico seu in choro. Sunt enim a talibus horę competētes in hoc septenario persoluendo obseruādę. Ita cōcludit Panor. in d. c. 1. colũ. 2. Verum est tamē q̄ vbi clericus nulla honesta causa p̄peditur/ aut p̄pediti timet: non debet anticipare/ aut postponere etiā in priuato officiũ suum. Vnde refert Io. An. in d. c. 1. de quodā sancto eremita/ quē angelus pascere solebat/ modo vuis bonis/ modo agrestibus/ modo marcidis: qui de tanta vuarũ diueritate angelum percunctatus: audiuit. Se bonas vuas accipere diebus quibus debito & cōpetēti tempore officiũ persoluebat: Agrestes/ quādo anticipabat seu horam debitā p̄ueniebat: Marcidas vero/ quando exsolutionē officij nimis distinebat. Qui autē ad has septē horas canonicas tenebatur/ Cōmunis resolutio est: q̄ omnes beneficiati/ tā etsi in nullo sacrerũ ordinũ constituti sint: tenentur ad hoc officium septē horarũ. quia propter officiũ datur beneficium. c. fi. de rescrip. lib. 6. quia qui de altari viuut/ altari debet seruire: sicut ecōtra c. Cum scdm apostolũ. de p̄ben. Illud procedit etiā in beneficiatis absentibus causa studiorũ: & deferuentibus beneficio suo per vicarium. Nam nichilominus tenentur ad dicendas horas canonicas in priuato. nec liberantur dicendo officium verbiparę virginis Marię. Ita sentit Io. An. in d. c. 1. dũ dicit/ q̄ libenter vidisset statutũ fuisse factum ab ecclesia: vt clerici saltem in minoribus beneficiati & non curati/ excusaretur occasione studij ab officio dicēdo/ deferuē

Ab exordio. in ver. Signũ. 35. dist. vnde dicit ibi Archi. paulo ante finē: q̄ Christi aduētũ nō est p̄prie deleta circūcisio: sed adimpleta/ in suo significato: scz in baptismo. iuxta illud añicũ. Nō veni soluere legē: sed adimplere. vel scdm eundē Archid. ibi p̄cepta est circūcisio in fortissimum memoriale inter deũ & hominem. vnde legitur Gene. 17. hoc est pactũ quod obseruabitis inter me & vos: & semen tuũ post te. Circūcidetur ex vobis omne masculinũ &c. Et vt dicit Io. Chry. Circūcisio pot⁹ in mēbro gignitio fit: q̄ in alijs. ad designādũ: q̄ omne p̄tũ vitandũ est. Nā omne peccatũ est libido. large sumpto vocabulo. Membriũ vero illud p̄cipuũ est libidinis instrumētũ. & p̄cipitur tm̄ remoueri superflua pellis ad notandũ: q̄ tm̄ superflua delectatio debet vitari. Hęc Archi. x ¶ Sarai vxorem tuā non vocabis Sarai: sed Saram. Quid hoc sibi vult: q̄ in sobolis p̄missiōe/ nōmini Abraę vna litera adiicitur/ quia qui vocabat Abram p̄nunciat vocāds Abraam. Sarę autē nōmi ni demitur vna/ cum Sarai dicta/ Sara p̄cipiatur appellanda. An dici possit/ hoc ideo fieri quia in sobolis procreatiōe maior est viri: q̄ mulieris opatio. vñ & proles fœminea vicio ascribitur paterno/ nō materno. vt est bo. tex. in l. lex. 12. tabularum. paulo ante fi. C. de legi. hęc. Per quem ita p̄ceptor meus do. Iafon. in l. Maximum viciũ. col. 2. C. de libe. p̄p̄te. vnde etiam licet Hostien. sentire videatur: q̄ ad prolis generationem requiritur feminis emissio ex parte vtriusq̄/ viri scilicet & mulieris/ quod quidam medici tenuerunt. tamen communis opinio medicorum est in contrarium scilicet vt semen mulieris necessario non concurrat ad generationem. Ita Panor. in c. Fraternitati. de eo qui duxit in ma. quam pol. per adul. y ¶ Et Saranonagenaria pariet. Iure humano mulier annos nata plures quinquaginta/ p̄lūmitur amplius non parere: & si peperit/ eius partum appellat lex ciuilis mirabilem. casus est in l. Si maior quinquagenaria. C. de legi. hęc. z ¶ Ascendit deus ad Abraam. Id est Abraę inuisibilem se p̄buit. Quandoq̄ etiam deus respectu hominũ ascendere dicitur. quia tanto ipse nobis sublimior ostenditur: q̄to noster animus rebus infirmis separatur. dicit textus in cap. Dum sanctam in fi. de p̄nitent. distinct. 2.

24. Colines's First Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1522)

This face is the earliest Colines Roman to exhibit newer and more elegant letterforms (as for instance, in the M, Q, T) and much better than any other Roman titling then appearing in Paris.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 8 February 1521 [1522 n.s.], Paris, S. de Colines (R. Jordan, *De statu religiosorum*; Ghent, University Library, Theo. 3262; Moreau, 3: 85, no. 146).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; E with long lower arm; sloped upper arm serif of F; high-stemmed G; M and N with single upper serifs.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002a, 292–3, fig. 10; 2003a, 129.

FIGURE 24 Colines's First Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* as it appears on the title-page of Galenus, *De temperamentis*, Paris, Colines, 1523. The woodcut headline is probably also by Colines. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



25. Vatel's Pica Roman [R 86] or *Cicéro* (1522)

This new type has been noticed in two Vatel imprints, both for La Barre, viz. the Vaccaeus of 1522 and the Angeriano, dated c.1521 by Moreau (3: 51, no. 12) but which may be somewhat later as Vatel's death is mentioned in its preface. The type occurs also in P. De Ponte, *Duplicis computi ... delectanea*, published by La Barre and (mis)dated c.1510 by STC France (1: 362) and Bibliotheca Belgica (4: 709, no. P 301). The engraver of this type may have been Vatel. He is credited with two Greeks (Vervliet, 2002, 13–15) and was possibly La Barre's son-in-law; see above (22).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 86 x 1.8 : 2.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1522, Paris, J. Vatel for N. de La Barre (J. Vaccaeus, *Sylva*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 772–3; Moreau, 3: 51, no. 12).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1528, N. de La Barre.

KEY LETTERS Doubly-scruffed narrow capital M; wide N; level-barred lower case e; stroked i.

FIGURE 25 Vatel's Pica [R 86] or *Cicéro* (1522) as it appears in J. Vacet, *Sylva*, Paris, N. de La Barre, 1522, f. A2. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.

Nuncupatoria Fo. II

linguae uiros, qui in ea disciplina aliquando excel-
luerunt, attingeremus. Nec oratores modo sumus
persequuti, sed historicos, iureconsultos, philoso-
phos, quos licet professionis nomine differetes, de e-
loquentia tamen optime meritos iudicabamus. sed
ut commemorauimus multos, sic etiam complures
ex industria omisimus. Nam omnes complecti pro-
pe infinitum erat. Adieciimus quoque eos, qui uel no-
stra, uel superiore memoria floruerunt, ne nostra æ-
tas eo fato damnata uideretur, ut tanto actam neces-
sario bono careret. Inter quos cum honorifica tui men-
tionem factam inuenies, si non tuis meritis satisfacere
mus, non nobis, sed tibi impurabis, qui tantam in e-
loquentia laudem merueris, ut eam nulla eloquen-
tia consequi ualeat. Porro uixdum hæc sylua abso-
luta erat, cum iam sibi patronum efflagitabat, uerita
fortasse suæ rudiratis iustam sugillationem, & ego
quidem non nisi oratorem aliquem eximiū, patro-
num illi dādum existimabam, ac permultos esse sci-
ebam nostra ætate huic patrocínio idoneos, in Ger-
mania Erasmum, in Italia Longolium, in Hispa-
nia, cui ego huius uitæ primordia debeo, Antoniū
Nebrissensem, in Gallia uero quæ plurimos, sed te in
primis, qui tantum in dicendi facultate promouisti,
ut cæteris eodem, quo tu peruenisti, ascendēdi spem
ademeris. Huc accedit, quod tu in hac urbe florētissi-
ma natus es, cui ego secundum patriam oīa debeo.
Quidquid enim est in me, si modo est aliquid, litera-
rum, nisi id omne Parrhisiis referam acceptum, tam
sim ingratus, quæ qui ingratissimus. Cui urbi ut grati
animi testimonium ostēdam, placet eius noīe hanc
meam syluulam inscribere. cuius rei rationem si quis
a me postulauerit, ita accipiat. Nos hanc syluā Par-
A.ij.

Cur hæc
sylua inscri-
pta sit
Parrhis
sia.

26. Colines's First Small Pica Roman [R 75]
or *Philosophie* (1522)

This is a rarely used Small Pica, Colines apparently preferring to use the 1499 Tholoze Pica (8) and from 1524 onwards his famous second Small Pica Roman of (35) below.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 75 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 12 June 1522, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Lefevre d'Etaples, *Epitome ... in libros arithmeticos ... Boetij*; Copenhagen, University Library, Fol. 7-17 (00030); Moreau, 3: 137, no. 346).

KEY LETTERS Splayed and singly-seriffed capital M; two forms of Q; horizontally-barred lower case e; dotted i; flared y; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon and period.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2003a, 128.

FIGURE 26 Colines's First Small Pica [R 75] or *Philosophie* (1522) as it appears in J. Lefevre d'Etaples, *Epitome ... in libros arithmeticos ... Boetij*, Paris, Colines, 1522, p. 48. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Radicum extractio.

48

deleat totū suprapositum respectu triplati. vt prius. Nec cessandū est a tali digiti inuētiōne/nec a digiti inuenti triplatione/nec a triplati anterioratione per suas differentias/ nec a tripli sub triplo positione/nec a tali multiplicatione/nec a tali subtractione/ donec peruentū fuerit ad primā figurā: sub qua inueniendus est quidā digitus qui cū subtriplis vt supra. &c. Deinde ductus cubice vt supra. &c. ¶ Notandum est q̄ productum proueniens ex ductu digiti inuēti cū subtriplo vel subtriplis in triplata/ & postea sine subtriplo vel subtriplis in productum/ & iterum productum quod prouenit ex ductu digiti inuenti in se: posunt addi & simul subtrahi a totali numero supraposito respectu digiti inuenti. & idem est ac si fiat diuissim. Hoc facto: aut aliquid erit residuum vel nichil. Si nichil: constat q̄ numerus ille propositus fuit cubicus/ & eius radix est digitus vltimo inuentus propositus sub triplo vel sub triplis. quæ radix si ducatur in se & postea in productū: erunt eadē figuræ quæ prius. Si vero aliquid sit residuū: constat q̄ numerus ille non fuit cubicus. sed digitus vltimo inuentus cum subtriplis/ est radix maximi cubici sub numero proposito contenti. quæ radix si ducatur in se & postea in productum: emerget maximus cubicus sub numero proposito contentus. & si illi cubico addatur residuum reseruatum in tabula: erunt eadē figuræ quæ prius. Si autem digitus post anteriorationem inueniri non poterit: ponenda est tzifra sub tzifra/ sub quarta figura versus dextram/ & anteriorandæ sunt figuræ. ¶ Notandum est q̄ si in numero proposito non sit aliquis locus millenarii: incipiendum est operari sub prima figura. In hac autem radice extrahenda/ solebāt quidam distinguere numerum propositum per ternarios: & semper incipere operari sub prima figura ternarii/ siue cōpleti siue in cōpleti: qui modus operandi idem est cum prædicto.

¶ COPVSCVLI de praxi numerorum, quod ALGORISMVM vocant: finis.

¶ Index eorum quæ in hoc opusculo annotatu digniora sunt.

	Folio
Perfectam Pyramidem/ ad diuinorum philosophiam aptam haberi.	8.
Vnitatem: & latus/ & quadratum/ & cubum ad seipsam esse.	9.
Vnitatem itidem: & circulū & sphaerā/ immo & omnē numerū figurālē potestate dici.	9.
Q̄ numerus perfectus/ virtutis sit æmulator/ itidem & quadratus.	15. 21.
Ex trina æqualitate omnem nasci inæqualitatem & in eandem reuocari.	16.
Quæ sit aequalitatem in mensura Pythagoræ descriptorum adinuicem habitudo.	17.
Q̄ numerus superpartiens cū multiplici & superparticulari quoquo pacto cōspirat.	18.
Quo pacto cuiusvis speciei inæqualitatis per multiplicationē sumendi sunt termini.	19.
Quo pacto itidem per additionem sumantur cuiuslibet habitudinis numeri.	19.
Quare Aristoteles felicem appellat quadratum sine vituperatione.	21.
Quamobrem Pythagoras numeros impares vocat gnomonas quadratorum.	eodem.
Quāta sit ipariū super pares/ & quadratorū super altera parte lōgiores præstabilitas.	23.
Nexum Arithmeticum diuinorum/ geometricum vero humanorum esse.	25.
Quo pacto quilibet continue multiplices ab vnitate sumendi sunt.	25.
Qua itidem ratione cuiusq̄ numeri quadratus & cubus haberi possit.	26.
Sex proportionalitatum species in numeris apte seruari.	27.
Ex maxima harmonia & differentiis terminorum harmonicæ medietatis/ omnes consonantias musicas defumi.	29 & 30.
Duob⁹ eisdē extremis diuersa interpolata media tres primas medietates cōficere.	ibidē.

27. The 'Vidoué' Brevier Roman [R 51]
or *Petit-texte* (1522)

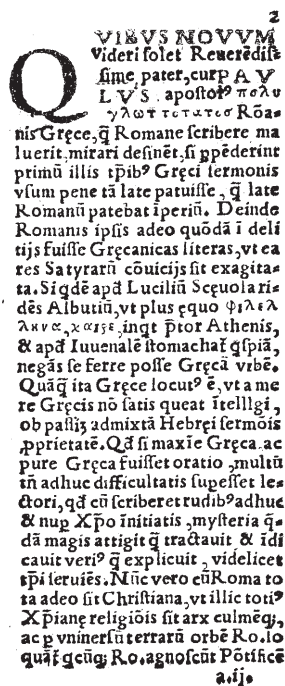
Vidoue and Colines were the first in Paris to launch a series of pocket books in a 24° or 16° format (Shaw, 1974). Colines used a Bourgeois size [R 63] while Vidoue employed this smaller-sized Brevier [R 51]. In style the face recalls the La Barre Long Primer Roman (22) and may originate from the same local source.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 51 x 1: 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN October 1522, Paris, P. Vidoue, ([*Epistolae diui Pauli*]; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Vél. 1417 [after Mme G. Guilleminot]; Moreau, 3: 118, no. 268).

KEY LETTERS Flat top of capital A; narrow H; singly-eared M; N with left bottom serif; long-tailed R; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i.

FIGURE 27 The 'Vidoue' Brevier [R 51] or *Petit-texte* (1522) as it appears in Erasmus, *Paraphrases ... in omnes epistolas Pauli*, Paris, P. Vidoue, 1523, f. a1v-a2. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.



28. The 'Vidoué' Nonpareil Roman [R 43] (1522)

A Nonpareil body size was a rarity in early sixteenth-century typography and only owned by the better equipped printers. In Italy, small-sized Italics (though still in the Minion range, 49/45 mm), were employed by Paganini in 1515 and Griffo in 1516 (Isaac, 1938, pls. 15 and 22).

In France, small-sized Romans below the Bourgeois/Long Primer range (60–67 mm/20 lines) became popular in the early 1520s, in first instance for Bibles in pocket format (Shaw, 1974). In Paris, Vidoue introduced a true Nonpareil Roman in 1521 or perhaps more probably in 1522, if we may assume that the dating was *more Gallico*. As far as I know, he used this tiny face only in 1522, e.g. for a Gospel, a *Proverbia Salomonis*, and a Vergilius, all printed for Pierre Viart (Moreau, 3: nos. 26–7, 410). Subsequently he seems to have preferred to set his pocket books in his Brevier Roman, described in (27). Was the Nonpareil type owned by Viart or was the change to a bigger face simply a matter of readability?

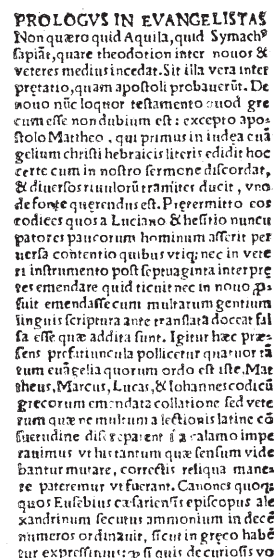
Later, from 1533 onwards, both Colines and Estienne had their own versions of Nonpareil Romans (Vervliet, 2003a, 144; 2004, 130). In 1553, Haultin introduced his Nonpareil, both in Italic and Roman, which captured the market far into in the seventeenth century (Vervliet, 2000, 96–8).

SIZE Nonpareil; 20 43 x 1:1.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 15 March 1521 [=1522], Paris, P. Vidoue for P. Viart
(*Opus quattuor Evangelistarum*; Louvain-la-Neuve, University
Library, Rés. 3A 20460; Moreau, 3: 55, no. 27).

KEY LETTERS Wide capitals D, P; singly-eared M; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i.

FIGURE 28 The 'Vidoue' Nonpareil [R 43] (1522) as it appears in *Opus quattuor Evangelistarum*, Paris, P. Vidoue for P. Viart, 1521/22, f. a2v-a3. Courtesy of the University Library, Louvain-la-Neuve.



29. Colines's Roman Titling
on Two-line Brevier [R 4]
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1523)

Two new titlings, this one on 4 mm, the other on 5.5 mm (32), appear from 1523/24 onwards in Colines's books. Both break away from the Basle tradition of type design and introduce in France elements of Aldine letterforms. This type has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 132).

SIZE Two-line Brevier (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte*); 15/14 Anglo-American/Didot; : 4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1523, Paris, S. de Colines (*Liber Psalmorum*; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, BZ 1-20; Moreau, 3: 158, no. 426).

KEY LETTERS Downward-beaked capital G; splayed capital M with centre above base-line; long-tailed R.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2003a, 132.

FIGURE 29 Colines's Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1523) as it appears on the title-page of *Pentateuchus Moysi*, Paris, Colines, 1527. Courtesy of the Aargauische Kantonsbibliothek, Aarau.

PENTATEV
CHVS MOYSI,
Genesīs
Exodus
Leuiticus
Numeri
Deuteronomium.

IOSVE
Liber Iudicum
Ruth.

30. The 'Dauphins' Long Primer Roman [R 65]
or *Petit-romain* (1523)

Moreau (3: 155) suggests that in the years 1521 to 1528 a hitherto unknown press has been operating in Paris. Eponymously named after its usual title-page border with two crowned dolphins, it produced mainly short and shoddily printed texts for classroom use. Apart from this Long Primer, the press used the usual Paris Romans, described above (5, 8 and 16). The face reappears from 1531 onwards in imprints ascribed by Moreau to Jean Bignon. On the possible relation with a type used by S. de Colines and P. Viart, see above (23).

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 65 x 1.4 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1523, Paris, [Dauphins couronnés for] P. Gaudoul (J. Despauterius, *Orthographiae praecepta*; Ghent, University Library, G. 9197; Moreau, 3: 168, no. 470; improperly attributed to Badius by Renouard, 1964, 2: 386, no. 14).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1531, J. Bignon; 1534, H. de Gourmont [& J. Bignon]; 1536, N. Buffet & A. Girault & M. de La Porte & [J. Bignon] {Baif}, P. Le Preux & J. II Petit.

KEY LETTERS Pointed apex of capital A; overhanging top terminal of G; doubly-seriffed M; short-tailed R; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 3: pl. 44, no. 754; Vervliet, 2003a, 125-7.

FIGURE 30 The 'Dauphins' Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1523) as it appears in P. de Ponte, *Duplex Grammaticae artis Isagoge*, Paris, R. Chaudière, 1524, f. a5. See also fig. 23b. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

¶ Quot sunt obliqui: quinque: qui: gr̃s vt huius filii: datius vt huius
filio: accusatiuus vt hunc filium ablatiuis vt ab hoc filio & excessi^{us} Regimen^{us}
uus. vt fumus it cerebro. i. vsq; ad cerebrum. adiectiui
FILIVS cuius regiminis, genitiui: quare: quia genitiuum post se re
git vt filius petri. Quid est regimen. est proprietates qua vna dictio
regit alteram ad standum in aliquo determinato casu. ¶ Quem ca-
sum regit nomen substantiuum: regit genitiuum vt filius petri: nisi
ad eandem rem pertineant: quia tunc in eodem casu poni debet vt
IESVS CHRIVS. virgo MARIA. ¶ Quot casus regit
nomen adiectiuum: quattuor: quos genitiuum vt vicinus petri da-
tiuum, vt similis petro. accusatiuum: vt pallidus faciem: ablatiuum:
vt dignus laude.

31. Colines's Second Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523)

For a series of small-sized Bible parts in sextodecimo, published from 1523 onwards under the editorship of his stepson Robert I Estienne (Armstrong, 1986, 325), Colines apparently engraved three new typefaces, this Bourgeois and two titlings of 4 mm and 5.5 mm respectively (24 and 29). The three new types are designed boldly and forcefully. They are the first Romans cut in France whose designs surpass the current Basle typefaces and can compete with the renowned Aldine models (Barker, 1974, 8). This type has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 130).

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 63 x 1.3 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 27 March 1523, Paris, S. de Colines (*Evangelium Iesv Christi*; Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 8 A 538 inv. 620 Rés; Moreau, 3: 158, no. 428).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1527, R. I Estienne; Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Distinguishable from Colines's 1520 Bourgeois Roman (23): capital G with upper serif; splayed and doubly-seriffed M; S without conspicuous serifs; large upper counter of lower case g; thin diagonal of z; small capitals, probably the capitals of the Minion Roman (: 1.5 mm) of (39).

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 25 (Petit-texte, state 2); Vervliet, 2003a, 130.

FIGURE 31a Colines's Second Bourgeois [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523) as it appears in Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534, f. 15. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 31b Colines's second Bourgeois [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523) assembled from Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

PLANT. DIFFER.

L Ibanotidis. Rosmarini.
Libanotidi fœcundæ priori altera omnino respondet.
¶ Nec ab his abludit sterilis.
Lichnidis.
Lichnis agreftis fatiuam in cunctis refert.
M Ali.
Exigui mali magnitudine apparet Catanance altera.
Mecōnis. Papaueris.
Agrefti Papaueri non est diffimilis Argemone vtraque.
Alijs Papaueribus longius est tertium, necnon sylueftrius & medicamentofius.
Myricis. Tamaricis.
Eræce ad Tamaricem proxime accedit, fed multo breuior.
N Arthecis. Ferulæ.
Thapfia totam ferulæ speciem exhibet.
Nymphææ.
Alterâ Nymphææ radice modo & flore à priore diffentit.
O Rigani.
Origano fimile Ageratum.

A TOTO ACCEPTÆ. 15

P Eplî.
Paronychîa nō diuerfa est à Pello, longitudine tamen minor.
Pityos. Piceæ.
Tithymalus quintus cognomine cypariffias in vniuerfum nuper nascentem Piceam æmulatur.
¶ Chamæpitys tertia Piceæ est halitu.
Poliij.
Alterû Polium mōtano quidē fruticosius, fed non tam valido est odore.
Prafiij. Marrubij.
Stachys Marrubium fimulat, verum oblongior.
Ptereos. Filicis.
Trichomanes & Dryopteris ad Filicem quidem accedūt, multo tamen breuiiores.
R Hamni.
Halimos Rhamnum repræfentat, fed spinis caret.
¶ Cytifus tota Rhamni modo albet.
Rhodi. Rosæ.
Rhodia radix trita Rosam exhalat.
S Elini. Apij.
Hippofelinum hortensi Apio maius est & candidius.

ABCDEFGHIJLMNOPQ RSTVXY Z

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz Æ æ ſt &

32. Colines's Second Roman Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1524)

A few years after he introduced his first titling of this size (24), Colines began to use two newly cut Roman titlings, this one and the other described in (29). Their design can be considered as the first proper typographic rendering, North of the Alps, of the classical *capitalis monumentalis*, well before this was popularized there by the treatises of Dürer (1525) and Tory (1529).

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1524, Paris, S. de Colines (Ps. Aristotle, *Problemata*; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 3516 Cr; Moreau, 3: 198, no. 592; Schreiber, 1995, 19–20, no. 12).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1546, R. I Estienne; 1549, R. & C. Chaudière; 1569, R. II Estienne.

KEY LETTER Capital A with cupped top terminal; E with long lower arm; downward-beaked capital G; M and N with single upper serifs.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 8, n.12; Vervliet, 2003a, 133.

FIGURE 32a Colines's Second Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1524) as it occurs in line 2 of the title-page of J. Clichtove, *Propugnaculum ecclesiae*, Paris, Colines, 1526. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 32b Colines's Second Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1524) assembled from Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

PROPVGNA
CVLVM ECCLESIAE, ADVER-
SVS LV THERANOS: PER IVDOCV M CLICH-
toueum Neoportuenseni, doctorem theologum, elaboratum:
& tres libros continens.

A B C D E G H I L M N O P R S T V

33. The 'Vidoue' First Roman Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 6.2] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1525)

This titling clearly is an answer to the Colines types on the same size of 1522 and 1524 (24 and 29) and the bigger sized Basle titlings of 1517 [R 8.5] and 1521 [R 14.5]. A link with Martin Caesar in Antwerp is possible, as he owned a bold version of this type.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 6.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 28 February 1525 n.s., Paris, P. Vidoue for J. I Petit (P. Sutor, *De translatione Bibliae*; Ghent, University Library, Res. 1530[1]; Moreau, 3: 247, no. 803).

EARLY APPEARANCES Antwerp: 1526, J. van Liesvelt; H. Tilianus & J. Hillen van Hoochstraten; 1533, M. Caesar; 1535, W. Vorsterman; 1536, G. Spyridipoeus jr.; 1540, A. Goinus, G. Montanus; 1551, S. Cock; Bruges: 1526, H. de Croock; Paris: 1526, C. Chevallon, N. Savetier & P. Gromors; 1527, P. Calvarin & G. de Gourmont, P. Calvarin & Th. Charron, N. Savetier & A. Girault; 1528, P. Leber, S. Du Bois & C. I Wechel; 1529, J. Denis, N. Savetier, C. I Wechel; 1530, P. Gromors & J. de Harsy; 1533, A. Augereau; 1534, P. Gaudoul; 1535, J. Bignon, Louis de Colines, A. Girault, P. Le Preux; 1542, J. Pallier; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. de Roigny; Amsterdam: 1613, N. Biestkens.

KEY LETTERS Wide capital A; singly-serifed M; long-tailed R.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 1968, 242–3.

FIGURE 33 The 'Vidoue' First Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1525) as it appears in in Erasmus, *Opus de conscribendis epistolis*, Paris, [P. Gromors &] G. Le Bret, 1527, f. a2v. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

D. ERASMVVS
ROTHERODAMVS, DE RA-
TIOE CONSCRIBEN-
DIEPISTOLAS.

34. The 'Vidoué' Roman on Large English [R 100]
or *Gros-texte* (1525)

A rough English-sized Roman, ostensibly by a less-qualified cutter, occurs in the mid of the 1520s in a few imprints of Vidoue and Gromors. It is unclear why Vidoue introduced it, as he owned and regularly used a type of the much better Bergmann (5) and Cervicornus Romans (14).

SIZE Large English (*Gros-texte*); 20 100 x 2 : 3.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 12 April 1525, Paris, P. Vidoue for F. Regnault (J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, *In quoscunque philosophiae naturalis libros paraphrasis*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 12743; Moreau, 3: 260, no. 860).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: c.1525, J. Boulle; 1526, P. Gromors; 1528, P. Gaudoul & A. Girault & P. Gromors & J. I Petit.

KEY LETTERS Capitals E and F with shorter top arm; small G; doubly-seriffed top and centre above base-line of M; narrow N; splayed top serifs of T; tilt-barred lower case e; wide lower bowl of g; stroked i; cruciform period and colon.

FIGURE 34 The 'Vidoué' Roman on Large English [R 100] or *Gros-texte* (1525) as it appears in J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, *In quoscunque Philosophiae ... Paraphrasis*, Paris, P. Vidoue & F. Regnault, 1525, f. b3, intermixed with sorts of the Bergmann Great Primer. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

I P X I

gressibile, neq; nō esse bipedē. Erunt igitur multa quæ vere sunt, & non tantum vnū
¹⁵ ens: etiā ipsum pro substantia capiendō. ¶ Quarta cōclusio. Parmenides nō solū ens
 pro accidente capere potest. ¶ Nā cū esset accidēs, esset eius subiecta substantia. Impos-
 sibile est enim accidens sine subiecta substantia esse. Et cū solum esset accidens: nō esset
 subiecta substantia. esset igitur eadē subiecta substantia & nō esset, quod est impossibi-
¹⁶ le. Nō igitur ens capiet Parmenides solum pro accidente. ¶ Quinta cōclusio. Nō re-
 cte soluerunt aliqui Parmenidis rationē, illud vnum esse impartibile, continuum vo-
 lentis probare. Argumentabatur enim sic Parmenides. Si illud vnum diuidi potest:
 illud proprie vnū nō erit. Nā eius sectio in infinitū abibit, nō est igitur illud vnū par-
 tibile. ¶ Soluebat Xenocrates dicens illud esse ex impartibilibus lineis. Et ne concede-
 ret vnum quodam modo esse multa (credebat enim illa esse repugnātia) dicebat quā-
 libet impartibilium linearū esse illud vnum, & idem esse magnitudinē & non magni-
 tudinem, diuisibile & non diuisibile: in parem errorē Parmenidis relabens. Nā incon-
 ueniens nō est (vt diximus) vnum esse quodam modo multa. vt vnū actū, multa po-
 tentia. Inconueniens tamē est idem esse magnitudinē & non magnitudinem: partibile
¹⁷ & non esse partibile. ¶ Sexta conclusio. Ratio Melissi & vitiose cōcludit & falsum as-
 sumit. ¶ Arguit enim sic. Si aliquid est factum, ipsum habet principium. igitur si nō
 est aliquid factum: ipsum nō habet principium. hic autē vitiose concludit. Nā ex de-
 structo antecedente: intendit perimere cōsequens. Et cū dicit, si aliquid est factū, ipsum
 habet principium: cū principium æquiuocū sit, si intelligit ipsum habere principium tem-
 poris: hoc nō oportet, vt momentanea. Si autē intelligit ipsum habere principium magni-
 tudinis: neq; hoc oportet. Sunt enim alterationes & impartibilia, quæ principium ma-
 gnitudinis non habent. Et rursus cum dicit. Si non est aliquid factum: non habet pri-
 cipium. Si intelligit ipsum non habere principium temporis: esto. Si vero intelligat
 ipsum non habere principium magnitudinis: hoc non oportet. Nam & cælum & sol
 & astra: principium suæ magnitudinis habent. Et cum vltra arguit, Quod non habet
 principium: non habet finem. Si intelligit, quod non habet principium temporis, nō
 habet finem temporis: esto. Si vero intelligit id non habere finem magnitudinis: hoc
 non oportet, quod tamen intendit & ex quo sequeretur ipsum esse infinitum. Cū vl-
 terius arguit, Quod est infinitum non habet locum: igitur est immobile, hoc nō opor-
 tet. Nam nihil prohibet partes in ipso moueri, & ipsum alterari. Non enim vt altera-
 bile sit: requiritur locus. Dicebant Melissum sequentes: illud vnum esse vnum specie.

35. Colines's Second Small Pica Roman [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525)

From 1525 onwards this Small Pica became Colines's workhorse for compositions in the octavo format. He used it over his whole career. The type has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 134–5).

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 73 x 1.5 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 16 January 1525, Paris, S. de Colines (*Horae in laudem beatiss. semper Virginis Mariae*; Liège, University Library, Rés. 1920 B; Moreau, 3: 255, no. 841).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1526, R. I Estienne; 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. I Wechel [& L. Blaubloom]; 1532, G. de Gourmont [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon & G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom]; 1537, E. Roffet; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Wide capital H; splayed singly-seriffed M with centre above base-line; two forms of Q; long-tailed R; T with short right arm; tilt-barred lower case e; large upper counter of g; flared y; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon and period. Accented sorts.

VARIANT LETTER Capital M with straight shanks and centre on the base-line from 1528 onwards.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Le Bé, 1618: Petit Cicero Sim. Colines (Morison, 1957, 19).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1928, 64; Barker, 1974, 8–9, pl. 2c; Amert, 1991, 25–6 (*Philosophie*, states 2 and 3); Vervliet, 2003a, 134–5.

FIGURE 35a Colines's Second Small Pica [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525) as it appears in G. Trapezuntius, *Dialectica*, Paris, Colines, 1528, f. a2v–a3. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 35b Colines's Second Small Pica [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525) assembled from P. Anghiera [Pierre Martyr], *Extracta ov recveil des isles*, Paris, Colines, 1532. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

3 ♣ GEORGII TRAPEZONTII DIALECTICA.



Dialectica: est diligēs differendi ratio. Differere vero nemo poterit diligenter: nisi quæ inuenerit, dicendāq; iudicauerit, ea sic coniunxerit: ut illis datis, quod intendit necessario cōsequatur. quam orationē, Græci συλλογισμὸν dicunt: Latini vero ratiocinationē appellare possunt. Ea, propositionibus constat. Omnis propositio si simplex est: duobus terminis, subiecto atq; prædicato, connectitur. Quoniam ergo syllogismorum, elementa sunt ex quibus constant, & ad quos resoluuntur (nec enim componendo altius repetere: nec resoluendo longius abire possumus) de his primum dicamus. Verum dialecticorū more: ut de quo termino sermo à nobis habetur intelligas, vocē in significationes suas primū diuidamus. ¶ Termini ergo: locorū fines appellati sunt, qui locum à loco distinguant, atq; separent. vnde Græci similitudine ducti, ὅρους id est verbum de verbo, terminos, diffinitiones appellarunt. Disiungūt enim atq; separant diffinitiones, vniuscuiusq; substantiā: cum differētias tanquā terminos generi adiiciunt. ¶ Terminos etiā simplicis propositionis, partes dicimus: vel quoniā significatione quasi cōscriptam rem ostēdunt, quam significant. Hinc est qd rerū nomina, implicitas diffinitiones: & diffinitiones, explicita nomina rerū, multi ac clari philosophi solent appellare. ¶ Terminum ergo quem hic dicimus, propositionis partem intelligimus: quem ita definit Aristoteles. Terminus est in quem resoluitur propositio. Est autē omnis terminus. ¶ A. iij.

ABCDEFGHIILMNOPQRST VZ

abcde fghi lmnopqrstuvxyz & & fi fi ft ff

36. The 'Chevallon' Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1526)

A Roman titling by an unskilled engraver appears at Chevallon's press from 1526 to 1543, perhaps as a (poor) answer to Colines 1524 titling (32).

Another titling appearing in Erasmus's *De duplici copia* of 1526 (Versailles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, FA 8° E 1190; Moreau, 3: 291, no. 990) with a Girault imprint and attributed by Moreau to Calvin in 1526 is probably a woodcut.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN May 1526, Paris, C. Chevallon (Galenus, *De sanitate tuenda*; Ghent, University Library, Med. 276; Moreau, 3: 294, no. 999).

KEY LETTERS Spurred capital G; singly-eared M; long-tailed R; T with outwards sloping top serifs.

FIGURE 36 The 'Chevallon' Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1526) assembled from G. Pachymeres, *Paraphrasis in decem epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

B D E F G H I L M N P R S T V

37. Colines's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1526)

Colines used this Saint-augustin sparsely, mainly between 1526 and 1531. It is wholly in Colines's forceful style he uses from the mid 1520s onwards. It became outdated after the aesthetic revolution introduced by the Estienne Romans (1530). The Colines type has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 137–8).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.9 : 2.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1526, Paris, S. de Colines (Des. Erasmus, *Commentarius in Nuce[m] Ovidij*; Amsterdam, University Library, 1513 D 18 [2]; Moreau 3: 291, no. 988).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1527, R. I Estienne; 1532, L. Blaubloom; 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon &

G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom]; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Splayed singly-seriffed capital M; two forms of Q; tilted-bowl lower case e; ligature fi with stroked i, large upper and lower counters of g; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon, question mark and period. Accented sorts.

VARIANT LETTERS In 1528 Colines changed the splayed capital M to a narrower and more straight-shanked one; he revised the lower case g twice, in 1527 and 1528, reworking mainly its lower counter. A third revision appears from 1531 onwards, a.o. in the preliminaries of the 1531 Terentianus. The main differences with previous states are the e with a more level bar, the narrow g, the dotless ligature fi, the round colon and period.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 27, fig. 5; 30 (s.v. 'Cicero'); Vervliet, 2003a, 137–8.

FIGURE 37 Colines's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1526) as it appears in L. Valla, *Epitome*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1529, p. 106. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

E L E G. L I B. I I I I. 106

dibus ferunt. Frequenter tamen fama etiam pro fermone non rei recētis fed iam inueteratæ, & pro opinione quadam. vt, fama est Athenas iam plus annorū viginti millibus fuisse cōditas. Et pro laude & pro celebritate hominis. vt, fama Camilli, fama Scipionū, Metellorū, Fabiorū, & eorū quoq; qui viuūt: vt, fama mea, fama tua, fama illius, pro quo non recte dixeris rumor.

ARGVMENTVM

¶ Murus, est vrbis aut castrorū, lapideus ambitus. Paries, qualiscūq; domus priuatæ. Mœnia interdū pro muris: eo q̃ munimenta dicuntur. Porta, est in muris. Ianua, in pariete.

¶ Murus, paries, mœnia, & ianua. Cap. VIII.

MVrus & paries quid differāt, superuacūū erat admonere, nisi his tēporibus (vt sunt omnia deprauata) murus ꝑ paries à pluribus vſurparetur, quanquā apud Græcos eodem fono pronūcietur vtrūq; distinctū tamē & literis & genere. Murus est vrbis lapideus ambitus, qui Græce dicitur τὸ τείχος. Paries vero domorū, Græce δὲ τοῖχος. Murus est etiā non

38. The 'Calvarin' Bourgeois Roman [R 62]
or *Gaillarde* (1526)

A crude Roman attributed by Moreau (3: no. 865) to Gromors, appears in a Boulle imprint dated c. 1525 and the following year at the Chevallon press, which used it until the early 1530s. But it seems rather attributable to Prigent Calvarin, at least if the attribution of the 1527 Poliziano (Moreau, 3: no. 1305) to him is to be followed. It is unclear whether the Savetier Long Primer (40), which is very similar and can be linked to Martinus Caesar in Antwerp, must be seen as a different face or as a variant. On the relation to the La Barre Long Primer, see above (22).

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 62 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN May 1526, Paris, C. Chevallon (Galenus, *De sanitate tuenda*; Ghent, University Library, Med. 276; Moreau, 3: 294, no. 999) and 1527, Paris, [N. de La Barre & P. Calvarin] (A. Poliziano, *Silva*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 10596; Moreau, 3: 366, no. 1305).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: c. 1525, J. Boulle; 1538, O. Mallard & G. I Du Pré & J. de Roigny.

KEY LETTERS Slab-serifed capital A; wide H, N, P, V; doubly-serifed M; slayed top serifs of T; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i.

FIGURE 38 The 'Calvarin' Bourgeois [R 62] or *Gaillarde* (1526) as it appears in Galenus, *Methodus medendi*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1526, p. 85. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

39. Colines's Minion Roman [R 49]
or *Mignonne* (1526)

Mostly used for marginalia and in the same bold style as the other Colines Romans of the period, this Minion has not been seen outside the Colines and Blaubloom presses, except for a few appearances in some other Paris imprints, which probably can be attributed to Blaubloom's press (Moreau, 4: nos. 316, 586 and 1111). This Minion has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 136).

SIZE Minion (*Mignonne*); 20 49 x 1 : 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 20 November 1526, Paris, S. de Colines (F. Sarzonus, *In aequatorem planetarum*, a few words f. 13v; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, SA Fo 3328; Moreau, 3: 315, no. 1094).

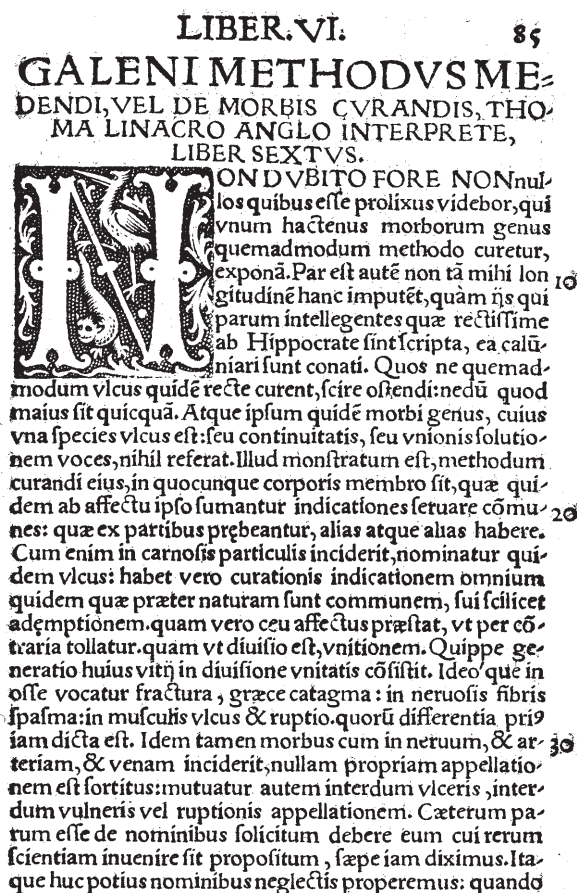
EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. I Wechel [& L. Blaubloom]; 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon & G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Singly-serifed M and centre above base-line; wide R; T with outwards sloping top serifs; tilted-barred lower case e; wide tail of g. Lozenge-shaped colon and period. Small capitals (: 1.3 mm)

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Le Bé, 1618: *Mignonne* Rommaine de Colines (Morison, 1957, 20); Le Bé, c. 1643: La petite lettre quil [Colines] nomma Petit Texte (Carter, 1967, 28).

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 31, fig. 13; Vervliet, 2003a, 136.

FIGURE 39 Colines's Minion [R 49] or *Mignonne* (1527) as it appears in the *Pentateuchus Moysi*, Paris, Colines, 1527, f. a2v. Courtesy of the Aargauische Kantonsbibliothek, Aarau.



ēteo eloquentiæ fonte manantem, de vitiis
mis Hispaniæ Galliarumq; finibus quosdā
venisse nobiles legimus: & quos ad contem-
plationem sui Roma nō traxerat, vnus ho-
minis fama perduxit. Habuit illa ætas inau-
ditum omnibus seculis, celebrandumq; mi-
raculum, vt vibem tantā ingreſſi, aliud ex-
tra vibem quærerent. Apollonius, siue ille
magus (vt vulgus loquitur) siue philosoph⁹,
vt Pythagorici tradūt, intrauit Persas, per-
transiuit Caucaſum, Albanos, Scythas, Maſ-
ſagetas, opulētissima Indiæ regna penetra-
uit. & ad extremum, latissimo Phylon am-
ne transmiſſo, peruenit ad Brachmanas, vt
Iarcham in throno ſedentem aureo, & de
Tantali fonte potantem, inter paucos diſci-
pulos de natura, de motibus syderū, ac die-
rum cursu audiret docentem. Inde per Es-
lamitas, Babylonios, Chaldeos, Medos, Assy-
rios, Parthos, Syros, Phœnices, Arabes, Pa-
læstinos, reuerſus Alexandriā, Perrexit Ae-
thiopiam, vt Gymnoſophiſtas, & famoſiſſi-
mam ſolis menſam videret in ſabulo. Inue-
nit ille vir vbiq; quod diſceret, & ſæper pro-
ficiens, ſemper ſe melior fieret. Scripſit ſus
per hoc plenissime octo voluminibus Philo-
ſtratus. Quid loquar de ſeculi hominib⁹
bus? cum apoſtolus Paulus, vas electiōis &
magiſter gentium, qui de conſcientia tanti
in ſe hoſpitis loquebatur, An experimentū
quæritis eius, qui in me loquitur? C. H. R. I.
S. T. V. S. poſt Damascum Arabiamq; luſtra
tam aſcenderit Hieroſolymam, vt videret
Petrum, & manſerit apud eum diebus quin

40. The 'Savetier' Long Primer Roman [R 66]
or *Petit-romain* (1527)

A rough local face, very similar to Calvin's Bourgeois described in (38). It deserves more research to clear up in as far both types originate from the same source and Martinus Caesar, who in those years emigrated from Paris to Antwerp, is involved.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 66 x 1.4 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN September 1527, Paris, G. de Gourmont, P. Le Preux, J. Petit [& N. Savetier] (Durand de Saint-Pourçain, *In quatuor*

Sententiarum...; Paris, Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Rés. 16-II Dur 1; Moreau, 3: 341, no. 1196)

EARLY APPEARANCES Antwerp: 1526, M. Caesar (*Biblia*; Brussels, Royal Library, VI 32241 A; Nijhoff-Kronenberg, 4192); H. Someren, G. van der Haghen [& M. Caesar], W. Vorsterman; 1529, J. Severszoon & P. Sylvius; Paris: 1528, S. Du Bois & C. I. Wechel; 1529, A. Girault & N. Savetier; 1530, A. Bonnemère; 1537, M. de La Porte.

KEY LETTERS Slab-serifed capital A; narrow C; doubly-serifed M; narrow N; wide V; tilt-barred lower case e; dotted i.

FIGURE 40 The 'Savetier' Long Primer [R 66] or *Petit-romain* (1527) as it appears in J. Clereas, *Sermones quadragesimales*, Paris, N. Savetier, 1530, f. Aiv-Az. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FRATRIS IOANNIS DE VILLERIO,
conuentus Vallefi. prouinciæ Germaniæ infe-
rioris, ordinis fratrum prædicatorum
ad lectorem epistola.



Abes hic lector candide celeberrimi viri ac clarissimi doctoris, quadragesimales magistri Ioannis Clereas, exactissimas declarationes quæ rudi quidē ac pedestri, vt id genus popularium cōcionum necessitas requirit, sermone. Non tam ab eo conscriptas quam ab illius auditoribus tumultu. Et collectas.

rerum tamen tam diuinarum quam humanarum peritia fecundissimas, quæ & si longe alio splendore ac spiritu a summo illo verbi dei præcone ac totius prædicatorij ordinis laudatissimo moderatore, cuius viua illa energia literis deformari nequit, populis fuerint traditæ. Indignū tamen duximus tam incredibile præstantissimi patris ingenium vsquequaque præteriri silentio. vt non, vel saltem ex milibus illis quas in conspectu regum & magnatum fecerit conciones vel pauculas raptim a suffocatrice illi obliuionis faucibus, vix tamē ereptas posteritatis memoriæ mandaremus. Has autem quadragenas præ cæteris cōciones, quæ etiam exceptæ literis extant, inter quas præcipuæ sunt quæ initium habēt. Haurietis aquas in gaudio, & alia idēdem de portis nuncupata duximus præligēdas, quod hæc potissimum sibi palmā vendicet. Nec indigne fecerim? celebratissimi huius herois: propagātes memoriam nominis, cuius vultū & votū venerati sunt reges, quem insignis ille Christianissimus Frācorum rex Ludouicus huius nominis duodecimus, ob doctrinæ & sanctitatis eminentiā, suæ magistrum ducem ac arbitrum vitæ non indignum duxit cōstitueret. Cuius nutibus se regalis culminis sceptrum submittere non dubitarunt. Itaque tanti viri vel qualēcūque præstat habere vmbra quæ illū vt cūq; vita etiā defunctum redoleat, quam etiam aliorū qui docere quam facere sunt paratiores immēsis premi voluminibus. Boni igitur consulite, lector

optime, ac grata manu hunc nostrum laborem non graueris suscipere qui iuuandis bonarum mentium libenter impensus est profectibus.

Vale.

Eiusdem tetraſtichon ad libellum.

Ergone perpetuus pia subruat angulus ora,
I liber & doctis connumerare choris.
I liber altiloquis: pete pulpita sacra loquelis
Non minor a daris: est tibi fama viris.

Ad honorandum virum dominum Simonem
Bouquin, Diuæ Amæ Priorem Claudij
& Gallosij Epigramma.

Ethereæ vereor firmum virtutis asillum,
Sanguinis & rutilans gloria summa mei.
Torpentes calamo digitos aptare repenti:
Quæ mea mens possit, scribere musa vetat.
Iple tuas stimulos numeris concludere laudes:
Tollere vel nomen summa per astra tuum.
Ast opus est maiore lyra conatibus impar
Est onus: atq; chelis rustica fila meæ.
Languida raucescit nimia rubigine vena:
Pyndareis sunt hæc ista sonanda lyris.
Attica condigno vix te celebraret honore
Pallas: & Aonidum, Pieridūque decus.
Extremos celebris tua gloria vergit ad indos:
Quam nulli poterunt attenuare dies.
Fausa tibi pleno (lætor) Rhamnusia cornu
Fauerit: instanti non abitura pede.
Diceris ipse prior summæ probitatis amator:
Moribus eximijs diceris ipse prior.
Viue decus nostrum, nostrū decus ipse manebis:
Viue vale Pylij secula, viue vale.

Eiusdem ad authorem Tetraſtichon.

Nobilis empireæ qui fulget legis aruspex:
Hic inter præscos est numerandus auos.
Aurea qui nostræ tribuit documenta salutis:
Rugosæ fidei dogmata plura ferens.

41. Colines's First Great Primer Roman [R 117]
or *Gros-romain* (1528)

Mid 1528 Colines ceased using the 1494 Bergmann Great-Primer Roman (5) as the usual text type for his quartos and folios. Its capitals reveal the new sensibility of a talented type designer for imitating more closely the letterforms of the classical inscriptional capital. This Great Primer, which has been described by Vervliet (2003a, 142–3), has not been seen outside the Colines and Blaubloom presses, except for an appearance in a Wechel imprint, which probably can be attributed to Blaubloom's press (Moreau, 4: no. 316).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 117 x 2 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN June 1528, Paris, S. de Colines (Des. Erasmus, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 32759; Moreau, 3: 403, no. 1454).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Capital line below ascender line; wide E; downwards beaking G; singly-seriffed M; wide R; duplicate forms of Q (short/long-tailed); downwards flared T; narrow lower case c; tilted-barred e; broad upper and lower counters of g; dotted i (except for its ligatures); v descending below base-line; unflared y; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon, period, question-mark; oversized comma.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 4: 93; Barker, 1974, 9, pl. 3; Amert, 1991, 28, fig. 8; Vervliet, 2003a, 142–3.

FIGURE 41 Colines's First Great Primer [R 117] or *Gros-romain* (1528) as it appears in Joannes Chrysostomus, *Liber contra gentiles*, Paris, Colines, 1528, f. A1. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

ROGERMANVS BRIXIVS
LECTORI.



Ector probe quisquis es, & cādide, tametsi
id mihi ipse de te, tuoq; candore promitto,
vt reputaturus sis, me non ab re, neque leui
de causa in eo opere vertendo desudare vo-
luisse, in quo iam mihi alius anteuertisset, tamen quo-
niam nō omnibus statim arbitror otium tale adfore,
vt sumptā in manus tum Oecolampadij, tum meam
in Chrysostomi Babylam translationem cum græco
exēplari cōferre, sicq; rem totam expendēs, suo, quod
aiunt, marte de vtriusq; trāslationis fide calculum fer-
re possit, non alienū esse putauī, si tibi hic ego interim
insignes aliquot Oecolampadij lapsus ex q̄ plurimis
designarem, illiusq; veluti obsignatas tabulas profer-
rem, per quas tanquam certissimis, verissimisq; argu-
mētis palām detecta, conuicta q; esset hominis, verten-
dis græcis authoribus, siue negligentia, siue inscitia, si-
ue etiam (quod pestilentius quidē fuerit, sed quod ta-
men doctissimi, integerrimi q; theologi in Oecolam-
padio deprehendere se attestantur) malitia, dum ille
nunc Theophylacti, nunc Chrysostomi interpretem
agens, vtriusque intellectum aliquoties pro arbitratu
suo ad improbata pijs dogmata deprauās detorquet.
qua vna de causa iam permultos esse audio apud nos,

A. j.

42. The 'Leber' Small Pica Roman [R 70]
or *Philosophie* (1528)

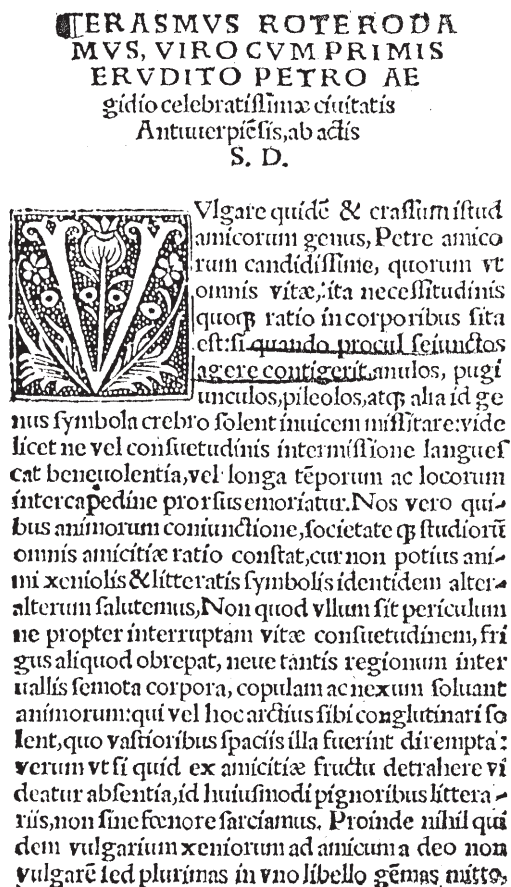
A rather uneven face only seen at Leber's press.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 70 x 1.5 : 2.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 27 January 1528, Paris, P. I Leber (Erasmus, *Parabolae*; Brussels, Royal Library, II 69103 A-LP; Moreau, 3: 404, no. 1456).

KEY LETTERS Slab-serifed capital A; small C, L, S; singly-serifed M; wide N; nearly level-barred lower case e; stroked i.

FIGURE 42 The 'Leber' Small Pica [R 70] or *Philosophie* (1528) as it appears in Erasmus, *Parabolae*, Paris, P. Leber, 1528, f. A1v. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.



43. The 'Vidoué' Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
or *Gaillarde* (1528)

A small-sized and rather second-rate Roman appears at Vidoué's press at the end of the 1530s, ostensibly as an attempt to modernize somewhat its type cases. Moreover, it occurs in the Versailles copy *sine dato* (anc. FA in-12 E 411f) of Erasmus's *Colloquia* in 24°, sometimes improperly dated 1527 and attributed to Colines (Moreau, 3: no. 1200). It is also the Roman which Moreau (5: 104, no. 187) attributes to Savetier though it differs from Savetier's type described above (40).

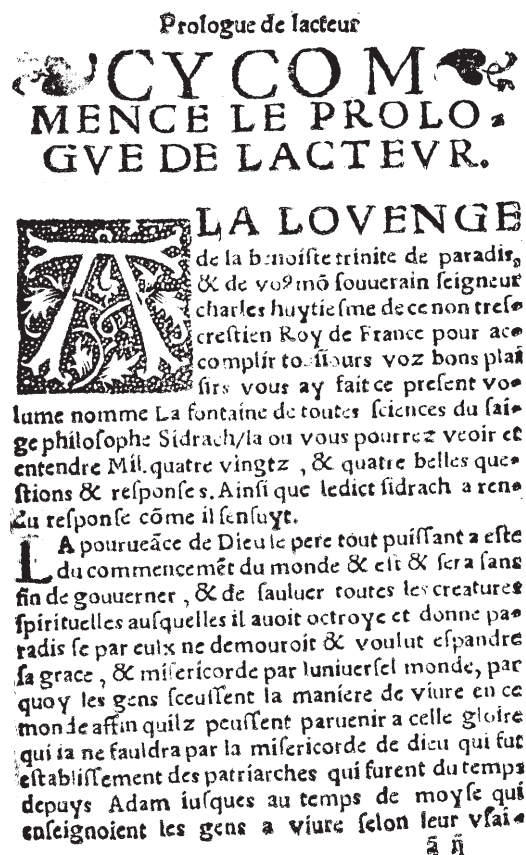
SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 64 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 20 October 1528, Paris, P. Vidoué & G. I Du Pré (J. Meschinot, *Les lunettes des princes*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BH 2340; Moreau, 3: 429, no. 1569).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1529, P. Vidoué; 1536, P. Le Preux & J. II Petit (Moreau, 5: no. 187).

KEY LETTERS Pointed capital A; narrow H; singly-serifed M; tilt-barred lower case e; stroked i.

FIGURE 43 The 'Vidoué' Bourgeois [R 64] or *Gaillarde* (1528) as it appears in Sidrac, *Mil IIII vingtz et quatre demandes*, Paris, G. Du Pré & P. Vidoué, 1531, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.



44. The 'Vidoué' Roman Titling
on Two-line Great Primer [R 10.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain (1529)

Vidoué had three new sets of Roman titlings engraved about 1529 (44, 46 and 51). All three exhibit common characteristics. Basically they follow the design of the 1517 R 8.5 Basle capitals (which appeared in Paris from 1530 onwards) but amplify the serifs to oversized spiky spurs, somewhat similar to the fourth-century *litterae Damascianae*. The direct source of this mannerism is unclear. It may be a reminiscence of the forked terminals (a feature of the then current initials with uncial letterforms) or perhaps more likely (as William Kemp privately suggested) they may imitate the letterforms of some decorated initials with the playing children appearing at Vidoué's and Wechel's presses from 1527 and 1529 on-

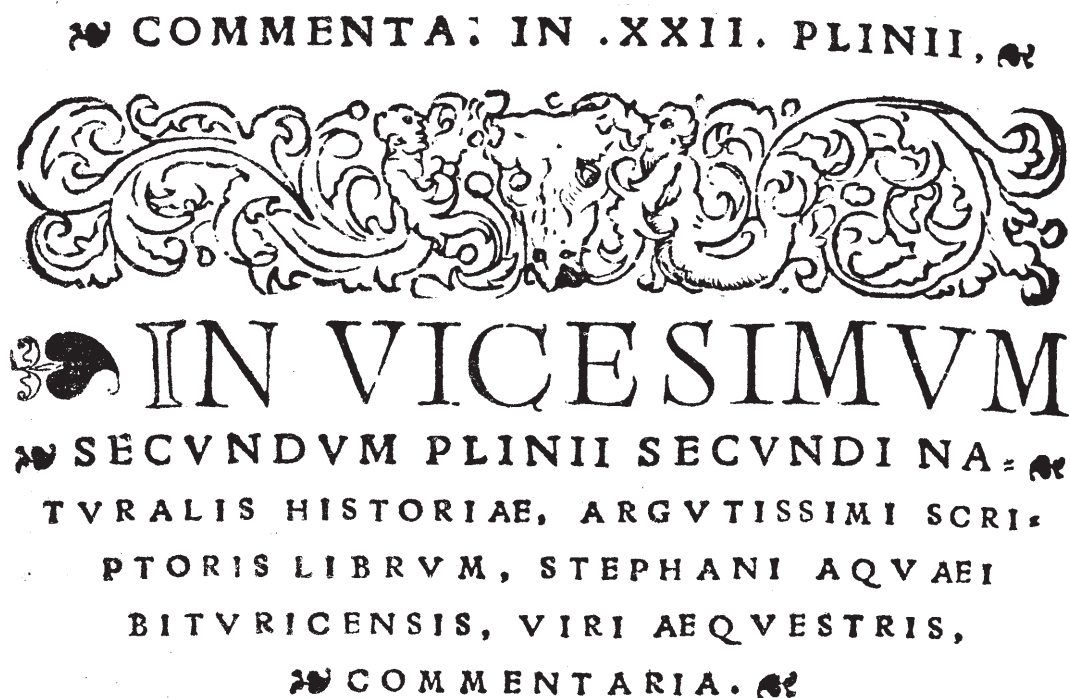
wards respectively. Koezler (1936, 193-5, fig. 43) suggests that these were engraved by the Basle Master C.V. after Holbein. Similar mannerisms appear in two sets of decorated initials, used by Augereau in the early 1530s (Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 34-5).

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain*); 10.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 June 1529, Paris, P. Vidoué for G. du Pré and F. Regnault (*Consuetudines generales Bituricensium...*; Ghent, University Library, Jur. 4297; Moreau, 3: 469, no. 1726).

KEY LETTERS Singly-seriffed capital M; long-tailed R; all sorts display hypertrophied bifurcating serifs.

FIGURE 44 The 'Vidoué' Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 10.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1529) as it appears in E. de Laigue, *In omnes C. Plinii ... commentaria*, Paris, P. Vidoué, 1530, f. aa6v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



OMPLESSE POTERANT, &c. Maximum naturæ rerum parentis opus. xx. libro dicturum se pollicebatur iure quidem, animaduersis scilicet dotibus innumeris, quibus scarent plantæ ignobiles, & quasi abiectui habitæ, quæ profecto à Plin. dicta sunt, poterant compleſſe, quæ pollicitus erat, plantarum miros effectus coniectanti se se plura suggerunt dicturo de his. Nam & si causa odoris, aut cibi, aut decoris plantæ antelata natura nobis sint data, restant quæ non minore potentia sunt insignitæ, de quibus nunc agendum particulatim.

45. Colines's Roman Titling
on Two-line English [R 8.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin (1529)

In Colines's printings this titling supersedes from 1529 onwards the first and rather weak 9.5 mm titling Colines engraved for Henri I Estienne in 1518 (15), as well as the woodcut headline lettering appearing from 1523 onwards or the 5.5 mm Roman titling of (24) above.

Its letterforms are strong, sturdy, bold. These features seem to summarize Colines's thought about the ideal Roman letterform. It is, in my opinion, a wholly satisfying typeface, one of the best to appear in the sixteenth century. At the time of its appearance in 1529, it had in Paris, qualitatively and aesthetically, no competitor. The Colines titling is contemporaneous with the 7.5 and 5.5 mm Roman titlings appearing at Tory's press (47 and 49). The Colines titling has been reviewed by Vervliet (2003a, 140–1).

SIZE Two-line English (*Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*); : 8/8.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 4 June 1529, Paris, S. de Colines (R. Agricola, *De in- uentione dialectica*; Ghent, University Library, Phil. 91; Moreau, 3: 445, no. 1628).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom]; 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon & G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom]; 1535, J. Nyverd for G. Du Pré & S. de Colines; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Classic inscriptional bold capitals with strokes swell- ing at foot and head.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2003a, 140–1.

FIGURE 45a Colines's Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529) as it occurs on the title- page of Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, Colines, 1531. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 45b Colines's Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529) assembled from P. Anghiera [Pierre Martyr], *Extraict ou recueil des isles*, Paris, Colines, 1532 (Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp) and Galenus, *De cavis respiracionis*, Paris, Colines, 1533 (Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague).

TERENTIANI
MAVRI NILIACAE SYENES PRAESI-
DIS, DE LITERIS, SYLLABIS, PEDIBVS ET
metris, tractatus insignis, fuspiciendus antiquitate eti-
am reuerenda, Nicolao Brissæo Montiuillario com-
mentatore & emendatore.

A B C D E F G H I L M N
O P Q R S T V

46. The 'Gromors' Roman Titling
on Two-line English [R 8.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin (1529)

A bold Roman titling in the same style as the two Tory titlings (47 and 49) occurs sporadically at an anonymous Paris press, possibly Gromors's as suggested by Moreau (3: nos. 1748 and 1900; 4: no. 1348). I did not see this face appearing in named Tory imprints.

SIZE Two-line English (*Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*); : 8.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1529, Paris, [P. Gromors] (Erasmus, *Brevissima ... epistolarum formula*; Ghent, University Library, Res. 1828:4; Moreau, 3: 474, no. 1748).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1535, A. Girault & Jacques Kerver & J. Macé & J. II Petit; 1537, C. Chevallon & A. Girault & J. Macé, M. de Vascosan.

KEY LETTERS Bold capitals with strokes swelling at top and foot; concave top of A; high-barred F; narrow H and N; long-tailed R.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2003a, 140.

FIGURE 46 The 'Gromors' Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529) as it appears in Erasmus, *Brevissima ... epistolarum formula*, Paris, [P. Gromors], 1529. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

BREVIS

47. The 'Tory' Roman Titling
on Two-line Pica [R 7.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Cicéro (1529)

Three series of inscriptional capitals, all in the same style, appeared from the end of the 1520s onwards. The largest one [R 8.5], eponymously named after Gromors, is described in (46). Two others can be linked to Tory. The medium one [R 7.5] is described here and the smaller R 5.5 in (49). The three faces ignore the proportions and letterforms as prescribed by Tory in his *Champfleur*. They rather seem to copy hesitatingly the bold Roman titling Simon de Colines introduced in 1528 (45).

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Lettres de deux points de Cicéro*); : 7.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 28 April 1529, Paris, G. Tory & G. de Gourmont (G. Tory, *Champfleur*; Brussels, Royal Library, VH 8870 A LP; Moreau, 3: 515, no. 1929).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1529, J. Denis; 1530, J. Roigny; 1532, G. Tory & P. Roffet; 1534, D. Janot; 1538, O. Mallard & G. I Du Pré; 1544, J. André.

KEY LETTERS Bold capitals with strokes swelling at top and foot; top of A extending to the left; high-barred E; narrow H; singly-seriffed M; diagonal of N protruding at the top; disconnected tail of Q; long-tailed R.

LITERATURE Kemp, 1991a, 716; Vervliet, 2003a, 140.

FIGURE 47 The 'Tory' Titling on Two-line Pica [R 7.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1529) as it appears on the title-page of Eusebius Caesariensis, *Lhistoire ecclesiastique*, Paris, G. Tory, 1532. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes.

L H I S T O I R E
E C C L E S I A
S T I Q V E

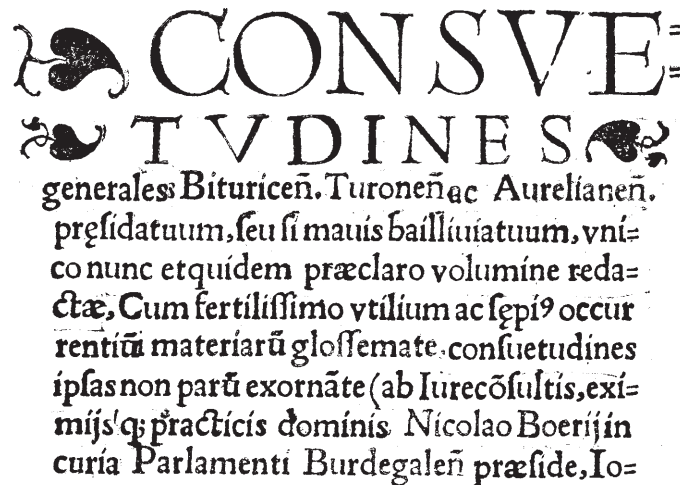
48. The 'Vidoué' Second Roman Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 6.2] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1529)

A second Vidoue titling appearing in the same year 1529;
in the same decorated style as (44 and 51).

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 6.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 June 1529, Paris, P. Vidoue for G. du Pré and F. Regnault (*Consuetudines generales Bituricensium...*; Ghent, University Library, Jur. 4297; Moreau, 3: 469, no. 1726).
KEY LETTERS singly-seriffed capital M; long-tailed R; all sorts with hypertrophied bifurcating serifs.

FIGURE 48 The 'Vidoué' Second Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1529) as it appears on the title-page (line 2) of the *Consuetudines generales Bituricensium, Turonensium et Aurelianensium*, Paris, G. I Du Pré, F. Regnault, P. Vidoue, 1529. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.



49. The 'Tory' Roman Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1529)

The smallest of Tory's three titlings, appearing only at his
press.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 28 April 1529, Paris, G. Tory & G. de Gourmont (G. Tory, *Champfleury*; Brussels, Royal Library, VH 8870 A LP; Moreau, 3: 515, no. 1929).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1532, G. Tory for P. Roffet; 1537, D. Janot.
KEY LETTERS Bold capitals with strokes swelling at top and foot; concave top of A; high-barred E and F; narrow H; two forms of N (broad/narrow); singly-seriffed M; long-tailed R.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2003a, 140.

FIGURE 49 The 'Tory' Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1529) as it appears on the title-page of Eusebius Caesariensis, *Lhistoire ecclesiastique*, Paris, G. Tory, 1532. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes.

IMPRIMEE PAR LE
COMMANDEMENT
DV ROY.

50. The 'Gromors' Small Pica Roman [R 75]
or *Philosophie* (1529)

A reasonably well cut Small Pica Roman, possibly inspired by Colines's one on the same size (35), can be seen in two adespota, tentatively attributed by Moreau (3: 1748 and 1900) to Gromors and/or Bonnemère.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 75 x 1.8 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1529, Paris, [P. Gromors] (Erasmus, *Brevissima maximeque compendiaria conficiendarum epistolarum formula*; Ghent, University Library, Res. 1828:4; Moreau, 3: 474, no. 1748).

KEY LETTERS Pointed A; singly-seriffed M; long-tailed R; tilt-barred lower case e; stroked i.

FIGURE 50 The 'Gromors' Small Pica Roman [R 75] or *Philosophie* (1529) as it appears in Erasmus, *Brevissima ... epistolarum formula*, Paris, [P. Gromors], 1529. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

fima maximeque compendiaria
conficiendarum epistola
larum formula, per eras
roterodamum

51. The 'Vidoué' Roman Titling
on Two-line Pica [R 75] or
Lettres de deux points de Cicéro (1530)

Vidoué used a third and somewhat smaller sized titling in the same style as his earlier ones, described above in (44 and 48).

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Lettres de deux points de Cicéro*); : 7.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN July 1530, Paris, P. Vidoué for G. du Pré ([G. Du Breuil], *Stilus supraemae Curie Parlamenti Parisiensis*; Ghent, University Library, Res. 121[1]; Moreau, 3: 547, no. 2064).

KEY LETTERS singly-seriffed capital M; long-tailed R; all sorts with hypertrophied bifurcating serifs.

FIGURE 51 The 'Vidoué' Titling on Two-line Pica [R 75] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1529) as it appears in E. de Laigue, *In omnes C. Plinii ... commentaria*, Paris, P. Vidoué, 1530, f. ai. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

IN SECVNDVM
PLINII LIBRVM, STEPHANI AQVEI,
VIRI EQVESTRIS, COMMENTARIA.



VNDVM ET HOC. &c. Esse in rerum natura plæ
ra'que ita occlusa prorsum, atque in eiusdem abdita maie-
state, vt nulla ingeniorum solertia, nulla'que cura, perue-
stigari potuerint, est inconfesso. Nos tamē nature quodam
impulsu, ac genio, conamur quòd speramus, assequi. pro-
cliuiore illa sciendi, inquirendi, negociandiq; auiditate mor-
tales excitante. Natura enim comparatum esse videmus,
vtcun'que nos amor, dulcedo'que scientiæ impulerit, ea'que
prouehamur, circa hanc attentissimo labore, conatuque quàmmaximo, verse-
mur. Constat inde multos, reconditas disciplinas, cura peruigili perscrutari. alios
verò humiliores, acquisituque multò faciliores, ac non tantis sudoribus dignas.
Maxima tamen studiosorum pars, historiarum suauitate, earum luculenta lectio

Table 1: Roman Types by Body Size

Nonpareil (43/49 mm)	
28. The 'Vidoue' Nonpareil [R 43] (1522)	
39. Colines's Minion [R 49] or <i>Mignonne</i> (1526)	
Brevier (51 mm)	
27. The 'Vidoue' Brevier [R 51] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1522)	
Bourgeois (62/64 mm)	
23. Colines's First Bourgeois [R 63] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1520)	
31. Colines's Second Bourgeois [R 63] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1523)	
38. The 'Calvarin' Bourgeois [R 62] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1526)	
43. The 'Vidoue' Bourgeois [R 64] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1528)	
Long Primer (65/67 mm)	
11. The 'Badius' Long Primer [R 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1509)	
12. The 'Le Rouge' Long Primer [R 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1513)	
18. The 'Lotter' Long Primer [R 66] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1519, Leipzig; 1526, Gromors, Savetier)	
22. The 'La Barre' Long Primer [R 65] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1520)	
30. The 'Dauphins' Long Primer [R 65] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1523)	
40. The 'Savetier' Long Primer [R 66] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1527)	
Small Pica (70/75 mm)	
9. The 'Quentel' Small Pica [R 72] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1499, Cologne; 1521, Paris, Vidoue)	
26. Colines's First Small Pica [R 75] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1522)	
35. Colines's Second Small Pica [R 73] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1525)	
42. The 'Leber' Small Pica [R 70] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1528)	
50. The 'Gromors' Small Pica [R 75] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1529)	
Pica (78/86 mm)	
2. The 'Gering' Pica [R 80] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1478)	
4. The 'Capsaca' Pica [R 83] or <i>Cicéro</i> (Venice, 1493; Lyons, ? Wolf, 1499; Paris, Bocard, 1502)	
7. The 'Kerver' Pica [R 79] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1498)	
8. The 'Tholoze' Pica [R 78] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1499)	
21. The 'La Barre' Pica [R 85] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1520)	
25. Vatel's Pica [R 86] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1522)	
English (88/98 mm)	
6. The 'Wolf-Kerver' English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1494)	
10. The 'Hopyl' English-Bodied Roman [R 98] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1508)	
14. The 'Cervicornus' Roman English [R 88] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1517, Cologne; 1522, Paris, Vidoue)	
17. Colines's First English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1519)	
20. The 'Desprez' English-Bodied Roman [R 91] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1520)	
34. The 'Vidoue' English-Bodied Roman or [R 98] <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1525)	
37. Colines's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1526)	
Large English and Great Primer (100/117 mm)	
1. The 'Gering' on Large English [R 100] or <i>Gros-texte</i> (1478)	
3. The 'Capsaca' Great Primer [R 105] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (Venice, 1493; Paris, Badius, 1503)	
5. The 'Bergmann' Great Primer [R 102] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (Basle, 1494; Paris, Levet, 1498)	
13. The 'Ruel' Great Primer [R 117] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1516)	
19. The 'Du Pré' Great Primer [R 110] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1520)	
41. Colines's First Great Primer [R 117] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1528)	
Titlings	
29. Colines's Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i> (1523)	
24. Colines's First Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i> (1522)	
32. Colines's Second Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i> (1524)	
36. The 'Chevallon' Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.2] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i> (1526)	
49. The 'Tory' Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i> (1529)	
33. The 'Vidoue' First Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6.2] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Philosophie</i> (1525)	

48. The 'Vidoué' Second Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1529)
47. The 'Tory' Titling on Two-line Pica [R 7.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1529)
51. The 'Vidoué' Titling on Two-line Pica [R 7.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1530)
16. The 'Desprez' Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1519)
45. Colines's Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529)
46. The 'Gromors' Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529)
15. Colines's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1518)
44. The 'Vidoué' Titling on Two-line Great
Primer [R 10.5] or *Lettres de deux points
de Gros-romain* (1529)

Simon de Colines, Punchcutter; 1518–1546

In transalpine Europe, a coherent and aesthetically satisfying set of Roman and Italic letterforms, qualitatively equal (or perhaps even superior) to the best of Italian Renaissance typography, was introduced by Simon de Colines. With his stepson, Robert I Estienne, he was the foremost Paris printer of the 1520–40s. The date of his birth is unknown, but may be placed around 1490, his earliest types being traceable in the printing of Henry I Estienne from 1518 onwards.¹ After the latter's death in 1520, he became the new head of the Estienne press. Some time in 1521 or 1522, anyhow before August 1522,² he married Estienne's widow, *née* Guyonne Viart, thus becoming stepfather to her eight children, two Higmans and six Estiennes. With more than 700 titles known, he was one of most productive printer-publishers of his time.

Colines's life (d. 1546) and works have been studied by Renouard³ and more recently by Veyrin-Forrer and Schreiber.⁴ Aspects of his type production have been reviewed by Barker, Amert and Vervliet.⁵ Up to now, however, there is no complete and systematic survey of the typefaces he may have cut himself. The 1991 study of Amert certainly is the more detailed approach, but, as it omits the titlings, the Greeks, and the types used by Colines in his earliest and latest years, the following update may be deemed useful.

There is no hard proof that Simon de Colines was a letter-engraver. Circumstantial evidence, however, is readily available, as four contemporary sources seem to reflect Colines's work as a punchcutter. Earliest are Colines's own colophons alluding to the excellence of 'his' types. From 1526 onwards he describes on occasion some work as printed 'suis typis' or even 'suis typis nitidissimis'.⁶ Admittedly, not a very strong argument as other printers tend to use the same formula simply to indicate their ownership of the cases or to convey that they were responsible for the typesetting. But Colines's stepchildren were well aware of the quality of his types. Robert I Estienne praised Colines's second Bourgeois Roman of 1523 as a 'belle lettre'.⁷ Reginald Chaudière, who had married the elder of Colines's stepdaughters and had taken over the press after Colines's death in 1546, reassured his customers that he would continue to use his stepfather's letters emphasizing their 'elegance et beauté'.⁸

Secondly, contemporary poets have frequently praised his skills as a letter-engraver. Cortaesius, Bourbon, Sussannaeus celebrated his types.⁹ A well-known epigram of Joannes Vulteius (Visagier) is quite explicit, praising Colines, Estienne and (François?) Gryphius as follows:

Inter tot, norunt libros qui cudere, tres sunt
Insignes: languet caetera turba fame.
Castigat Stephanus, sculpit Colinaeus: utrunque
Gryphius edocta mente manūque facit.

(Vulteius, *Epigrammata*, Lyons, 1536, 54)¹⁰

Third, the coherent design of the typefaces used in his books points to a single hand. Moreover, their use is restricted to Colines's own press and those of his stepchildren (Robert Estienne from 1526, François Estienne from 1537 and Chaudière mainly from 1545/6 onwards) or those of his partners (mainly Blaubloom in the years 1529–36). The limited distribution of these faces sug-

Summary

This paper surveys the typefaces that Simon de Colines (Paris, fl. 1518–46) may have cut. Colines is credited with the introduction, North of the Alps, of the first coherent and aesthetically satisfying set of Roman and Italic typefaces. This study is an update of earlier studies by Barker (1974), Amert (1991; 2001), Vervliet (2002a). In order of the date of their first occurrence, it describes 28 typefaces (21 Romans, 4 Italics, 3 Greeks).

Revision of a paper that appeared in *De gulden passer*, 81 (2003), 115–169.

1. See below (1–3).
2. Coyecque, 1: 68, no. 304.
3. Renouard, 1894.
4. Veyrin-Forrer, 1995; Schreiber, 1995.
5. Barker, 1974; Amert, 1991; 2001; Vervliet, 2002a.
6. Renouard, 1894, 68, 82, etc.
7. Armstrong, 1986, 325; see below (6).
8. Renouard, 1894, 450.
9. Veyrin-Forrer, 1995, xiii.
10. Printers are three, who must be held the best
Beside them pale and meagre all the rest:
Stephanus for correction;
Colines for the art
Of cutting type; and Gryphius, for his part,
Dexterity alike of hand and mind
Being his, a master of them both we find.
(Translation: Armstrong, 1986, 9)

gests that they were proprietary to their maker and that their engraver was not serving other presses.

Finally there are two documents indirectly originating from the elder Guillaume Le Bé. He must have known the aging Colines or learned about his reputation during an apprenticeship in the 1540–50s at Robert I Estienne's and Claude Garamont's premises. Le Bé later specialized in cutting music and Hebrew types. Towards the end of his life (d. 1598) he owned a unmatched collection of punches and matrices by Garamont, Granjon, and other contemporary masters; it became a basis for the main Paris typefoundry which was headed by four generations of Le Bés and two of Fourniers, and lasted until the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹¹

The first Le Bé document is an Inventory of his typefoundry, preserved in an eighteenth-century copy in the hand of the elder Fournier.¹² The exact date of the lost original is unclear but it may have been written or updated by the younger Guillaume (II) Le Bé after 1608, a date which is affixed to the entry of an antiphonal music.¹³ It probably dates from around 1618, as the Inventory includes punches and matrices from the Du Chemin heritage.¹⁴ The c. 1618 Le Bé Inventory regularly describes the types by their size and the punchcutter's name. It mentions three Romans by Colines; they are described below in (9, 10, and 16).

The other Le Bé document is a Memorandum of chiefly biographical notes about French punchcutters, typefounders and printers active in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Its first part was compiled and written by the same Guillaume II Le Bé about 1643. His father evidently was the main source for the earlier part of the story. The Memorandum cites Colines as a 'homme expert aux caracteres' and as instructor of Robert I Estienne in the craft of typefounding and punchcutting; it mentions a Petit-texte Roman of Colines (probably his Minion; see 10), his Italics and, in a general way, that he was the first in France to copy the Aldine Romans.¹⁵

However, Colines's authorship of the types he used – allowing for some exceptions at the start and the end of his career – should not be overstated. It would be a misconception to think that Colines was the sole or anyhow one of the very few letter-cutters working in Paris. At the beginning of his career, about 1518–20, there were several of them and at its end they were numerous. Guillaume Le Rouge, the only other Paris type-engraver known by name,¹⁶ may just about then have passed on, but exquisite Gothic typefaces were still available in Paris, though I lack information whether new types were engraved or rather the old ones recast.

About 1519–21 Vatel engraved his two Greeks.¹⁷ About the same time, an anonymous punchcutter provided Gourmont with the first typecast Hebrew¹⁸ and was Gromors enabled to display a fresh Great-primer Roman and an Italic on Long Primer.¹⁹ Desprez introduced in 1519 a new *Saint-augustin*;²⁰ Vidoue in 1521–23 a new Nonpareil Roman²¹ and Brevier roman.²² Still about 1519, there was or were the punchcutter(s) making the rough Paris imitation of the R 8.5 and R 6 Basle capitals.²³ Towards the end of the 1520s Vidoue (or his engraver) produced his ornate imitations of the same R 8.5 Basle capitals in several sizes,²⁴ while new Chevallon Romans (rough, uncouth and much unlike the refined Colines types) had appeared a few years earlier. Finally, to conclude this surely incomplete survey,^a there is the 1529 Italic of Jerome Denis which Moreau²⁵ associates with Nicolas Savetier.

a. For a more complete survey, see Vervliet, 2005a.

11. Audin, 1933, 8.
12. Morison, 1957.
13. Morison, 1957, 25.
14. Audin, 1933, 8; Carter, 1967, p. 11, n. 6.
15. Carter, 1967, 15–6.
16. Carter, 1969, 117; Vervliet, 2002a, 274.
17. Vervliet, 2002, 13–15.
18. Moreau, 2: no. 2382; Secret, 1963, 269.
19. Moreau, 3: no. 107; Johnson, 1959, 97.
20. Moreau, 2: no. 2306.
21. Moreau, 3: no. 27.
22. Moreau, 3: nos. 429; 494.
23. Moreau, 2: nos. 1986, 2052, 2306; see below (1).
24. Kemp, 1991, 43, n. 51.
25. Moreau, 3: nos. 1646; 1746.

And then, kindled no doubt by passionate discussions – as reflected in Tory's *Champfleury* (1529) and its Italian and German forerunners – how to restore the *vetustioris litere maiestas*, extolled by Petrarca and his disciples,²⁶ there follows in Paris the outburst of what has been labelled the 'Aldine revolution' with punchcutters as Augereau, Arnoul, Garamont, the mysterious Maître Constantin, all listed by the Le Bé documents.²⁷ To this list I must add the conjectural work of the Estienne master, of François Gryphius and the shadowy minor masters, like those who engraved the Tory Greek and the two (or perhaps three) sets of his titlings, the Wechel, Buffet and Loys Romans,^b and by the end of the 1530s, the Postel Arabic and the inept Vidoue Gros-canon Roman (R 280).

Colines's career as type-engraver can conveniently be divided into four periods: first, a learning period from 1518 to 1522; then, from 1523 to 1531, the mature period; third, the years of the challenge of and confrontation with the Aldine revolution in Paris typography, say from 1531 to 1536; finally, a time of resting and harvesting, to 1546, the year of this death.

Colines's first period (1518–23) clearly is a learning phase. Starting namelessly, no doubt as a foreman, at the press of Henry I Estienne (with Badius, then the leading humanist printer in Paris), he cut one type a year: five Romans and a Greek. See below, (1–5, 26). Intended to blend with Estienne's incunabular Romans, Colines's early Romans retain most characteristics of the Basle style, the broad E and H, the downward-beaking G (a feature which Colines seems to have fancied), the doubly-seriffed M and N, the tilt-bowled e, the heavy g with oversized top, the stunted extenders, the heavy arms of z, the lozenge-shaped punctuation. However, in some of these earlier letterforms – see his dotted i, idiosyncratic R, most of his woodcut initials and title headings – a new sensibility and consideration for the elegance of humanist lettering seem to surface. Colines's earliest period (1518–22) has been studied by Vervliet.²⁸

Colines's mature period starts in 1523 with three new typefaces, a Bourgeois Roman (63 mm/20 lines) and two titlings of 4 mm and 5.5 mm respectively. See below, 6–8. With a series of open outlined 12 mm (probably woodcut) initials, they are the characteristic faces of a popular series in sextodecimo of parts of the bible, published from 1523 onwards under the editorship of his stepson Robert I Estienne and constantly reprinted by Colines. The Bourgeois was praised by Robert I Estienne, who described it as a 'belle lettre'.²⁹

The new typefaces are designed boldly and forcefully. With six larger-sized Romans appearing at Colines's press in the following seven years, they constitute a coherent group of bold Romans. They are distinctive for Colines's publications and may therefore be attributed to him. They are the first Romans cut in France whose designs clearly outclass the Basle typefaces, the then current standard North of the Alps. They can fully compete with the renowned Aldine models.³⁰

For sure, Colines's Romans only gradually shook off the archaisms present in his earliest production and borrowed from the fifteenth-century Venetian and the subsequent Basle Romans. At least until the early 1530's, Colines's Romans retain the heavier weight of the older designs and withstand the general vogue for an airy lightness, introduced in Parisian typography in the 1520's, mainly but not exclusively by Tory's woodcuts (1525) and by the new Romans of Estienne (1530), Augereau and Gryphius (1531). This is especially perceptible

b. For a more complete survey, see below, p. 173.

26. Petrarca, 2002, 5: 248 (18, 9).

27. Vervliet, 1999, 7–8; Vervliet, 2007.

28. Vervliet, 2002a.

29. Armstrong, 1986, 325.

30. Barker, 1974, 8.

in Colines's lower case sorts, where archaisms remain as in the tilt-bowled e, the g with broad upper and lower counters, the stroked i in the ligatures fi and si, the straight y, the z with thin diagonal, the oversized comma and the lozenge-shaped colon, period, question-mark.

The capitals, however, have lost most reminiscences of the Basle style, the only conspicuous exceptions being the E, which stays broad, and the G with a downward beak. Their design can be considered as the first proper typographic rendering, North of the Alps, of the classical *capitalis monumentalis*, well before this was popularized there by the treatises of Dürer (1525) and Tory (1529); at any rate, they are clearly more elegant than the preceding Ratdolt, Froben and Strasburg titlings.³¹

We have no clue to decide under what influences Colines redrew their design. He could have had knowledge of earlier treatises of Damianus Moyllus (1483) and Luca de Pacioli (1509); he may have found inspiration in first French manuscripts written in the first decades of the 1500s in the *littera humanistica*³² or in the Aldine type designs of Francesco Griffo, or in the sketches which Tory may have shown. Tory about 1522 had returned from Rome and precisely in 1524 resumed his publishing activities, indeed at Colines's press.³³ Most type historians tend to consider Tory as the most likely source of Colines's inspiration. However, some restraint may be in order here. Unlike Colines, Tory was a rather poor typographer, as far as both his style and cases are concerned. His *Champfleury* did not provide any model for lower case Romans nor did Colines (or any other contemporary letter-cutter) follow the patterns and ratios of the capital letterforms advocated by Tory.

During this second period Colines cut also two Italics, and one (or two) Greeks. The first Italic is an splendid English-Bodied chancery Italic which easily rivals the best of the Italian designs. The second is small-sized Bourgeois in the Aldine fashion. Colines's Italics remained unequaled until the arrival about 1543 of Robert Granjon in this domain. See below, 22–23. The Greek is the renowned Sophocles Greek of 1528. It is the first decent Greek cursive to be cut in France. The other Greek is a small-sized face, less elegant and whose attribution to Colines is questionable. See below, 27–28.

The third period of Colines's type production starts in 1531. It is a time of challenge by and confrontation with the newly styled Estienne Romans in three sizes, which by the end of 1530 revolutionized Paris Roman type design.³⁴ In several aspects they are the antipodes of Colines's preferences. They were light and airy. They respected the proportions of the classical epigraphic capital and embraced most features of the Aldine Romans, with capitals somewhat below the ascender line, the narrow E, F, S, the one-eared M, the lower case e with horizontal bar, the z with heavy diagonal. It not certain who engraved the Estienne Romans, although in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory³⁵ the smaller of them types is referred to as the 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline'.³⁶ The attribution to Colines is puzzling and must be an error – one of the very rare in that document.³⁷ In fact, nor the Sylvius Roman or any other of the new Estienne types do occur in Colines's printing, though Colines engraved a close copy of it in 1533. This is described below in (16).

As the engraver of the new Estienne Romans, Garamont is cited frequently – in my opinion, somewhat overhastily. I rather guess Robert I Estienne contributed substantially to the design of the new Romans, though not in their actual cutting. Estienne has been praised appropriately as a scholar and publisher.

31. Johnson, 1937 and below p. 151.

32. Sterling, 1975; Plummer, 1982, nos. 126 sqq.; Orth, 1983; Randall, 1989: 2, 2, nos. 208–11; Avril-Reynaud, 1993, 300, 322, 412–14; Marin, 2000, 183.

33. Barker, 1974, 7, n.10.

34. Barker, 1974; Kemp, 1991; Vervliet, 2004.

35. Morison, 1957, 18.

36. Carter, 1967, 40, n.15.

37. Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 107–112; 1987, 6–7.

But his merits as a typographer should not be underrated.³⁸ From 1530 onwards his headlines switch from Roman capitals to a large-sized lower case Roman introducing for the next decades a new style in title-page design. About the ideal form of Roman type too, he probably had personal ideas and his schooling in the crafts of typefounding and punchcutting is reported by Guillaume II Le Bé.³⁹ But as yet we have no name to propose as to who may have done the letter-cutting of that paramount distinction.^c

It is not simple to determine the relation, whether friendly or strained, of Colines with the most famous of his stepsons. When the latter, after marrying the well-endowed Perrette Bade in 1526, moved into the family mansion (causing Colines to move out) and started his own printing office, he obtained founts (or matrices) of the Colines's current Roman and Greek types, some of which he continued to use unto well into the 1530s. But he had no access to the updates or to the new Colines Greek or Italics, at least not before Colines's death in 1546. Moreover, Colines co-published or printed several titles for Robert's eldest brother, François, but, so far as I know, not for Robert. However, before suggesting a conflictual separation of Colines and Robert Estienne in 1526, it would be better to wait for the results of a study of initials, which both printers possibly shared.⁴⁰

At any event, other Paris type-engravers, such as Gryphius or Augereau, were eager to follow the new Estienne Roman letter design. After a couple of years Colines too bowed to the new trend. He revised most of his Romans bringing them more in line with the lighter fashion. The only conspicuous exception is his 8.5 mm titling, described below in (13), but which he used more sparingly from 1536 onwards.

In the area of Italics, Colines's superiority remained unchallenged. He added two more sizes, the first, a chancery italic, on Great Primer, the other, an Aldine italic, on Pica (24–25). For years, they remained miles ahead of what Estienne and other Paris printers could offer in this respect.

Colines's fourth period starts in 1536 and lasts until his death ten years later. I have titled it a period of resting and harvesting. The habitual production of one new typeface a year ceases. The two typefaces which appear in this period were probably not of his own cutting. See below, 20–21.

This paper attempts to catalogue exhaustively the types Colines may have cut. But it does not include typecast flowers and decorative materials or woodcut lettering, however important these may be for a full appreciation of Colines's aesthetics. Nor does it include the older typefaces used by Colines and taken over from Henry I Estienne (2 Romans, 2 Gothic textures, one Greek)⁴¹ or acquired the local market (one bastarda; some uncials).

The paper describes 28 types Colines may have cut (21 Romans, 4 Italics, 3 Greeks). However, three or four are missing: an early roman, one or two Hebrews, and a small rotunda. The early Roman is a Great Primer Roman (116 mm) used by Henry I Estienne for his 1516 Dioscorides edition.⁴² Theoretically, this Roman falls within the time frame one might envisage for a young Colines starting out as a punchcutter. Its design clearly betrays a lack of experience in handling Roman letterforms. Could it be the first hesitating step of an as yet inexperienced Colines? Some resemblances with later Colines Romans were suggested by Amert.⁴³ But three points seem to contradict this hypothesis. The first is the complete incongruity of the letterforms with those I can observe in the other

c. Maitre Constantin is suggested. See below, p. 166–7.

38. Black, 1936, 437–41; Martin, 2000, 188–91.

39. Carter, 1967, 16.

40. Rawles, 1988.

41. Vervliet, 2002a.

42. Moreau, 2: 366, no. 1334.

43. Amert, 2001, 24.

d. The second may have been engraved by Garamont, if it proves to be identical with a set of punches preserved in the Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp (ST 52), that Plantin's 1563 inventory describes as being 'retaille de Be' [refurbished by Le Bé] (Early inv., 1960, 17 and 19–20). See Vervliet, 2008, no. 388.

44. Schreiber, 1995, 154, 163, 201.

45. Schreiber, 1995, 175.

early work arguably by Colines. Secondly, it reappears from 1517 onwards at the presses of Didier Maheu and Guillaume Le Rouge. The latter belongs to a family of illuminators and punchcutters. Perhaps he may be credited with this rough Roman (and a square Greek of the same low quality appearing in the Le Rouge imprint). Finally, such a type was never used by Colines.

The rotunda is used for the lemmata of the Colines/Du Pré editions of Gagny's *In Pauli epistolas scholia*, 1538 sqq.⁴⁴ The first Hebrew occurs in the various editions of Erasmus's *Colloquia* (a few lines in the *Convivium religiosum*) and the second in the Colines/Du Pré 1541 folio Bible.⁴⁵ My guess is that Colines acquired the first on the local market.^d But it is best to await further research on both the Paris Gothics and Hebrews before attempting an attribution.

Conspectus of Types

A table at the end of this paper displays the types by size.

Colines's Roman Types

1. Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1518)
2. Colines's First English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1519)
3. Colines's First Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1520)
4. Colines's First Small Pica Roman [R 75] or *Philosophie* (1522)
5. Colines's First Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1522)
6. Colines's Second Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523)
7. Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1523)
8. Colines's Second Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1524)
9. Colines's Second Small Pica Roman [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525)
10. Colines's Minion Roman [R 49] or *Mignonne* (1526)
11. Colines's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1526)
12. Colines's First Great Primer Roman [R 117] or *Gros-romain* (1528)
13. Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529)

14. Colines's Second Great Primer 'Terentianus' Roman [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531)
15. Colines's Nonpareil Roman [R 42] (1533)
16. Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
17. Colines's Third Great Primer Roman [R 116] or *Gros-romain* (1533)
18. Colines's Long Primer Roman [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536)
19. Colines's Pica Roman [R 80] or *Cicéro* (1536)
20. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1536)
21. The 'Ammonius' Two-line Pica Roman [R 160] or *Palestine* (1542)

Colines's Italic Types

22. Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 91] or *Saint-augustin* (1528)
23. Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1530)
24. Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or *Gros-romain* (1532)
25. Colines's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)

Colines's Greek Types

26. Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522)
27. The 'Gromors' Minion Greek [Gk 49] or *Mignonne* (1523)
28. Colines's 'Sophocles' Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528)

1. Colines's Roman Titling
on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain (1518)

This titling is the first Parisian answer to a well designed 8.2 mm Roman titling, appearing in 1517 at the Froben press in Basle and probably cut by Peter II Schoeffer (Vervliet, 1968, 238; Carter, 1969, 110). The Basle Roman became rapidly very popular throughout Europe but infiltrated into French typography only at the very end of the 1520s, in particular through the presses of immigrant printers, such as Badius, Morrhy, Wechel, Loys in Paris and Gryphius in Lyons.

This Parisian titling occurs only in Henry Estienne's last years of activity (1518–20) and thereafter in the printing of his successor Colines or stepson Damien Higman. The publication in which this titling first was seen was also sold by Regnault I Chaudière, who was to become Colines's stepson-in-law in 1521/2 and in 1546 eventually his successor.

The titling, I presume, was one of the earliest typefaces from Colines's hand. The face clearly is immature and rather weakly designed, but some letters, as for example the M and R, are in his manner. Colines used it first for headlines on title-pages, later as initials for chapter begin-

nings. In the first function it was rapidly superseded by the typical Colines titling on a somewhat smaller body (8.5 mm) introduced about 1529. See below (13).

The present Colines titling is of a much better quality than the rough 8.5 mm titling appearing from the summer 1519 onwards at the presses of P. Vidoue, N. Desprez, G. Desplains, J. Badius, N. de La Barre, P. Gromors, A. Bocard, among others, and in some Low Countries imprints (Shaw, 1981, 332, n.9; Vervliet, 2005a, no. 16).

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain*); : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 2 September 1518, Paris, H. I Estienne & R. Chaudière (J. Tixier, *Specimen epithetorum*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 190; Moreau, 2: 507, no. 1961).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1520, S. de Colines; 1522, D. Higman.

KEY LETTERS Capital E with long lower arm; blunt serifs of N; large bowl of P; slanted S; both top serifs of T slanting to the right.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002a, 287–8, fig. 6a–b; 2005a, no. 15.

FIGURE 1a Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-romain* (1518) as it appears on the title-page of the second volume of J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 1b Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-romain* (1518) assembled from J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

TOMVS SECVNDVS

B C D E F G H

I L M N O P

Q R S T V X

2. Colines's First English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1519)

Up to 1519 the range of Roman text types used by Henry I Estienne was rather limited; his Great Primer or *Gros-romain* (102 mm) and Pica or *Cicéro* (78 mm) were old designs belonging to the standard equipment of an average Parisian printing office of the early sixteenth century; both date from the end of the fifteenth century. See Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 5 and 8.

The *Saint-augustin* is a close copy on reduced body of the old Great Primer used by Henry I Estienne. In 1520 a new lower case g and dotted i were added to it; the new sorts may be seen in the first and last quires of the Estienne-Colines Montholon of October 1520 (Moreau, 2: 615, no. 2429). In 1522 the capitals E, M, N and R were amended. Date, evolution and distribution of the typeface tentatively point to a young Colines. In 1526 he introduced a new *Saint-augustin*, described below (11).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 4 August 1519, Paris, H. I Estienne (J. Clichtove, *De vita et moribus sacerdotum*; Leuven, University Library, Theo. P 279.106.4/Q*; Moreau, 2: 521, no. 2019).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1520, S. de Colines.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; high-stemmed G; M and N with double upper serifs; splayed M with centre above the base-line; stroked lower case i; angular link of g. Lozenge-shaped colon and period. Small capitals (perhaps the capitals of the first Small Pica, described in 4) much like those of the Tholozé 1499 Pica Roman (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 8), but a bit smaller (2.4 vs 2.6 mm). Capital K and lower case k are lacking.

VARIANT LETTERS At various times but beginning end 1520 some sorts were recut, thus a lower case g with rounded link and small upper bowl. In 1522, the capitals E (long lower arm), M (centre descending to base-line), N (single left top serif) and R (small bowl) were recut.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002a, 288–90, fig. 7; 2005a, no. 17.

FIGURE 2 Colines's English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1519) as it appears in J. Clichtove, *De necessitate peccatae Adae*, Paris, Henry I Estienne, 1519, f. 42. The small capital Z in the 3rd line is a wrong sort. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Epist. 2

REVERENDO IN CHRISTO patri ac domi-
no. D. IOANNI GOZTHONI Ecclesiæ Iau-
riensis in Pannonia Episcopo clarissimo: Iudo-
cus Clichtouens Neoportuensis / sacræ theo-
logiæ professor humillimus: perpetuam in do-
mino salutem.



Docet nos psalmographus pa-
riter & hortatur Antistes excel-
lentissime: deo nostro iocundâ
esse debere decoramq; laudatio-
nem/quæ scilicet nichil contine-
at summæ illius maiestati inde-
cens / nichil inconcinnum / ni-
chil deniq; minus consonum. Cuius salutari hor-
tatu admoniti/debêt qui gratas deo laudes exolue-
re volût: ea quæ ad pietatē spectant/ religiosamq; ve-
nerationem dei præconia in sacris edibus concinī
solita: cupide & perq̄ libenter amplecti. Si qua vero
offendât quæ a reuerētia diuini cultus ac dignitate
vidētur abhorrētia & aliena: nō leuiter ac temere il-
la admittere/ sed discutere pri⁹ atq; trutinare. dein-
de si talia cōperiātur: ad ea reuellēda aut in meliorē
laudis formā cōmutāda/ pro virib⁹ mature eniti. ne
p̄ laude ea deo personēt: quæ eminentissima sublimi-
tate eius & angusta celsitudine sunt indigna. Quod
cū ipse superioribus annis tētassē/ scriptoq; reli-
quissē in elucidatorio ecclesiastico/ aplissimę tuę p̄-
ternitati nūcupato/ duas istas p̄positiones. O certe
necessariū Adq; peccatū: qđ CHRISTI morte deletū
est. O fœlix culpa: quæ talē ac tantū meruit habere

Psal. 146.

3. Colines's First Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1520)

The Montholon edition of October 1520 is one of Henry I Estienne's last and probably Colines's first; Estienne's name appears on the title-page and in the colophon, but in the privilege Simon de Colines is quoted (Schreiber, 1995, 3). Besides the usual *Gros-romain* and *Cicéro* Romans of Estienne it exhibits the three new types which I think Colines had created up to then: the 9.5 titling of (1), the 90 mm *Saint-augustin* of (2) and this new Bourgeois or *Gaillarde*. It is a faithful copy of Colines's English-Bodied roman, described above in (2), though on a smaller body. The face occurs in two versions, Montholon's quire a and its last quires (from ggg onwards) exhibiting the revision. Pierre Viart used the second state in a publication which tentatively has been dated 1516 but rather should be put back into the 1520s (Moreau, 2: 364, no. 1326). More research is needed to ascertain whether the Roman in this size, used by the anonymous press of the Crowned Dolphins (Moreau, 3: 155, no. 415), is this type in its second state.

In 1523 Colines introduced a new and more mature Bourgeois roman, described below in 6.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 63 x 1.3 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 26 October 1520, Paris, H. I Estienne (J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium divini iuris & utriusque humani*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar E 2728; Moreau, 2: 615, no. 2429; Schreiber, 1995, 3–4, no. 1).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1521, S. de Colines, P. Viart; 1524, R. I Chaudière.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with left top serif; high-stemmed G; M and N with double upper serifs; M with centre above the base-line; angular link of lower case g. Lozenge-shaped colon and period.

VARIANT LETTERS End 1520 some sorts were revised, thus a capital A without top serif, M with counter descending to the base-line; a lower case g with rounded link and small upper bowl.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002a, 290–2, fig. 8a–b; 2005a, no. 23.

FIGURE 3a First state of Colines's First Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1520) as it occurs in J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520, vol. 2, f. vii. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 3b Second state of Colines's First Bourgeois [R 63] or *Gaillarde* Roman (1520) as it occurs in J. de Montholon, *Promptuarium*, Paris, Colines, 1520, vol. 1, f. vii. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

o ¶ Eadem lex erit indigenę & colono &c. Recurratur s̄ ad verbū Colon⁹. & ibi dictis addendo notetur q̄ Demosthenes orator legem sic diffiniuit. Lex est cui omēs homines decet obedire/propter multa & varia: & maxime/quia omnis lex est inuentio quēdam & donum dei/dogma omniū sapientū/correctio voluntarioꝝ/ & non voluntarioꝝ peccatorum: ciuitatis compositio cōmunis/ scdm quā omnes decet viuere qui in ciuitate sunt. Sed & philosophus summę stoicę sapientię Chrysippus/ sic incipit librum quem fecit. Lex est omniū diuinarū & humanarū rerum notitia. Oportet autem eam etiam prestare bonis & malis/ & principem & ducē esse: & scdm hoc est regula iustorum & iniustorū/ & eorum quę natura ciuilia sunt: preceptrix quidē faciendorū/ prohibitrice aut non faciendorum. Tex. est p̄missa omnia complectēs. in l. 2. ff. de legibus. Legis itaq̄ virtus. i. potestas hęc est: imperare/ vetare/permittē. i. legis virtus. ff. eodē. Erit autem lex honesta/ iusta/ possibilis/ scdm naturam/ & scdm consuetudinē patrię/ loco tēporiq̄ conueniens/ necessaria & vtilis: manifesta quoq̄: ne aliquid per obscuritatem incautum captione contineat: nullo priuato cōmodo/ sed pro cōmuni ciuiū vtilitate conscripta. Ideo autem in ip̄a constitutione ista consideranda sunt: quia cum leges institutę fuerint/ non erit liberum iudicare de ip̄is: sed oportebit iudicare scdm ip̄as. Vnde Augusti. ait in lib. de vera religione. In istis temporalibus legibus/ quanq̄ de his homines iudicent cum eas instituant/ tamē cum fuerint institutę & firmatę: non licebit iudici de ip̄is iudicare sed scdm ip̄as. Tex. est cuius hęc verba sunt. in c. Erit autē lex. iuncto princi. c. sequentis. ¶ diffin. De origine vero legum scribit Isidorus in lib. 5. ety. dicens. Moyse gentis hebreę/ primus omniū diuinas leges sacris litteris explicauit. Phoroneus rex Gręcis primus leges iudicię constituit. Mercurius Trifidus primus leges ægyptijs tradidit. Solon primus leges Atheniensibus edidit. Licurgus primus Lacedæmonijs iura ex Apollinis auctoritate confinxit. Numa Pompilius qui Romulo successit in regno: primus Romanis leges edidit. Deinde cū populus feditiosos magistratus ferre non posset decē viros legibus scribēdis crea-

cite potest dispensare circa mutationē officij: sed non vt ad nullum officium dicendū clericus teneatur. Ita dicit Panor. in c. 1. colū. 2. in versu. Nota ibi septies. de cele. missa. De istis autē horis & mysterijs in ip̄is representatis/ Glofa in d. c. 1. in verb. Septenarius/ dat carmīa subsequētia. Hęc sunt septenis propter quę psallimus horis Matutina ligat Christum qui crimina purgat: Prima replet sputis: causam dat tertia mortis. Sexta cruci necitatus eius nona bipartit. Vespera deponit/ tumulto completa reponit. Non sunt itaq̄ iste horę cōpetentib⁹ horis necessario persoluendę a dicentibus officium in priuato: sed secus est in persoluētibus in publico seu in choro. Sunt enim a talibus horę competētes in hoc septenario persoluendo obseruādę. Ita cōcludit Panor. in d. c. 1. colū. 2. Verum est tamē q̄ vbi clericus nulla honesta causa p̄peditur/ aut p̄pediti timet: non debet anticipare/ aut postponere etiam in priuato officiū suum. Vnde refert Io. An. in d. c. 1. de quodā sancto eremita/ quē angelus pascere solebat/ modo vuis bonis/ modo agrestibus/ modo marcidis: qui de tanta vuarū diuersitate angelum percunctatus: audiuit. Se bonas vuas accipere diebus quibus debito & cōpetētī tempore officiū persolvebat: Agrestes/ quādo anticipabat seu horam debitā p̄ueniebat: Marcidas vero/ quando exsolutionē officij nimis differebat. Qui autē ad has septē horas canonicas teneatur? Cōmunis resolutio est: q̄ omnes beneficiati/ tā et si in nullo sacro r̄ ordinū constituti sint: tenentur ad hoc officium septē horarū. quia propter officiū datur beneficium. c. fi. de rescrip. lib. 6. quia qui de altari viuūt/ altari debet seruire: sicut ecōtra. c. Cum scdm apostolū. de p̄ben. Illud procedit etiā in beneficiatis absentibus causa studiorū: & deseruentibus beneficio suo per vicarium. Nam nichilominus tenentur ad dicendas horas canonicas in priuato. nec liberātur dicendo officium verbiparę virginis Marię. Ita sentit Io. An. in d. c. 1. dū dicit/ q̄ libenter vidisset statutū fuisse factum ab ecclesia:

4. Colines's First Small Pica Roman [R 75]
or *Philosophie* (1522)

I have only seen this Small Pica appearing in J. Lefevre d'Etaples's, *Epitome ... in libros arithmeticos ... Boetij* of 1522 (Moreau, 3: 137, no. 346). But I guess that a more thorough search will yield earlier occurrences. Anyhow, it was a little used face, Colines apparently preferring to use the 1499 Tholoze Pica (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 8) and from 1524 onwards the famous second Small Pica Roman of (9) below. Its relation of the 1519 *Saint-augustin* small capitals, mentioned above in (2), deserves further research.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 75 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 12 June 1522, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Lefevre d'Etaples, *Epitome ... in libros arithmeticos ... Boetij*; Copenhagen, University Library, Fol. 7–17 (00030); Moreau, 3: 137, no. 346).

KEY LETTERS Splayed and singly-seriffed capital M; two forms of Q; horizontally-barred lower case e; dotted i; flared y; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon and period.

FIGURE 4 Colines's First Small Pica Roman [R 75] or *Philosophie* (1522) as it appears in J. Lefevre d'Etaples, *Epitome ... in libros arithmeticos ... Boetij*, Paris, Colines, 1522, p. 48. Courtesy of the University Library, Copenhagen.

ac si fiat diuifim. Hoc facto: aut aliquid erit refiduum vel nichil. Si nichil: conftat q̄ nūmerus ille propofitus fuit cubicus/ & eius radix eft digitus vltimo inuentus propofitus fub triplo vel fub triplis. quæ radix fi ducatur in fe & poftea in productū: erunt eadē figuræ quæ prius. Si vero aliquid fit refiduū: conftat q̄ nūmerus ille non fuit cubicus. fed digitus vltimo inuentus cum fubtriplis/ eft radix maximi cubici fub numero propofito contenti. quæ radix fi ducatur in fe & poftea in productum: emerget maximus cubicus fub numero propofito contentus. & fi illi cubico addatur refiduum referuatum in tabula: erunt eadē figuræ quæ prius. Si autem digitus poft anteriorationem inueniri non poterit: ponenda eft tzifra fub tzifra/ fub quarta figura verfus dextram/ & anteriorandæ ſunt figuræ. ¶ Notandum eft q̄ fi in numero propofito non fit aliquis locus millenarii: incipiendum eft operari fub prima figura. In hac autem radice extrahenda/ ſolebāt quidam diſtinguere nūmerum propofitum per ternarios: & ſemper incipere operari fub prima figura ternarii/ ſiue cōpleti ſiue incompleti: qui modus operandi idem eft cum prædicto.

¶ COPVSCVLI de præxi nūmerorum, quod ALGORISMVM vocant: finis.

¶ Index eorum quæ in hoc opufculo annotatu digniora ſunt.

	Folio
Perfectam Pyramidem/ ad diuinorum philoſophiam aptam haberi.	8.
Vnitatem: & latus/ & quadratum/ & cubum ad ſeipſam eſſe.	9.
Vnitatem itidem: & circulū & ſphærā/ immo & omnē nūmerū figurālē poteſtate dici.	9.
Q̄ nūmerus perfectus/ virtutis ſit æmulator/ itidem & quadratus.	15. 21.
Ex trina æqualitate omnem naſci inæqualitatem & in eandem reuocari.	16.
Quæ ſit nūmerorum in menſula Pythagoræ deſcriptorum adinuicem habitudo.	17.
Q̄ nūmerus ſuperpartiens cū multiplici & ſuperpartulari quoquo pacto cōſpirat.	18.
Quo pacto cuiuſvis ſpeciei inæqualitatis per multiplicationē ſumendi ſunt termini.	19.
Quo pacto itidem per additionem ſumantur cuiuſlibet habitudinis numeri.	19.
Quare Ariſtoteles felicem appellat quadratum ſine vituperatione.	21.
Quamobrem Pythagoras numeros impares vocat gnomonas quadratorum.	eodem.
Quāta ſit īpariū ſuper pares/ & quadratorū ſuper altera parte lōgiores præſtabilitas.	23.
Nexum Arithmeticum diuinorum/ geometricum vero humanorum eſſe.	25.
Quo pacto quilibet continue multiplices ab vnitatem ſumendi ſunt.	25.
Qua itidem ratione cuiuſq̄ numeri quadratus & cubus haberi poſſit.	26.
Sex proportionalitatum ſpecies in nūmeris apte ſeruari.	27.
Ex maxima harmonia & differentiis terminorum harmonicæ medietatis/ omnes conſonantias muſicas deſumi.	29 & 30.
Duob⁹ eiſdē extremis diuerſa interpoſita media tres primas medietates cōficere.	ibid.
Cuiuſq̄ medietatis terminos trifariam adinuicem comparari poſſe.	31.
Medietatum diui Seuerini Boetii & Iordani inter ſe comparatio.	eodem.

¶ Folio 15. facie 2. verſu 9: lege/ Rari quippe boni.

¶ Impreſſit Simon Colinæus, in Pariſienſi Academia, contra Decretorum ſcholas, Anno domini 1 5 2 2. Die Iunij 12.

5. Colines's First Roman Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1522)

From 1522 onwards this titling replaces the earlier, rather weakly designed 9.5 mm capitals on Colines's title-pages, described above in (1). Though still imbued with a certain archaism the face exhibits a tendency towards newer and more elegant letterforms (as for instance, in the M, Q, T). Its design is certainly much better than any other Roman titling then appearing in Paris. Could Colines have had access to the drawings of Roman lettering, which Tory doubtlessly brought home? Or was he inspired by the first French manuscripts in the *littera humanistica*, which then became fashionable (Orth, 1983)? It is also much lighter than the two bold titlings of 5.2 and 8.5 mm (8 and 13)

which succeeded it in 1524 and 1529 and which became the hallmark for Colines's mature typography.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 8 February 1521 [1522 n.s.], Paris, S. de Colines (R. Jordan, *De statu religiosorum*; Ghent, University Library, Theo. 3262; Moreau, 3: 85, no. 146).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; E with long lower arm; sloped upper arm serif of F; high-stemmed G; M and N with single upper serifs.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2005a, no. 24.

FIGURE 5 Colines's first Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1522) as it appears on the title-page of Galenus, *De temperamentis*, Paris, Colines, 1523. The woodcut headline is probably also by Colines. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

 GALENI
DE TEMPERAMENTIS
LIBRI TRES.
DE INÆQUALI INTEM
PERIE LIBER VNVS.
THOMA LINACRO ANGLO
INTERPRETE.

6. Colines's Second Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523)

Small-sized bibles or parts of them became popular with Paris publishers in the early 1520s (Shaw, 1974). For a series of Bible parts in sextodecimo, published from 1523 onwards under the editorship of his stepson Robert I Estienne (Armstrong, 1986, 325), Colines apparently engraved three new typefaces, a Bourgeois and two titlings of 4 mm and 5.5 mm respectively (apart from a series of open outlined 12 mm, most likely woodcut, initials). The Bourgeois was praised by Robert I Estienne, who described it as a 'belle lettre' (Armstrong, 1986, 325). The three new typefaces are designed boldly and forcefully. With four larger sized Romans appearing at Colines's press in the following five years, they form a coherent group of bold Romans. They are characteristic of Colines's publications and may therefore be attributed to him. They are the first Romans cut in France whose designs surpass the current Basle typefaces, and they can compete with the renowned Aldine models (Barker, 1974, 8).

The new Bourgeois Roman replaced Colines's first Bourgeois Roman cut for Henry I Estienne in 1520; see above, (3). Its size of 63 mm for 20 lines is between Brevier

(or *Petit-texte*; 55 mm) and Long Primer (or *Petit-romain*; 65 mm). In the Plantin inventories the term for this body size is 'Colineus'; it may originate from this face (Wolf, 1979, 106). Colines used this second Bourgeois from 1523/4 to about 1536, when he changed over to his Long Primer Roman (see below, 18).

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 63 x 1.3 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 27 March 1523, Paris, S. de Colines (*Evangelium Iesu Christi*; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 8 A 538 inv. 620 Rés; Moreau, 3: 158, no. 428).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1527, R. I Estienne; Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Distinguishable from the 1520 Bourgeois Roman (3): capital G with upper serif; splayed and doubly-seriffed M; S without conspicuous serifs; large upper counter of lower case g; thin diagonal of z; small capitals, probably the capitals of the Minion Roman (: 1.5 mm) of (10).

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 25 (*Petit-texte*, state 2); Vervliet, 2005a, no. 31.

FIGURE 6a Colines's Second Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523) as it appears in Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534, f. 15. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 6b Colines's Second Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523) assembled from Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

PLANT. DIFFER.

L Ibanætidis. Rosmarini.
Libanotidi fœcundæ priori altera omnino respondet.
¶ Nec ab his abludit sterilis.
Lichnidis.
Lichnis agreftis satiuam in cunctis refert.
M Ali.
Exigui mali magnitudine apparet Catanance altera.
Mecœnis. Papaueris.
Agrefti Papaueri non est diffimilis Argemone vtraque.
Alijs Papaueribus longius est tertium, necnon syluestrius & medicamentosius.
Myrices. Tamaricis.
Ereœ ad Tamaricem proxime accedit, sed multo breuior.
N Arthecis. Ferulæ.
Thapsia totam ferulæ speciem exhibet.
Nymphææ.
Alterâ Nymphææ radice modo & flore à priori dissentit.
O Rigani.
Origano simile Ageratum.

A TOTO ACCEPTAE. 15

P Epli.
Paronychis nō diuersa est à Pelyplo, longitudine tamen minor.
Pityos. Piceæ.
Tithymalus quintus cognomine cyparissias in vniuersum nuper nascentem Piceam æmulatur.
¶ Chamæpitys tertia Piceæ est halitu.
Polij.
Alterū Polium mōtano quidē fruticosius, sed non tam valido est odore.
Prasij. Marrubij.
Stachys Marrubium simulat, verum oblongior.
Ptereos. Filicis.
Trichomanes & Dryopteris ad Filicem quidem accedūt, multo tamen breuiiores.
R Hamni.
Halimos Rhamnum representat, sed spinis caret.
¶ Cytisus tota Rhamni modo albet.
Rhodi. Rosæ.
Rhodia radix trita Rosam exhalat.
S Elini. Apij.
Hippofelinum hortensi Apio maius est & candidius.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN OPQRSTVXYZ
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
Æ æ & &

7. Colines's Roman Titling
on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte (1523)

Two new titlings, this one on 4 mm, the other on : 5.5 mm (see 8 below), appear from 1523/24 onwards in Colines's books. More decisively than the capitals of the new Bourgeois Roman (6) they break away from the Basle tradition of type design and introduce in France elements of Aldine letterforms. Colines used this titling rather sparingly. From the early 1530's onwards he tends to prefer the capitals of his Terentianus roman, described below in (14).

SIZE Two-line Brevier (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte*); 15/14 Anglo-American/Didot; : 4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1523, Paris, S. de Colines (*Liber Psalmorum*; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, BZ 1-20; Moreau, 3: 158, no. 426).

KEY LETTERS Downward-beaked capital G; splayed capital M with centre above base-line; long-tailed R.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2005a, no. 29.

FIGURE 7 Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1523) as it appears on the title-page of *Pentateuchus Moysi*, Paris, Colines, 1527. Courtesy of the Aargauische Kantonsbibliothek, Aarau.

PENTATEV
CHVS MOYSI,
Genefis
Exodus
Leuiticus
Numeri
Deuteronomium.

IOSVE
Liber Iudicum
Ruth.

PARISIIS
In officina Simonis Colinaei.
1 5 2 7

8. Colines's Second Roman Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1524)

In 1523/24, barely two years after he introduced his first titling of this size (5), Colines began to use two newly cut Roman titlings respectively on 4 mm. (7) and this one on 5.5 mm. Its capitals have lost most reminiscences of the Basle style, the only conspicuous exceptions being the E, which stays broad, and the G with a downward beak. In general, however, their design can be considered as the first proper typographic rendering, North of the Alps, of the classical *capitalis monumentalis*, well before this was popularized there by the treatises of Dürer (1525) and Tory (1529); they are more elegant at any rate than the preceding Ratdolt, Froben and Strasburg titlings (Johnson, 1937).

We have no clue to decide what influences Colines may have undergone. He could have had knowledge of earlier treatises of Damianus Moyllus (1483) and Luca de Pacioli (1509); he may have found inspiration in the Aldine type designs of Francesco Griffo or in the earliest French manu-

scripts in the *littera humanistica formata* or in the sketches of Tory, who about 1522 had returned from Rome and precisely in 1524 resumed his publishing activities, indeed at Colines's press (Barker, 1974, 7, n.10).

Colines used this type throughout his career, adding in the early 1540's a lower case to the titling. See below, (21).

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1524, Paris, S. de Colines (Ps. Aristotle, *Problemata*; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 3516 C1; Moreau, 3: 198, no. 592; Schreiber, 1995, 19–20, no. 12).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: c.1536, D. Janot, P. Roffet; 1543, R. I Estienne; 1549, R. & C. Chaudière; 1569, R. II Estienne.

KEY LETTER: Downward-beaked capital G.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 8, n.12; Vervliet, 2005a, no. 32.

FIGURE 8a Colines's Second Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1524) as it occurs on second line of the title-page of J. Clichthove, *Propugnaculum ecclesiae*, Paris, Colines, 1526. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 8b Colines's Second Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1524) assembled from Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

PROPVGNA
CVLVM ECCLESIAE, ADVER-
SVS LV THERANOS: PER IVDOCV M CLICH-
touveum Neoportuensem, doctorem theologum, elaboratum:
& tres libros continens.

A B C D E G H I L M N O P R S T V

9. Colines's Second Small Pica Roman [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525)

Even more than Colines's 1523 Bourgeois Roman (6), this Small Pica represents a break from the earlier Basle or Basle-styled Romans, which Paris printers had exploited up to then. The *Horae* of 1525 which feature this new type, are renowned for their illustrations, drawn by Geoffroy Tory in an open, Poliphilo style much contrasting with the overdecorated, crowded and shadowed illustrations of the earlier Parisian Books of Hours. The year before (1524 n.s.) Colines had printed Tory's elegies for his beloved daughter, Tory's first publication I know of after his return from Rome (Moreau, 3: 195, no. 584). The contacts between the printer and the theoretician apparently date from these years, leading to the hypothesis that Tory's influence on Colines's type design was decisive (Carter, 1969, 83). As Johnson (1928, 12–13; 1928a, 64–5), however, appropriately pointed to the poor typography and lettering in the publications issued from Tory's own press, this thesis may be questioned. The *Horae* of 1525 also display accented sorts. Tory was an early advocate of them; but so was Robert Estienne, Colines's press director. He introduced them into Colines's printing in 1522. Moreover, the Colines letterforms are quite dissimilar from those advocated in Tory's 1529 *Champfleury*.

This Small Pica is sometimes, though improperly in my opinion, considered as Colines's first typeface (Barker, 1974, 8). Surely was it Colines's workhorse for compositions in the octavo format. He used it over his whole career, albeit more sparingly from 1536 onwards, when his new *Cicéro* (19) became available.

Robert I Estienne used this Small Pica Roman as his standard text type at the start of his independent activity as a printer. From 1529 onwards he had it cast on the larger size of Pica, which he used till 1539 when he changed over

to a lighter-weight Roman in this size (Vervliet, 2004, no. 6). Colines's contractor Louis Blaubloom had it too and he may be the source of the occurrences with a few other Paris imprints (Moreau, 4: nos. 316, 363, 1111). Whether he used this type in 1534 with diacritics of Augereau as noted in Renouard (1964, 4: 94) deserves closer examination.

The Le Bé Inventory of c. 1618 records a set of matrices for a 'Petit Cicero' of Colines, which I suppose is for this type (Morison, 1957, 19). The 1685 Cottin inventory of the same foundry lists 'vune frappe de cicero petit oeil dit philosophie ... dit gravé de Colines imparfait des chiffres et assez mal justifié...' (Paris, Archives nationales, MC 70, 182).

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 73 x 1.5 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 16 January 1525, Paris, S. de Colines (*Horae in laudem beatiss. semper Virginis Mariae*; Liège, University Library, Rés. 1920 B; Moreau, 3: 255, no. 841).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1525, G. Tory; 1526, R. I Estienne; 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom]; 1532, G. de Gourmont [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon & G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom]; 1535, J. Nyverd & G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines; c. 1536, D. Janot; 1537, E. Roffet, J. I Kerver & [L. Blaubloom]; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Broad capital H; splayed M with centre above baseline; two forms of Q; long-tailed R; T with short right arm; tilted-barred lower case e; large upper counter of g; flared y; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon and period. Accented sorts.

VARIANT LETTER Capital M with straight shanks and centre on the base-line from 1528 onwards.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Petit Cicero Sim. Colines (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1928a, 64; Barker, 1974, 8–9, pl. 2c; Amert, 1991, 25–6 (*Philosophie*, states 2 and 3); Vervliet, 2005a, no. 35.

FIGURE 9a Colines's Second Small Pica Roman [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525) as it appears in G. Trapezuntius, *Dialectica*, Paris, Colines, 1528, f. a2v–a3. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 9b Colines's Second Small Pica Roman [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525) assembled from P. Anghiera [Pierre Martyr], *Extract ou recueil des isles*, Paris, Colines, 1532. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

3 ✠ GEORGII TRAPEZONTII DIALECTICA.



Dialectica: est diligēs differendi ratio. Differere vero nemo poterit diligenter: nisi quæ inuenerit, dicendāq; iudicauerit, ea sic coniunxerit: ut illis datis, quod intendit necessario cōsequatur. quam orationē, Græci συλλογισμός dicunt: Latini vero ratiocinationē appellare possunt. Ea, propositionibus constat. Omnis propositio si simplex

ABCDEF GHI LMNOPQRSTVZ
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
& & fi fl ff

10. Colines's Minion Roman [R 49]
or *Mignonne* (1526)

Mostly used for marginalia and in the same bold style as the other Colines Romans of the period, this Minion has not been seen outside the Colines and Blaubloom presses, except for a few appearances in some other Paris imprints, which probably can be attributed to Blaubloom's press (Moreau, 4: nos. 316, 586 and 1111).

The entry for a set of matrices of a 'Mignonne Rommaine de Colines' in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1959, 20) as well as the reference to a Roman *Petit-texte* by Colines in the c.1643 Le Bé Memorandum (Carter, 1967, 15) are probably for this type. In his 1685 Inventory of the Le Bé foundry, Philippe Cottin mentions 'vune frappe de mignonne nommee Colignes' (Paris, Archives nationales, MC 70, 182).

Colines may have updated this face in the early 1540s, e.g. in the sidenotes of his 1543 Gagny edition (Schreiber, 1995, 165, no. 201) but that deserves nearer inspection.

The Colines typeface is distinguishable from a similar Roman occurring at the press of François Gryphius in 1533. See below, p. 210, no. 43.

SIZE Minion (*Mignonne*); 20 49 x 11: 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 20 November 1526, Paris, S. de Colines (F. Sarsozus, *In aequatore planetarum*, a few words f. 13v; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, SA Fo 3328; Moreau, 3: 315, no. 1094).

EARLY APPEARANCE: Paris: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom]; 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon & G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Capital M with half top-serifs and center above baseline; broad R; T with top-serifs sloped outwards; tilted-bowl lower case e; broad tail of g. Lozenge-shaped colon and period. Small capitals (: 1.3 mm)

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS: *Mignonne* Rommaine de Colines (Le Bé, 1618); La petite lettre quil [Colines] nomma Petit Texte (Le Bé, c.1643)

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 31, fig. 13; Vervliet, 2005a, no. 39.

FIGURE 10 Colines's Minion Roman [R 49] or *Mignonne* (1527) as it appears in the *Pentateuchus Moysi*, Paris, Colines, 1527, f. a2v. Courtesy of the Aargauische Kantonsbibliothek, Aarau.

ēteo eloquentiā fonte manantem, de viti-
mis Hispaniā Galliarūq; finibus quodā
venisse nobiles legimus: & quos ad contem-
plationem sui Roma nō traxerat, vnius ho-
minis fama perduxit. Habuit illa aetas inau-
ditum omnibus seculis, celebrandūq; mi-
raculum, vt vibem tantā ingressi, aliud ex-
tra vibem quæerent. Apollonius, siue ille
magus (vt vulgus loquitur) siue philosoph⁹,
vt Pythagorici tradūt, intrauit Persas, per-
transiuit Caucasum, Albanos, Scythas, Ma-
fagetas, opulētissima Indiā regna penetra-
uit. & ad extremum, latissimo Phylō am-
ne transmissio, peruenit ad Brachmanas, vt
Iarcham in throno sedentem aureo, & de
Tantali fonte potantem, inter paucos disci-
pulos de natura, de motibus syderū, ac die-
rum cursu audiret docentem. Inde per Es-
lamitas, Babylonios, Chaldeos, Medos, Assy-
rios, Parthos, Syros, Phœnices, Arabes, Pa-
lestinos, reuersus Alexandriā, Perrexit Ae-
thiopiam, vt Gymnosophistas, & famosissi-
mam solis menfam videret in sabulo. Inue-
nit ille vir vbiq; quod disceret, & sēper pro-
ficens, semper se melior fieret. Scripsit su-
per hoc plenissime octo voluminibus Philo-
stratus. Quid loquar de seculi hominib;
bus? cum apostolus Paulus, vas electionis &
magister gentium, qui de conscientia tanti
in se hospitis loquebatur, An experimentū
queritis eius, qui in me loquitur C H R I-
S T V S? post Damascus Arabiamq; iustra-
tam ascenderit Hierosolymam, vt videret
Petrum, & manserit apud eum diebus quin-

11. Colines's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1526)

Colines used this *Saint-augustin* sparsely, mainly between 1526 and 1531. It seems to appear mostly cast on a mould of 88 mm, tending to mutilate the extended sorts. It succeeded to Colines's first *Saint-augustin* (1519) in Basle style, described above in (2). This second *Saint-augustin* contrarily is wholly in Colines's own rather forceful style. In its turn, it became outdated after the aesthetic revolution introduced by the Estienne Romans (1530) and was abandoned in 1533 for Colines's third Roman on this size, described below in (16).

Estienne used it in its first version at the start of his printing career; Colines's contractor Louis Blaubloom had it too and he could well be the source of the occurrences in some other Paris imprints (Moreau, 4: nos. 586 and 1111).

The frequent reworking of some sorts has lead Amert (1991, 27 and 30) to assume the existence of two nearly identical types, one on *Saint-augustin* (90 mm), the other on *Cicéro* (88 mm). She may be right but, as the younger type on *Cicéro* seems to drive out the older one, I have chosen to consider them as one typeface with variant sorts.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.9 : 2.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1526, Paris, S. de Colines (Des. Erasmus, *Commentarius in Nucem Ouidij*; Amsterdam, University Library, 1513 D 18 [2]; Moreau 3: 291, no. 988).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1527, R. I Estienne; 1532, L. Blaubloom; 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon & G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom]; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Splayed outwards-seriffed capital M (up to 1528); two forms of Q; tilted-bowl lower case e; ligature fi with stroked i, large upper and lower counters of g; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon, question mark and period. Accented sorts.

VARIANT LETTERS In 1528 Colines changed the splayed capital M to a narrower and more straight-shanked one; he revised the lower case g twice, in 1527 and 1528, reworking mainly its lower counter. A third revision appears from 1531 onwards, a.o. in the preliminaries of the 1531 Terentianus. The main differences with previous states are the e with a more leveled bar, the narrow g, the dotless ligature fi, the round colon and period.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 27, fig. 5; 30 (s.v. 'Cicéro'); Vervliet, 2005a, no. 37.

FIGURE 11 Third state of Colines's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1526) as it appears in Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, Colines, 1531, f. ♣1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

NICOLAUS BRISSAEVS LECTORI.

Non sustineo, Lector candide, cōscius esse mihi dissimulanti (vt interim Quintiliani verba referam) in vlla parte iudicij mei: Non est ea mihi nunc sententia, quæ paulo prius fuit, muto nō nihil ex eo quod nuper probaui, non modo sensi: Sed Hippocrates clarus artis medicæ (ait Quintilianus) honestissime fecit, quòd errores suos, ne posterì erarent, confessus est: Marcus Tullius nō dubitauit aliquos libros iam æditos, alijs postea scriptis ipse damnare. Quintilianus ipse paulum in alia quàm prius habuerit, opinione fuit aliquādo: Nō dubitauit diuus Augustinus retractationum libros ædere, & Brissæus istud dubitabit homunculus, rudimento spei quàm rei experimento magis tinctus? Superuacuum foret in studijs longior labor, si nihilliceret melius inuenire præteritis: Atque adeo Simonides mihi laudatur, qui tempus censuit esse sapientissimum, scilicet quòd temporis beneficio omnia discantur. Postquam igitur affectus fuit Terentianus, incidit in manus meas diui Augustini liber de musica, Quem Guilielmus Philanderius amicus non vulgaris, ferijs ferio subactus, vtendum dedit (cuius, item Petri Balduini, quem docti Catulli cognomine fortiter afficio, quorum inquam, item Guilielmi Ruffi, Hilarij Cortesij pluribus in studijs insigniū quàm in opificijs operibus iactatur Hippix facultas attrita: quorū inquam, item Ioānis Adami domus Beccodiana moderatoris, qui mediussidius cum paucis, homo est homini deus nō lupus: Cuius inquam, item Curionis de Penthino Petri Foucqueti, qui me liberaliter educauit, aduersum me patris affectum semper induit, beneficijs cumulauit, qui fortuna non inolescit, in

12. Colines's First Great Primer Roman [R 117] or *Gros-romain* (1528)

Mid 1528 Colines ceased using the 1494 Bergmann Great-Primer Roman as the usual text type for his quartos and folios. Henri I Estienne had used it since 1501 and Colines since 1520 (Vervliet, 2002a, 274–8, fig. 1a–c). Colines's new type retained some design features which recall the older Basle face and would come to be viewed as outmoded already in 1530 after the revolution of the Estienne Romans. See for instance its titled-bowl e, unflared y, lozenge-shaped punctuation.

At the same time its capitals reveal the new sensibility of a talented type designer for imitating more closely the letterforms of the classical inscriptional capital, as shown in the Aldine Romans or as prescribed by Pacioli, Dürer or, the next year, by Tory. In comparison with the Bergmann roman, the effect of the new type is, in the words of Barker, of a 'light and spacious grandeur'.

This Great Primer has not been seen outside the Colines and Blaubloom presses, except for an appearance in a Wechel imprint, which probably can be attributed to Blaubloom's press (Moreau, 4: no. 316).

In 1531 Colines revised the lower case of this face. In this later form it is known as the Terentianus Roman of Colines. For the sake of convenience, it is discussed separately, below in (14).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 117 x 2 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN June 1528, **Paris**, S. de Colines (Des. Erasmus, *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 32759; Moreau, 3: 403, no. 1454).

EARLY APPEARANCE **Paris**: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Capital line below ascender line; broad E; downwards beaking G; M with half top-serifs; broad R; duplicate forms of Q (short/long-tailed); downwards flared T; narrow lower case c; tilted-bowl e; broad upper and lower counters of g; dotted i (except for its ligatures); v descending below base-line; unflared y; thin diagonal of z. Lozenge-shaped colon, period, question-mark; oversized comma.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 4: 93; Barker, 1974, 9, pl. 3; Amert, 1991, 28, fig. 8; Vervliet, 2005a, no. 41.

FIGURE 12 Colines's First Great Primer Roman [R 117] or *Gros-romain* (1528) as it appears in Joannes Chrysostomus, *Liber contra gentiles*, Paris, Colines, 1528, f. A1. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

GERMANVS BRIXIVS LECTORI.



Ector probe quisquis es, & cādide, tametsi
id mihi ipse de te, tuoq; candore promitto,
vt reputaturus sis, me non ab re, neque leui
de causa in eo opere vertendo desudare vo-
luisse, in quo iam mihi alius anteuertisset, tamen quo-
niam nō omnibus statim arbitror otium tale adfore,
vt sumptā in manus tum Oecolampadij, tum meam
in Chrysostomi Babylam translationem cum græco
exēplari cōferre, sicq; rem totam expendēs, suo, quod
aiunt, marte de vtriusq; trāslationis fide calculum fer-
re possit, non alienū esse putauī, si tibi hic ego interim
insignes aliquot Oecolampadij lapsus ex q̄ plurimis
designarem, illiusq; veluti obsignatas tabulas profer-
rem, per quas tanquam certissimis, verissimisq; argu-
mētis palam detecta, conuictaq; esset hominis, verten-
dis græcis authoribus, siue negligentia, siue inscitia, si-
ue etiam (quod pestilentius quidē fuerit, sed quod ta-
men doctissimi, integerrimiq; theologi in Oecolam-
padio deprehendere se attestantur) malitia, dum ille
nunc Theophylacti, nunc Chrysostomi interpretem

13. Colines's Roman Titling
on Two-line English [R 8.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin (1529)

Used primarily in the headlines of his title-pages, this titling supersedes from 1529 onwards the first and rather weak 9.5 mm titling Colines engraved for Henri I Estienne in 1518 (see above, 1), as well as the woodcut headline lettering appearing from 1523 onwards or the 5.2 mm Roman titling of (8) above. In this function it was itself supplanted by the 'Finé' *Gros-canon* of 1536, described below in (20). Apparently it was not used outside Colines's own press and those of his contractors Blaubloom and Nyverd (Moreau, 4: nos. 316, 586; 1111; 1306; Renouard, 1964, 4: 100, no. 111; Schreiber, 1995, 113–15, no. 126). A few appearances in some other Paris imprints may be attributable to Blaubloom's press (Moreau, 4: nos. 316, 586 and 1111).

Its letterforms are strong, sturdy, bold. These features seem to summarize Colines's thought about the ideal Roman letterform. Except in his open outlined woodcut (or metal) capitals (1523), he manifestly wished to ignore the fashion toward airiness and lightness, appearing in Estienne's printing from 1530 onward and thereafter spilling over Paris and Europe (Kemp, 1991, Vervliet, 2007). Nevertheless, and despite some irregularities in its height – the capitals F, H, L, N, P, R, T are a bit short – it is, in my opinion, a wholly satisfying typeface, one of the best to appear in the sixteenth century. At the time of its appearance in 1529, it had in Paris, qualitatively and aesthetically, no competitor. The other Paris printers, even the more important ones such as Badius, Vidoue, Wechel, Morthy, Loys, had to rely on the older 8.2 mm Roman titling, appearing in 1517 at the Froben press in Basle and probably cut by Peter II Schoeffer (Vervliet, 1968, 238; Carter, 1969, 110) or its local, rather crude, imitations.

The Colines titling is contemporaneous with the 7.5 and 5.5 mm Roman titlings appearing in Tory's *Champfleury* of April 1529 and his Eusebius of 1532. All three designs share the characteristic swelling strokes towards top and foot; they have a distinctive Q with a tail disconnected from the bowl; all three straightforwardly disregard the proportions and forms of the *capitalis monumentalis* as advocated in Tory's book. But in the end the Tory titlings seem less well designed and cut. I surmise that neither of Tory's two faces was engraved by Colines. The availability of another punchcutter may explain the occurrence of the R 7.5 titling at Roigny's press in 1530 (Moreau, 3: no. 2081) and the introduction of larger R 8.5 mm titling in the same style in 1535 (Moreau, 4: no. 1348).

SIZE Two-line English (*Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*): 8.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 4 June 1529, Paris, S. de Colines (R. Agricola, *De inventione dialectica*; Ghent, University Library, Phil 91; Moreau, 3: 445, no. 1628).

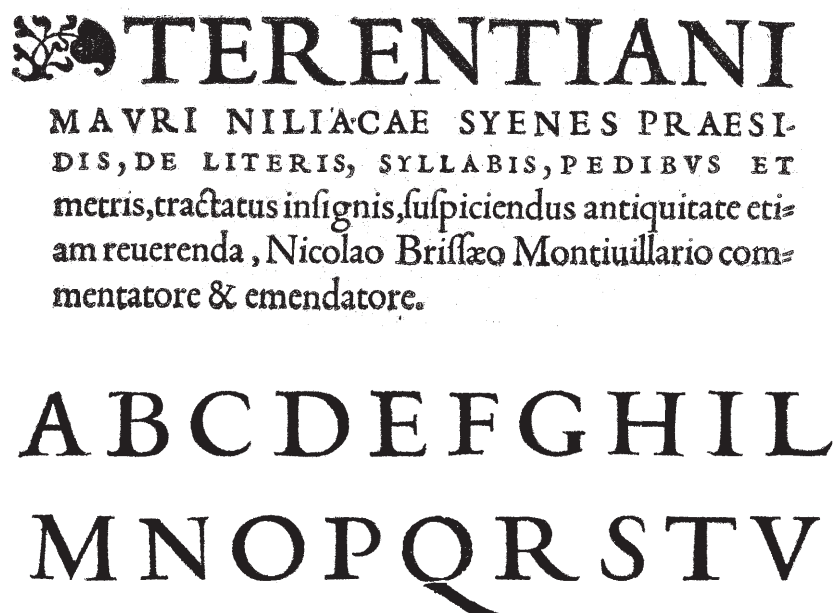
EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom]; 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom]; 1534, C. Chevallon & G. Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom]; 1535, J. Nyverd for G. Du Pré & S. de Colines, J. I Kerver [& L. Blaubloom]; c.1536, P. Roffet; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Classic inscriptional bold capitals with strokes swelling at foot and head.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2005a, no. 45.

FIGURE 13a Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529) as it occurs on the title-page of Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, Colines, 1531. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 13b Colines's Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin* (1529) assembled from P. Anghiera [Pierre Martyr], *Extraict ou recueil des isles*, Paris, Colines, 1532 (Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp) and Galenus, *De causis respirationis*, Paris, Colines, 1533 (Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague).



14. Colines's Second Great Primer
'Terentianus' Roman [R 119]
or *Gros-romain* (1531)

This is the famous Roman of Colines, eponymously known as the Terentianus Roman after the Terentianus Maurus, *De literis* (Moreau, 4: no. 292; Schreiber, 1995, 72), published by Colines in 1531 and one of his earliest imprints to show this face. With the new Estienne Romans (which preceded it by a few months) it has been heralded as the best expression of a true Renaissance roman. It is very like Colines's first Roman on this size (see above 12), but unimpaired by its most obvious archaisms such as the tilt-bowled e or the lozenge-shaped period and colon. The capitals of both faces seems to be identical, but the long letters of the lower case were made a bit longer. The earliest dated occurrence in Colines's printing is in his Basilius edition of 27 May 1531, but it has been noted that the face occurs already in March and May 1531, in two leaflets by Guillaume Bochetel on the Entry and Coronation of Queen Eleonora (Moreau, 4: nos. 54–5), both published by Geoffroy Tory but quite certainly printed by Colines (Johnson, 1927, 64–5; Barker, 1974, 13).

In 1533 Colines revised this face again, mainly by outfitting it with a new and lighter set of capitals. For the sake of convenience, this state is reviewed apart, below in (17).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 119 x 2.1 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 27 May 1531, Paris, S. de Colines (Basilius Magnus, *Epistolae*; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, Th. 80 2081; Moreau, 4: 59, no. 37.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1531, L. Blaubloom; G. Tory; 1532, G. de Gourmont [& L. Blaubloom]; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Capitals are indistinguishable from these of Colines's first Great Primer, described above in (12); in the lower case the main differences are the slightly longer extenders, the e with horizontal bar, the undotted ligatures fi and si, the rounded period and colon, the normal comma. The question-mark retains its squared point. Duplicate forms of z (short/descending).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 150–1, fig. 17; Carter, 1969, 84; Barker, 1974, 13, pl. 6a; Amert, 1991, 29–30, fig. 9; Vervliet, 2007, no. 10.

FIGURE 14a Colines's Second Great Primer Roman [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531) as it occurs in Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, Colines, 1531, f. a2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 14b. Colines's Second Great Primer Roman [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531) assembled from Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, Colines, 1531. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

NICOLAVS BRISSAEVS MON-
TIVILLARIVS GVILIELMO PETIT, EPI-
scopo Syluaneſtensi, noxiarum Regis auriculario, vi-
ro frugi, atq; antiquum obtinenti S.



Xclamare libet antistes obseruatissime,
vt in Synephœbis Plautus, Prò deũ,
popularium omniũ, adolescentiũ clamo,
postulo, obsecro, oro, ploro atq; imploro
fidẽ, Nõ quidem leuissima de re, vt que-
ritur ille, sed vt adsint, gradientiq; per fu-
nem extetum, si præceps vsquam videbor (maxime quod
in commune studeam) manum porrigant, suõq; quodam
modo fauore, tanquam frigida conspergant. Etenim lu-
brica, ancipitia, prærupta sunt omnia: vt si quis sine casu
non pertexere dico, sed hoc opus ordiri putet, is omnino

ABCDEF GHIKLMNOPQQRSTVXY
a b c d e f g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
æ & ff ft

15. Colines's Nonpareil Roman [R 42] (1533)

A tiny Roman in a new style with narrow g and horizontal bar to the e appears from 1533 onwards in Colines's books. It is unmistakably in his style. The reference by Veyrin-Forrer (1995, xxv) to its occurrence in Viexmonts's *Methodus confessionis* of February 1533 (Moreau, 4: 269, no. 836) deserves a new probe.

SIZE Nonpareil (Nonpareille); 20 43 x 0.9 : 1.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1533, Paris, S. de Colines (H. Courtois, *Volantillae*; Brussels, Royal Library, VH 11634 A LP; Moreau, 4: 221, no. 649).

KEY LETTERS Doubly-seriffed capital M; downwards beaking G; narrow N; long-tailed Q and R; lower case e with horizontal bar; narrow g.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 31, fig. 16; Vervliet, 2007, no. 45.

FIGURE 15 Colines's Nonpareil Roman [R 43] (1533) as it appears in Cicero, *Officia*, Paris, Colines, 1538, f. L4. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

ANNOT. ERASMI.

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- 18 Nulla tam deestabilis. Videbatur posse, vt: sed quoniam quæ non, resoluitur in, vt ea non, subiecit, quæ, pro, vt ea.
 19 Artibus tribuuntur operosis. Operosis dictum videtur ab opera, non ab opere. Operosum dicitur, quod multo opere, multoque negotio confat. Hic operosus dixit, quod operis, non animi viribus exerceantur.
 20 Quibuscum congregamur. Congregamur dictum est pro, cōsuetudinem habemus: & idcirco addidit, cū, quibus, vt dicimus, mecum habet consuetudinem.
 21 Si quid importetur nobis. Importetur incommodum, noue dixit, pro inferatur.
 22 Cum refaut. Reflare fortunam dixit, cum est aduersa: quem admodum refilit, qui ex aduerso obstat: & repugnat, qui ex aduerso pugnat.
 23 Aut spe sibi id vtile futurum. Noue nomini addidit verbum. Quis enim ausit ita loqui, venio huc spe te mecum iturum ad cœnam? Mollis tamen est, cum additur, ducitur spe, ductus spe. Nam spes est, pro, spero, satis visitatum est.
 24 Vel ad perpetuitatem. Cum perpetuum ferè accipitur pro cōstinuo, hic perpetuitatem vsurpasse videtur pro aternitate.
 25 Compunctum notis. Compunctum dixit, vndique notatum. Vnde videntur Theologi dixisse compunctionem.
 26 Desitum est enim. pro desit videri.
 27 Ex bellis transalpinis triumpharunt. Triumphamus hostem, quem in triumphum ducimus: & triumphamus ex his vnde triumphum referimus.
 28 Capitur beneficijs. Mirum cur non vitaret amphibologiam. nam capitur beneficijs, qui ducitur & delectatur beneficijs. Hic sentit beneuolentiam adipisci nos beneficiendo.
 29 Amor multitudinis commouetur. Commouetur pro excitatur, in bonam partem.
 30 Capere consilium. Dicitur non qui consulit alium, sed qui ipse reperit consilium.
 31 Animi despicientia. Noue dixit despicientiam, pro magnitudinem, qua infra nos posita contemnimus.
 30 Admirabilitatem facit. Magis noue dixit, admirabilitatem facit, pro eo quod est visitatus, reddit hominem vehementer admirabilem.
 33 Nec illi quidem. Sunt qui dubitent, satisne Latinum sit vti, nec, si sequatur quidem. Hic tamen ita est locutus Cicero. Atque alijs quoque locis, ne quis causetur hic fuisse casum, velut libro tertio, numero 5. Nec illi quidem septem. Rursus eodem libro, numero ro decimo quarto, Nec vtilitas quidem. Rursus numero vigesimo octauo, Nec si exploratum quidem. Rursus numero trigesimo, Sed nec cogitare quidē. & numero trigesimo primo, Nec noster quidē. Et numero quadagesimo tertio, Sed nec malum quidē esse. Omnis natus certe his locis, pace Erasmi dixerim, exemplar nostrum, ne habet. Item de amicitia, numero 18. Rursus 21. Rursus de senectute numero 27. Item 28. ac mox 43.
 34 Lælius, is qui sapiens vsurpatur. Noue dixit pro eo quod erat, cui vsus tribuit cognomen sapientis.
 35 Cum prohiberet iniuria. Pro eo quod erat, defenderet ab iniuria.
 36 Aliter iustitia non efficit. Aliter noue posuit, pro aliquo, quomodo vsurpatur & aliā. Nam secus ad hunc modum non ausum vsurpare.

L.iiiij.

16. Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533)

As Barker (1974) has shown, the appearance in 1530 at Estienne's press of three newly-styled 'Aldine' Romans changed the Paris typographical scene in a fundamental way. Main characteristics of the innovation were the capitals somewhat smaller than the ascenders, the narrow E, F, S, the one-eared capital M, the e with horizontal bar, the z with heavy diagonal. Except for Badius, Wechel, Morrhy who kept their Basle-styled Romans and more conservative printers as Buffet, Vidoue, Gromors or Chevallon (the latter at least in his earlier period), most Paris typographers were eager to emulate Estienne's example. Augereau, François Gryphius, Colines, Loys, Chevallon imitated them in the following years. Most of these types are quite similar to the Estienne model and it calls for a careful examination to distinguish them.^e

In Colines's face some letterforms of his earlier *Saint-augustin*, described above in (11), reappear as duplicates, for example, in the doubly-seriffed M and the narrow lower case g. It is not clear whether these were odd sorts or intended by Colines as duplicates.

The c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 18) refers to a 'Saint Augustin Syluius de Coline'. But it is commonly thought that this entry refers to the 1530 *Saint-augustin* Roman of Robert I Estienne (Carter, 1967, 40, n.15) rather than to this face. The attribution to Colines is puzzling and must be an error – one of the very rare in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 107–12; 1987, 6–7). In fact, the Syluius *Saint-augustin* Roman does not occur in Colines's printing (nor any other of the new Estienne types).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.9 : 2.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 9 June 1533, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Clichtove, *Improbatio quorundam articulorum Martini Lutheri*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 12861; Moreau, 4: 217, no. 636).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1533, C. Chevallon; 1535, L. Blaubloom, J. I Kerver [& L. Blaubloom]; J. Nyverd for G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines; 1537, Fr. Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capitals E and F; G beaking downwards; two forms of Q; one-eared M; R with large bowl; lower case e with horizontal bar; two forms of g (narrow/broad-looped); y with bulbous tail; thin diagonal of z.

VARIANT LETTER Non-beaking G from 1543 onwards.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 18, pl. 11 ('Cicéro'); Amert, 1991, 30–1, fig. 7 ('Cicéro'); Vervliet, 2007, no. 23.

FIGURE 16a (opposite, above) Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533) as it appears on f. 46 of the Index in Galenus, *De causis respirationis*, Paris, Colines, 1533. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 16b (opposite, below) Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533) assembled from f. 42v–6 of the Index in Galenus, *De causis respirationis*, Paris, Colines, 1533. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

e. See below, p. 181–6.

INDEX ALPHABETICVS IN LIBROS GALENI DE CAUSIS RESPIRATIONIS, DE VSV RESPIRATIONIS, ET DE SPIRANDI DIFFICULTATE: DVPLICI NVMERO COMPOSITVS, PAGINARVM VIDELICET ET LINEARVM.

Prior numerus paginam, alter, eiusdem lineam significat.

A Cuti morbi. 70.6
Aër vsus respirandi materia existit. 1. 16.

Aër si minus quam oporteat, ob canalium angustiam attrahatur, respirationis celeritas & frequentia necessario sequitur. 23. 25.

Aëris qui inspiratur substantia nõ egemus, sed qualitate duntaxat 3. 35. & 5. 30

Aetates quæ inaugentur, amplè, celeriter & frequenter inspirare videntur: quæ declinant contrario modo inspirant 20. 18

Aetatibus incrementibus expiratio velox, magna & frequens est: declinantibus omnia contraria 20. 26

Affectiones instrumentorũ, sine dolore propter obstructions vel duritates procreatae, functionibus tum animalibus, tum vitalibus pariunt commutationes 23. 5

Affectiones pulmonicæ & peripneumonicae quare paruum pariant respirationem. 24. 8.

Affectiones ventris notabiliores cum dolore & tumore, paruum & frequentem efficiunt spiritum 62. 32

Ametrum dupliciter dicitur, vel defectu à iusto modo, vel exuperantia 15. 18

Anhelatio accidit currentibus & quouis aliter modo acutè exercitatis, & febribus perurentibus 72. 8

Anhelant qui frequenter spirant, thoracemque vnà plurimum distendunt 72. 6

Animal interdum præter naturam respirare possibile est, nullā tamen in eo esse affectionem præter naturam 60. 16

Animi acris vehementia, frequentiores parit respirationem 71. 13

Arteriarum motio in nostra non est potestate 21. 38

Arteriæ asperæ læuibus respondent proportionem 30. 9

Asclepiadis opinio de respirationis utilitate 3. 10.

ἄσθμα quid nominare soleat Hippocrates. 75. 20.

ἄσθμα πνιμῶνα Hippocrati quæ dicantur. 76. 5.

Asthma à crebro spiritu differt, ex Hippocratis sententia 75. 27

B.

B Alnea calida celerem, magnam & crebram pariunt respirationem: frigida autem contrariam 20. 40

Balnea, si diutius in eis verferis, corpus resoluunt & debilitant, nõnunquam etiam occidunt 9. 28

Bibentes minus quam par sit, menses totos possunt sufficere: respirantes verò minus quam iustum sit, ne minimā quidem diē partem sufficere possunt 26. 20

βραχύπνοος quis dicatur Hippocrati 70. 29

βραχυπνόται dicuntur ab Hippocrate desipientes 26. 30

Breuitas sermonis veteribus consueta erat. 62. 13.

C.

C Admæa victoria prouerbium in quos quadrat 17. 10

Calor in nobis est duplex, natiuus & aduentitius 32. 44

Caloris natiui refrigeratio, paruum, tardam, & raram efficit respirationem 22. 45

Causa rei cognita res ipsa perfectissime cognoscitur 1. 4

ABCDEFGHIILMMNOPQRSTV

a b c d e f g g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y

æ & & ff fi æ si ff st q

17. Colines's Third Great Primer Roman [R 116]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)

It is unclear whether Colines completely recut his second Great Primer roman, described above in (14), rather than changing some characters, bringing them more in line with the lighter fashion as present in the new Estienne Romans (1530). Anyhow the change is gradual from 1533 on. Spot letters are the narrow capital E, the non-beaking G, the steep R, the smaller lower case g and the bulbous tail of the y. Barker (1974, 17) suggested (mainly on stylistical grounds) that Antoine Augereau was involved in its cutting. Augereau was a colleague punchcutter, collaborating precisely in these years in a couple of cases with Colines (Moreau, 4: nos. 880, 996; Schreiber, 1995, nos. 110, 115). Moreover, Colines seems to have ceased to cut new types in the mid of the 1530's, and an attribution to him of the 1536 *Finé Gros-canon* and the lower case of the

1542 *Gros-parangon* seems to be questionable (see below, 20–21). On the other hand, an attribution of this type to Colines must not be excluded, as he quite certainly continued to produce new typefaces up to 1534. See (15) and (25).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 116 x 2.1 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1533, Paris, S. de Colines (Aristotle, *De historia animalium*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, G 5445; Moreau, 4: 200, no. 570).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1535, J. Nyverd for G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines; 1536, L. Blaubloom; 1549, R. Chaudière.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capital E; non-beaking G; steep R; narrow lower case g; y with bulbous tail.

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 151, fig. 18; Barker, 1974, 17–18, pl. 10; Amert, 1991, 30, fig. 10; Vervliet, 2007, no. 14.

FIGURE 17 Colines's Third Great Primer Roman [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1533) as it occurs in J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*, Paris, Colines, 1536, p. 13. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

LIBER I.

13

machinæ, speciē effingeret. Hac lege pecudes & virgulta progeniuit: hac stirpiū
genera figurauit, quibus eadē ipsa mater & parens primūm radices, velut fun-
damenta quædam iecit, vt ijs quasi pedibus insisteret. Truncum deinde super-
posuit, velut quandam staturam corporis & habitus, mox ramis diffudit quasi
5 brachijs. Tum caules & furculos elicuit, veluti manus: eorūmq; alios fructu do-
nauit, alios fronde sola vestiuit, ad protegendos tutandōsq; partus. Ex his igi-
tur quædam sunt genitalia membra conceptu atq; foetu grauida: quædam tan-
quam tegmina & vmbracula eorum, vt quæ fructibus vidua sunt. Sic prior ser-
mo colligebat vnicuiq; corporis parti esse attributum officium, quod scilicet ei
10 conuenit: vt furculo qui opportuno loco natus est, foecūditatis vis infidet. quòd
si nonnūq̃ cesset à partu, non tamen vt orbus vel sterilis, à choro fertilium e-
rit explodendus. furculis itaq; genitalis sedes assignatur. Sed cum omne quod
adolefcit augeturq;, capeffat alimentum oportet, hoc non nisi cōcoquentis ca-
loris beneficio suppeditatur. stirpes itaque principium aliquod caloris habeant,
15 est necessum, quæ suis radicibus alimentum ex nutritio terræ finu, vel altricis
vberibus, integrū & confectum hauriunt. Terra enim perinde atq; ventre vtun-
tur, succūmq; alendis partibus ea dispenfat, ac suis feminibus ad educandam no-
uam prolem cōspirat. Ratio educationis hæc. Radices proximo terræ atq; illiba-
to succo aluntur. Hæ velut altricis vberibus educatæ, sugūt: dein ad reliquas trun-
20 ci partes humor omnis & alimentum quod à solo ministratur, transcurrit, dum
ad vltimum proueniat. Naturali enim spiritu omne alimentū virētis, quasi quæ-
dam anima, per medullam trunci, veluti per siphonem, quem diabetem vocant
mechanici, vel cæcos meatus trahitur in summū. Quò cum peruenerit, ibi con-

18. Colines's Long Primer Roman [R 65]
or *Petit-romain* (1536)

In 1535–36 Colines began to use a new Bourgeois roman, the third in his punchcutting career. It is the successor to his 1523 Bourgeois, the workhorse for his sextodecimo editions, which is described above in (6). The major differences between the two types are noted in the Key Letter rubric.

The new Roman was more in line with the style of the new Aldine Romans, introduced in Paris during the early 1530s (Barker, 1974). It nevertheless retains many characteristics typical of Colines, making it possible to attribute this small face to him. It was perhaps his last. Amert (1991,

25) seems to date its introduction as early as 1531, but I have been unable to confirm that.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 65 x 1.3 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1535, Paris, J. Nyverd for G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines (J. Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum*; Kortrijk, University Library, JdH 5; Moreau, 4: 388, no. 1306) and 1536, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar G 5395; Schreiber, 1995, 124–6, no. 143).

KEY LETTERS Narrow capitals E, G, N, R; winged M; broad T; level cross-stroke to the lower case e; narrow g; bulbous tail of y.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 25 (s.v. *Petit-texte*); Vervliet, 2007, no. 37.

FIGURE 18 Colines's Long Primer Roman [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536) as it appears in J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*, Paris, Colines, 1536, Index, f. H6v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

ERRATA IN SIGNIORA POST IMPRESSIONEM ANIMADVERSA,
QUORVM PRIOR NVMERVS, PAGINAM: POSTERIOR, PAGINAE LINEAM DENOTAT.

In epistola liminari, linea 30. transposita literula, displicuerint. 16. 35. vim ventorum. 18. 3. characiæ tithymali. 30. 2. gratissimum, & 32. radiata. 44. 29. spathulis. 66. 8. in aliquibus lege, & femis. 73. 42. fructili. 94. 2. ebulum chamæacten. 95. 4. pandaturve. 108. 27. credimus, hoc fretus præstigio. Chamæ. 112. 43. mollis. 128. 2. accipiente. 141. 38. appositu. 155. 43. ædere fructus. 158. 37. Ita nihil mirum si peregrè. 169. 42. Aceninen. 191. 2. cœnis. 234. 30. duritia. 236. 43. minus. 261. 25. parentem. 268. 23. emicuisse. 287. 31. grauari. 293. 7. linteolis. 342. 33. ducantur. 348. 34. quo. 361. 14. demers. gente. 366. 33. in aliquot lege, fetino. 367. 45. caufa. 387. 40. multisq. 389. 6. calas. 22. producente. 467. 43. amaritudinis. 473. 9. bafis. 479. 27. vua. 514. 30. leuissima. 517. 24. glabritie. 532. 40. cicatrices. 544. 5. odore. 557. 22. gustum. 584. 25. granis. 593. 12. excidat. 594. 34. incanis. 601. 45. adligant. 602. 35. incana. 609. 32. vite. 628. 1. illam, & adhi

19. Colines's Pica Roman [R 80] or *Cicéro* (1536)

In 1535–36, an update appeared of the 1527 Small Pica Roman (9), which Colines had been using as his usual Roman text type for octavos. The new type is a bit larger than the earlier one, but otherwise very similar. The most conspicuous characteristics are noted in the rubric on Key Letters. This could well be the last letter engraved by Colines himself.

Its occurrence in a 1554 Boursette imprint (Morison, 1924, pl. 145–7) could not be certified.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1535, Paris, J. Nyverd for G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines (J. Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum*; Kortrijk, University Library, JdH 5; Moreau, 4: 388, no. 1306) and 1536, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar G 5395; Schreiber, 1995, 124–6, no. 143).

KEY LETTERS Capital M with center on the base-line; narrow N with right stem descending below the base-line; duplicate forms of Q (short/long-tailed); shorter tail of R; level cross-stroke to the lower case e; narrow g; bulbous tail of y.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 31; Vervliet, 2007, no. 35.

FIGURE 19a (below) Colines's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) as it appears in Eutropius, *De gestis Romanorum*, Paris, Colines, 1539, f. 33. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 19b (below) Colines's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) assembled from J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*, Paris, Colines, 1536, Index, f. A8–G7. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Duces autem aduersus Romanos Picentibus
& Marfis fuerunt Titus Vietius, Hierus Asia
nus, Titus Legennius, Aulus Cluentius. à Ro
manis contra eos bene pugnatum est. A Caio
Mario, qui sexies c o s. fuerat, & à Cn. Pom
peio, maxime tamen à Lucio Cornelio Sylla,

ABCE GHIKLMNPQRSTVXZ
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p r s t u v x y z

20. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica Roman
[R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1536)

This is the third *Gros-canon* Roman to appear in Paris in the early 1530s. The first was that of Estienne, appearing in September 1530; the second that of François Gryphius, appearing a good year later (Kemp, 1991, 46). The third was introduced by Colines in 1536. In 1539 a rough imitation appeared at the presses of Vidoue and Gromors.

This early group of Paris *Gros-canon* Romans is distinguishable by a so-called Bembo M (without right-hand top serif). This M-form was introduced in Bembo's *De Aetna*, printed by Aldus Manutius in 1496. The asymmetric M originated perhaps by accident through deficient casting (Mardersteig, 1964, 134). It became fashionable with Paris type designers in the 1530s, in the Low Countries during the 1540s and 1550s. Italy seems to have stood by its preference for the more classic winged-like doubly-seriffed letterform; the only Italian exception I know of is the *Gros-canon* with a Bembo-M, engraved by Guillaume I Le Bé at Venice in 1546 and used mainly in Florence by Torrentino and in Venice by the Giuntas (Vervliet, 1967, 31, no. 28).

Though used by him, I doubt whether this *Gros-canon* was cut by Colines. Its style differs noticeably from his other typefaces and its later wide distribution does not fit in with Colines's restrictive policy of non-trading type material.

Garamont has been suggested as its engraver, mainly because it occurs in the 1540s at the presses of known Garamont customers such as Gaultier, Barbé, Mesvière (Renouard, 1964, 3: 33; 5: 140; Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82). It is a much weaker design than the 1530 Estienne *Gros-canon*, which some also attribute to Garamont. It seems implausible to ascribe both faces to the same type designer. See below, p. 178–80, no. 5.

This face occurs seemingly as early as 1535 in Lyons at the press of Denis de Harsy, e.g. in the preliminaries of his 1535 *Tractatus universi iuris* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: nos. 72–82). My guess is that Harsy rejuvenated older presswork by inserting cancels. But an early use seems quite probable, as f.i. in Clichthove's 1535 *Introductiones* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: no. 69), Erasmus's 1536 *De conscribendis epistolis* (DeReuck, 1993, 57, no. 120; Gültlingen, 1992, 4: no. 86) or Rabelais's 1537–38 *Pantagruel* (Rawles-Screech, 1989, nos. 10 and 21). More research is on order here.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica Roman (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 5 : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, S. de Colines (O. Finé, *In sex priores libros geometricorum elementorum Euclidis*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. V 119; Renouard, 1894, 262–4).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1537, D. Janot, J. Loys; 1538, Wid. Ch. Chevallon, M. de Vascosan; 1540, C. Wechel; 1541, N. Barbou, J. Bogard; 1542, P. Attaignant, M. de La Porte; 1543, M. Fezandat; 1544, P. Gaultier; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé & C. Garamont, Jeanne de Marnef, E. Mesvière; 1546, R. Avril, L. Blaubloom; 1549, E. Groulleau, J. Roigny; 1552, B. Prévost; 1568, J. de Marnef & G. Cavellat; London: 1542, R. Wolfe; Lyons: 1535?, D. de Harsy; 1542, B. Arnoullet; 1544, J. Ausoult & E. Rufin; 1548, J. Frelon, Ph. Rollet; 1549, G. Rouillé; Basle: 1545, J. Oporin; 1547, H. Petri; 1559, P. Perna; 1582, E. Episcopus; Rouen: 1545, R. & J. Dugort; 1551, J. Petit & M. Le Megissier; Valence: 1547, C. La Ville; Geneva: 1550, J. Crespin; Zürich: 1554, C. Froschauer.

KEY LETTERS Distinguishable from Estienne's 1530 *Gros-canon* mainly by Estienne's capital A (with cupped top), its lower case a (rounded counter), g (large upper bowl) and v (descending bottom).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1939, 198; Renouard, 1964, 3: 33; 4: 93; 5: 140; Carter, 1969, 86; Vervliet, 1969, 491; Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82; Vervliet, 2007, no. 5.

FIGURE 20 The lower case of the 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1536) as it appears in the headline on the title-page of J. Arboreus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, Paris, Colines, 1537. The capitals C, I, A are woodcut and do not belong to the type. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Commentarij Ioannis Arborei
LAVDVNENSIS, DOCTORIS THEOLOGI,
in Ecclesiasten, ad illustrissimū Principem HENRICVM, Gal-
liæ Delphinatem.

DEIVSDEM COMMENTARII IN CANTI-
cum Canticorum, ad nobilissimum, ac reuerendissimum Cardina-
lem Ludouicum Borbonium.

21. The 'Ammonius' Two-line Pica Roman
[R 160] or *Palestine* (1542)

From 1542 onwards, a lower case accompanies Colines's second titling on Two-line Long Primer, described above in (8). I hesitate to attribute this lower case to Colines, though I have no other name to propose. The only clue I have is to Robert Granjon, who began cutting in the early 1540s and whose popular Two-English Roman (1547) may have been modelled on the typeface used by Colines (Vervliet, 1998, 20).

SIZE Double Pica Roman (*Gros-parangon*); 20 160 x 3 : 5.2 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1542, Paris, S. de Colines & J. de Roigny (*Ammonius, In praedicamenta Aristotelis commentaria*; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 3499 C-LP; Renouard, 1894, 351–2).
EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1549, R. & Cl. Chaudière.
KEY LETTERS lower case e with horizontal bar; narrow g.

FIGURE 21 The 'Ammonius' Two-line Pica Roman [R 160] or *Palestine* (1542) as it appears in O. Finé, *Quadratura circuli*, Paris, Colines, 1544, f. 20v. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

SVMMMA PRIVILEGII,
à Rege per Authorem impetrati.

Regia cautum est sanctione, ne quispiam
hoc opus, & alia Orontij Finæi Mathe-
maticarum professoris opera, in ipso priuilegij
diplomate sigillatim enarrata, intra decēnium
à prima singulorum operum æditione suppu-
tandum, absque manifesto opificis consensu,
imprimat: aut alibi impressa, sub Regis ditione
venditet & distrahat. Idque sub graui multa, in
eodē priuilegij diplomate luculēter expressa.

Concessum fuit priuilegium, & maiori
sigillo Regio munitum, Lutetiæ
Parisiiorū, Anno Christi 1543,
Mense Febru. Ipsum au-
tem priuilegium
subscribebat
Guiotus.

(::)



22. Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 91] or *Saint-augustin* (1528)

Mainly used for a series of classical and neo-Latin poetry, Colines introduced in 1528 a new Italic in the chancery style, ostensibly inspired by the Arrighi and Tagliente Italics of 1524 (Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41). It is a very elegant face. Even more than his Romans, it reveals Colines's mastery as a punchcutter and designer. Colines engraved three more Italics, two of them in the Aldine style, appearing in 1530 and 1534, and one other in a formal chancery style (1532). See below, (23–25).

This typeface has not been seen outside the Colines and Blaubloom presses, except for an appearance with a Wechel imprint, which probably can be attributed to Blaubloom's press (Moreau, 4: no. 316).

A poor copy by an unknown Low Countries letter-engraver appeared in Antwerp, London and Dublin from 1530 onwards (Johnson, 1936, 79; Vervliet, 1968, 294).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 91 x 1.6 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1528, Paris, S. de Colines (Lucanus, *Civilis belli libri* x; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 35.19; Moreau, 3: 425, no. 1548).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Capital line well below ascender line; downwards beaked G; duplicate swash capitals G, L, M, N, V; kerned lower case ascenders; cursive g; swash z; inverted-3 ampersand.

LITERATURE Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41, fig. 12; Johnson, 1928, 19–20; Johnson, 1959, 106–7, fig. 28; Carter, 1969, 121, fig. 78; Tinto, 1972, 36–7; Barker, 1974, 9 (s.v. Cicéro italic); Amert, 1991, 34–5, fig. 11; Veyrin-Forrer, 1995, xxii; Vervliet, 2005, no. 10.

FIGURE 22a Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 91] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) as it occurs in E. Strozzi, *Strozii poemata*, Paris, Colines, 1530, f. a2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 22b Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 91] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) assembled from Silius Italicus, *De bello Punico*, Paris, Colines, 1531. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Non enim diu, vt oportebat, in eam curam me incumbere permiserunt summæ occupationes meæ: nec inter imprimendū quidem id muneris adire diligentius Venetijs potui, sum enim semper occupatissimus. Quoniam autē in vtriusq; poematis illustrissimī principes familiæ Estensium tolluntur in cælum laudibus, Hercules etiam tui mentionem quamsummissime nō sine tua summa laude facit: quin Gigantomachia, quam extremis temporibus suis inchoauit tantum, tibi dedicata est, sub tuo nomine exire hos libros volumus in manus hominum. Adde etiā quod pro summis, quibus prædita es virtutibus, dignissima es: quam laudent, honorent, venerentur omnes: atq; ipse in primis, cū propter alia, tñ quia Academiam, cui cōstituēde iam multos annos studeo, tuis opibus, tuo solius sumptu facturam te, sinant tēpora, vltro mihi receperis. Ais enim nihil te magis cupere, quā & placere semper Deo immortalī, & iuuare mortaleis, tam qui nūc sunt, quā nascituros omnibus seculis, relinquerēq; aliquid cum ē vita excesseris, quo non sine summa laude vixisse testeris. O præclaram vocem, dignāq; Lucretia Borgia. Verissima certe illa est sententia,
Δανὸς χαράκτηρ, καὶ πίστημος ἐν βροτοῖς
ἔσθ' ἂν γινώσκει, καὶ πὶ μᾶζον ἐρχεταί

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V U
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
& & x

23. Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1530)

Tory's *Aediloquium* of 1530 is set entirely in Colines's English-Bodied Italic of (22), except for a short note on the dangers of love: 'Vale viator, et in amoris vias, si potes, ne venito ...' appearing on the verso of f. b8. Its five lines are set in a new and smaller italic, which reappears from 1531 onwards in Colines's editions of classic and Neo-Latin literary authors, either in the side-notes of the octavos, or as text type for the sextodecimos. An early example of the latter is the Horatius of 1531, whose colophon refers to the *typis suis* of Colines (Renouard, 1894, 181).

I have failed to spot in Colines's printing an even smaller Italic on Brevier (55 mm), which is mentioned by Carter (1969, 121). It may be a slip of the pen. I guess he refers to Colines's Pica Italic of (25).

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 64 x 1.2 : 1.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1530, Paris, S. de Colines (G. Tory, *Aediloquium ceu Disticha*, f. b8v; Kortrijk, Public Library, GV 12093/c; Moreau, 3: 603, no. 2308).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1548, C. Badius & R. I Estienne; 1549, R. I Estienne; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals, well below the ascender line, only a bit higher than the lower case; open lower case v.

LITERATURE Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41–4, fig. 11; Johnson, 1959, 106; Carter, 1969, 121; Tinto, 1972, 33; Amert, 1991, 34–5 (s.v. 'Petit-texte'), fig. 12; Schreiber, 1995, 70–1, fig. 70; Veyrin-Forrer, 1995, xxv–xxvi; Vervliet, 2005, no. 12.

FIGURE 23a Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* as it appears in Martialis, *Epigrammaton libri xiiii*, Paris, Colines, 1533, f. 4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 23b Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* assembled from Martialis, *Epigrammaton libri xiiii*, Paris, Colines, 1533, f. 5v–7. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

L I B. I. A

Prostratum Nemees & Vasta in valle leonem,
Nobile & herculeum fama canebat opus.
Prisca fides taceat nam post tua munera, Caesar,
Hæc iam fœminea vidimus acta manu.
Pœna Laureoli.
Qualiter in scythica religatus rupe Prometheus
Assiduam nimio pectore pauit anem:
Nuda Calidonio sic pectora præbuit vrsò,
Non falsa pendens in cruce, Laureolus.
Vinebant laceri membris stillantibus artus,
In que omni nusquam corpore corpus erat.
Denique supplicium dederat necis ille paternæ,
Vel domini ingulum foderat ense nocens.
Templa vel arcano demens spoliauerat antro,
Subdiderat sævas vel tibi Roma faces.
Vicerat antiquæ sceleratus crimina famæ:
In quo quæ fuerat fabula, pœna fuit.
De Dædalo.
Dedale lucano cum sic lacereris ab vrsò,
Quàm cuperes pennas nunc habuisse tuas.
De rhinocerote.
Præstitit exhibitus tota tibi Cæsar arena,
Quæ non promisit prælia rhinoceros.
O quàm terribilis exarsit pronus in iras.
Quantus erat cornu, cui pila taurus erat.
De leone, qui gubernatorem offendit.
Læserat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum,
Ausus tam notas contemnerare manus.
a.iiij.

ABCDEFGHI LMNOPQRSTV
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ & ff fi ff ß

24. Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or *Gros-romain* (1532)

Like Colines's earlier English-Bodied Italic (22), this type was modelled after an Arrighi model, though in a more formal chancery style, the *cancellaresca formata* of the writing-masters (Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41). Arrighi introduced it in 1526 (Balsamo-Tinto, 1967, 136, fig. 55). Colines's design became quite popular in Paris. Four similar Italics originated in the years to follow. Two of them have been attributed to Garamont (Vervliet, 1999).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 118 x 2.2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1532, Paris, S. de Colines (P. Anghiera, *Extrait ou recueil des isles nouvellement trouuees*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, K 6181; Moreau, 4: 133, no. 325

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, L. Blaubloom; 1546, R. & Cl. Chaudière, R. I Estienne; 1554, Ch. Estienne; 1565, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1555, R. I Estienne; 1561, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Upright Roman capitals; duplicate forms of Q; two lower case g (narrow/broad); pointed v; two z (short/tailed); inverted-3 ampersand.

LITERATURE Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41, fig. 13; Johnson, 1928, 20; Johnson, 1967, 106–7; Carter, 1969, 121; Amert, 1991, 35, fig. 14; Veyrin-Forrer, 1995, xxv, xlii; Vervliet, 1999, 10–12, fig. 1; Vervliet, 2005, no. 13.

FIGURE 24a Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or *Gros-romain* (1532) as it appears in Galenus, *De causis respirationis*, Paris, Colines, 1533, f. *2. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 24b Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or *Gros-romain* (1532) assembled from L. Alamanni, *La coltivatione*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1546. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

IOANNI RVELLIO SVESSIONENSI, VIRO IN RE Medica præstantissimo, Ioannes Vasseus Meldensis Salutem.



Aleni commentarios de causis respirationis, de ipsius usu, & de difficultate spirandi, quotidianis ab occupationibus liber, è græco sermone latinis literis mādauī, vir doctissime. quos nomini tuo dicatos, vt legas, iudiciūq; quod sit referas, non vehementer solum expecto, desideroque: verum quoq; tuum ad decretum me ipse confirmo. à quo sanè dissentire nō possum. Neq; id facio, vt forsitan quibusdā videbitur, simulatione. Tantū etenim doctri-
næ probitatīq; tuæ tribuo, vt quæ velis, quæ dicas, ea mihi omnia & recta & vera videantur. nec me fallit opinio. Nam quis te non doctum, non plenū officii, non frugi hominem, ac planè virum bonum existimauit? Quis vnquam tanti factus fuit, aut fieri potuit, aut debuit à doctissimo quoq; quanti tu? Si de meritis agendum sit, medicinam ipsam iamdiu crassis occulta-
tam & circumfusam tenebris per te detectam, pristinoque nitori restitutam quis negabit? non sanè Lutetiana schola. Nempe cum in ea orbis rei medicæ conuersus ita esset, vt vix sonitus audiri, vix impressa orbita videri posset (nempe penè tota perierat res medica) tu vnus ma-
ximo cum labore (Nam quamplurimi erant qui contrà niterentur) orbem hunc in meliorem reduxisti conditionem, opemq; occidenti medicinæ tulisti. Si de doctrina, testimonium perhibēt idoneum Dioscorides de medicinali materia, Absyrtusq; de veterinaria medicina, quos latinis literis nō crudos quidem incoctosq; sed maturos excoctosq; ædidisti. Si de amore officiōq;, quid non mecum cæterisq; communicas? Nam si in simplicium notione (qua in re vt Græci suo Dio-

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V X

a b c d e f g g h i l m n o p q r s t u z

&

25. Colines's Pica Italic [Ti 81]
or *Cicéro* (1534)

Apart for the early Kerver/Le Rouge/Gromors Italics (Johnson, 1959, 97), the use of a Pica-sized Italic was rare in Paris before the 1520's. The Schoeffer Pica italic, originating in Basle about 1519 (Carter, 1969, 118), was introduced in Paris by Vidoue in 1523 and adopted later by Wechel, Badius, Morrhe, Loys, Blaubloom. Robert I Estienne had his own Italic on this size engraved in 1532, using it until 1542, when he changed to another one. Colines's Pica followed in 1534.

As were most early Italics, the Colines typeface is a close imitation of the Aldine italic, including its small-sized upright capitals, but the Colines lower case is sturdier than the Aldine and somewhat reminiscent of the Schoeffer design. I have not seen the Colines Pica Italic used outside his own press. The 1542 Estienne Pica Italic is a very close, though in my opinion somewhat inferior, copy of the Colines face, differing only in few letters. Estienne's displays a narrow H, broad L, top serifs of T slanting to the left, winged Y, lower case g with a small egg-shaped bowl.

Amert (1991, 35) suggests that Colines had already introduced a first state of this face in 1533. No reference is quoted and I suspect that the italic, used in Colines's 1533 Solinus (Moreau, 4: 265, no. 821; Schreiber, 1995, 96, no. 104) is referred to. As this is the Schoeffer italic, the work was probably printed by Blaubloom, who owned a fount of that face (Renouard, 1964, 4: 94; pl. Biii 17, no. 137).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 81 x 1.6 : 1.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN June 1534, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Günther [Jonas Philologus], *Dialogi aliquot*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 49274:1; Moreau, 4: 315, no. 1015; Schreiber, 1995, 98, fig. 107).

EARLY APPEARANCE 1535, Paris, J. Nyverd for G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines.

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals well below the ascender line; capital A with right-serifed apex; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; broad T.

VARIANT LETTER Non-serifed apex of A in 1545.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 35–6, fig. 17; Vervliet, 2005, no. 15.

FIGURE 25a Colines's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1534) as it appears in Amomo, *Rime toscane*, Paris, Colines, 1535, f. a3v–a4. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 25b Colines's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1534) assembled from Demochares, *In octo libros Topicorum Aristotelis...hypomnema*, Paris, Colines, 1535, f. 1–4v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

N così degno nodo Amor m' auinse
i Ne gl' anni ch' eran di mia etate Aprile
Ch' io tenni ogn' altra libertate à uile
Vago del laccio, che mi stringe & strinse.
Vna fiamma si uaga al cor mi cinse
Vn' incendio si dolce & si gentile
Ch' in l' alma, solo à lui serua & humile,
Ogni basso uolere in tutto estinse.
Non appetito uile o d' oro o d' ostro
M' empiè, ma solo un bello alto desio
Vergare i fogli d' amoroso inchiostro.
Voi, ch' ascoltate in rime il dolor mio
S' io potrò, mai la donna, ch' io ui mostro,
Andrà di Lethe al doloroso oblio.

La uaga Aurora già da lauree ruote
In terra sparso hauea gielate brine,
Destaua il sol le rose entro le spine
Mentre il giorno conduce & l' ombre scuote.
Quando per uie solinghe à nessun note
Due donne uiddi honeste & pellegrine,
Che monstrauan bellezze alte & diuine
Ver me spargendo humili & dolci note.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V Y Z
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x y z
æ ca æ et & ga ge ij la ll nu
nu æ ff st ta te un

26. Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522)

Usually it is thought that the Sophocles 1528 Greek was Colines's first. However, at the very beginning of his career he used Gourmont's Greek (Vervliet, 2002, 7–9) and then, from the end of 1522 to June 1528 (e.g. in Erasmus, *De recta ... pronuntiatione*, 1528), a new Greek cursive, somewhat smaller than the Sophocles face and surely less elegant. From 1527 onwards, he had yet another one for marginal notes on Brevier or *Petit-texte* (55 mm), described below in (27). There are few stylistical indications to ascribe both types to the young Colines, but date and distribution seem to support such an attribution. Robert I Estienne used this Pica Greek (on a body of Small Pica or 74 mm) until by the mid 1530s, when he switched to Augereau's 90 mm Greek.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 78 x 1.7 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 20 September 1522, Paris, S. de Colines (Aristoteles, *Opus magnorum moralium*; Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, 4480; Moreau, 3: 115, no. 255).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1526, R. I Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Broad capital M; N with double left top serif; short right shank of Π; narrow Σ; short lower case β; awkward triangular δ; looped π leaning to the right; duplicate forms of β, δ, ν, ξ, π, σ, τ; three forms of γ, ζ; flat compendium και; crossed ligature λλ.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2002, 16, no. 5.

FIGURE 26a Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522) as it appears in A. Manutius, *Institutionum grammaticarum libri IIII*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1531, p. 314. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

FIGURE 26b Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522) assembled from *Alphabetum graecum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1528, f. A1 vo. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Chaumont.

χουσσα, προσβάσσα τῷ λίδῳ τῷ ὑμ ἐπικειμένῳ ὑπὸ τῷ ποδὶ τῆς
χαλκῆς ἀργασμένης λητούς, δ τῆς τότε πρᾶξις μίμημα γένον
μενον, ἀνάκειται περὶ τῆς πλάτανος ἐμ λελοῖν, ἐπερ ἴε παῖ.
τυχεῖν ὃ τόξα κατὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα τὸν ἀπόλλωνα. τοῦτο δ' ἐν
σὶν, ὡς ἔπει τὶς, ἀφιεπαί, καὶ βάλλει παῖ. διόπερ ἀπὸ τούτου λε

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ς

ο π ρ σ ς τ τ υ φ χ ψ ω

27. The 'Gromors' Minion Greek [Gk 49] or *Mignonne* (1523)

An exceptionally small Greek used sparingly mostly in marginal and other notes occurs in Colines's printing from 1527 onwards. Its relation to similar small Greeks occurring at the presses of P. Gromors (1523), G. de Gourmont & P. Vidoue (1528), P. Gaudoul & P. Gromors (1529), Robert I Estienne (1533), Fr. Gryphius (1535) deserves more scrutiny. If they prove to be identical, an attribution to Colines, who avoided sharing his own types, becomes unlikely.

SIZE Minion (*Mignonne*); 20 49 x 1 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1523, Paris, P. Gromors (Erasmus, *Parabolae*; Moreau, 3: 174, no. 493)

EARLY APPEARANCE: 3 August 1527, Paris, S. de Colines (*Pentateuch Moysi*; Aarau, Kantonsbibl., Ma 981; Moreau, 3: 327, no. 1138).

KEY LETTERS tailed ν; right leaning looped π; crossed ligature λλ.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1900, 93–4; Scholderer, 1927, 9, fig. 27.

FIGURE 27 The 'Gromors' Minion Greek [Gk 49] or *Mignonne* (1523) as it occurs in Cicero, *Officia*, Paris, Colines, 1538, f. Ei. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

* Promptiores.) Quia publica salus priuata preponenda est.
Vt Callic.) De Callieratide, Xenophon in παραλαβόμενοις ἡβ.
Σ. Καλλιράτιδος διείπινθητι ἡ ἀρετὴ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ δόξα οὐδὲ
κῆται αὐτὸ ἀποθανόντων, φιλόσοφος δ' αἰσχροῖς ἴσιν, ἔφη.
Cleombrotus inuidiam.) Cur dixerit de Cleombroto, quod
esset inuidiam timens, intelligi nisi ex historia non potest, quae
est in libro sexto apud Xenophontem in παραλαβόμενοις.
ὡς δ' ἡ τῷ κλεομβρότῳ διὰ τὸ φίλοι προσιόντες ἔλαβον, ὡς
κλεομβρότης, ἐπ' ἀφώσας τὸς θηβαίους ἀνευ μέχης, κινδυνεύει
οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς πόλις τὰ ἴσχατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναμνηστικῆς
γὰρ σὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κλεομβρότης ἀφικόμενος, δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς
φας τῶν θηβαίων ἐδίδωσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστὶν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν
κλεομβρότης ἐμβολῶν, ἀγνοοῖται ὅτι ἐμβόλοντος διὰ τὴν κτῆ
δαίμωνος ἐπερ ὅτι ὁ αὐτοῦ κτῆ δ' ὡς πάλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν
μείων, ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. διὰ τὸ φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλαβον, δὲ

28. Colines's 'Sophocles' Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528)

In 1528 Simon de Colines started publishing a series of Greek texts (Moreau, 3: nos. 1402, 1418, 1481–2, 1503–4, 1609), composed in a new Greek typeface. It is, I think, the first decent Greek cursive to be cut in France. Its capitals are wholly in Colines's style and the fact that it was only used by Colines and his contractor Blaubloom confirms the attribution. Scholderer (1927, 9) suggested that the lower case was inspired by Callierges's style, but I fail to see the relation or likeness. The face is known as the Sophocles type, after the publication by Colines of Sophocles's *Tragoediae septem* in December 1528. Occasionally, Colines used other Greek founts, for instance Petreius's (mostly in association with Jean Loys) or Schoeffer's (mostly with François Estienne). In the 1534 Greek New Testament (Schreiber, 1995, 100, no. 110), Colines used Augereau's Greek, but it may be questioned whether he actually printed that work himself, though its title-page displays his device and address. See Vervliet, 2002, 17–18.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.6 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN July 1528, Paris, S. de Colines (Cicero, *De senectute* [Graece]; Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, FA-8° A 26b; Moreau, 3: 395, no. 1418).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1530, L. Blaubloom; 1532, G. de Gourmont [& L. Blaubloom]; 1535, J. Nyverd for G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Broad capitals M, N, Z; low right top terminals of lower case γ and χ; small sized ζ, θ and ϑ; duplicate forms of β, δ, η, χ, ν, π, τ; three forms of ζ, σ; curled tail of ρ in ligature αρ; descending ε in ligature μεν; crossed ligature λλ; rounded ν in ligature των.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 92–3; Scholderer, 1927, 9, fig. 26; Schreiber, 1995, 38, no. 30; 41, no. 32; Vervliet, 2002, 17–18, no. 6.

FIGURE 28a (below) Colines's Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) as it appears in Sophocles, *Tragoediae septem*, Paris, Colines, 1528, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 28b (below) Colines's Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) assembled from N. Clenardus, *Institutiones in linguam graecam*, Paris, Blaubloom, 1530, f. 3. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

Επιγράμματα εἰς Σοφοκλέα.
Σιμωνίδης.
Εσθίωδης γηραιὸν Φόκλιος, ἀνθ' ὁμοιδῶν,
δινωπὸν βᾶκχος βότρυι ἐρεπτόμενος.
ἥρέμ' ἔσθ' ὅτ' ὑμῖν σοφοκλῆος, ἥρέμα κιοῖ
ἐρπύλοισι χλοερὸς ἐκποχίωρ πολοκάμυς.
καὶ πέτχλον πέντη θάλλοι ῥόδοι, ἢ τε φιλοῦρῶξ
ἄμπελος, ὅγρ' ἄν' ἔλκ' κλήματα χευαμόνη.
εἵνεκεν ἑυμαθὴς πνυτόφρονος· ἥρ' ὁ μελίχρως
ἥσκησε, μισθῶ ἄμμιγα καὶ χαρίτωρ.
Εὐκλῆς.
αἰεὶ τοι λιπαρῶν ὑπὸ σήματι Διὸς Φόκλιος,
σκηνίτης μαλακῶς κιοῖς ἄλοιτο πόδας.
αἰεὶ τοι βᾶταισι πωδισάξοιτο μελίσσαις
τύμβος ὕμνητος λαρόμενος μέλιτι.
ὥς ἄν' τοι ῥαῖη μὲν ἀείνητος ἀτθίδι Δέλτα
κηρός· ἔσθ' εὐφάνοις Δ' αἰὲν ἔχοις πολοκάμυς.
Διοσκορίδης.
τύμβος ὅδ' ἐστ' ὠνθρῶπε Φόκλιος· ὅμ' ἥρ' ἄν' ἔσθ' ὅτ'
ἔρ' ἡμ' ὡς ἀρθρονίη ἱερός ὡς ἔλαχε.
ὅς με πόνει φλοιῶντος ἐπὶ τρέβολοι πατέοντα
πρίνινον, εἰς χεύσινον σχῆμα μεθ' ἡμῶς.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
α β γ δ ε ς ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π
ρ ς ς ς τ τυ φ χ ψ ω

The Printing Types of the Young Robert I Estienne; 1526–1530

The Paris printer Robert I Estienne is certainly one of the most fascinating characters of sixteenth-century book history, a distinction he shares with Aldus and Plantin. Estienne was a prolific author, a first-class editor, a successful printer, and a conscientious publisher. His life and work have been well described by Armstrong.¹ It would be redundant to try to present a summary here.

In the field of type design, he is mainly remembered for his role as the initiator of the *Greco du Roy* (1543–1550), which he had engraved by Claude Garamont,² and the introduction in the autumn of 1530 of three splendid Romans in a new style, leading European typography into a new epoch, fittingly labelled the ‘Aldine revolution’ by Barker.³

This short notice attempts to find out what typographic trails Estienne followed before that momentous date of September 1530, when he introduced those three new Romans. There are several paths leading to some understanding of this question. First, one can explore the books he printed in this early stage of his career, say from September 1526 to September 1530. Second, one can follow the indications, however scarce, that Estienne himself gives in the introductions of his publications and in his autobiographical apology of 1552.⁴ Finally, there are the notes of one of his apprentices, the punchcutter and type-founder Guillaume I Le Bé. Let us first consider this last source.

Robert I Estienne’s interest and role in type design is recorded in a general way in a passage in the c.1643 Le Bé Memorandum. This handwritten notice is an historical commentary⁵ on the inventory of the Le Bé typefoundry mentioned below. It contains biographical notes about French punchcutters, type-founders and printers active in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. It was compiled about 1643 by one of Guillaume’s I Le Bé’s children, probably Guillaume II, but Guillaume I clearly provided the bulk of the information on the sixteenth century.

Guillaume I Le Bé (1524/5–98), born into a family of paper merchants, was himself trained in the craft of punchcutting by several masters, including Estienne and Garamont. During the years 1545–50 he worked in Venice. On returning to Paris, he went back into the paper trade, and also into the craft of cutting type, mainly music and Hebrew. In the field of typefounding, he was instrumental in building a core collection of punches and matrices by Garamont, Granjon, Haultin, Villiers and other contemporary masters. It became a basis for the leading Paris typefoundry which lasted through four generations of Le Bés and two of Fourniers until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the history of typefounding, its role was at least as important as that of the Egenolff-Berner-Luther typefoundry in Frankfurt. The latter has become more renowned mainly as a result of its frequently issued type-specimens.

Le Bé is also the source of two other documents which are of prime importance for the historiography of sixteenth-century typography. The first is an inventory of the early typefoundry, preserved in an eighteenth-century copy in the hand of the elder Fournier.⁶ The lost original must have been written (or

Summary

This notice describes seven typefaces in use at Robert I Estienne’s press from its start in 1526 up to 1530, when it systematically began to introduce types in the new, so-called, Aldine fashion. All but one of the seven typefaces came from Colines’s press, the sole exception being a Hebrew that Estienne himself may have engraved.

Revision of a paper that appeared in *Fata libelli ad octoginta annos natum Gedeon Borsa*, Budapest, 2003, 191–7.

1. Armstrong, 1986.

2. Vervliet, 2000a.

3. Barker, 1974.

4. R. Estienne, *Ad censuras theologorum Parisiensium*, [Geneva], 1552 (P. Chaix, 1954, 20; Armstrong, 323–38).

5. Preserved in a private archive, it has been published by Carter, 1967.

6. Paris, Archives nationales, MC 65: 229; published by Morison, 1957.

updated) by Guillaume II around 1618, as the inventory includes punches and matrices from the Du Chemin music heritage.⁷ But the inventory evidently refers to a collection originally built up by Guillaume I.

The second source is contained in two scrapbooks with autographical annotations and smoke proofs or printed specimens mainly of Le Bé's own type production, broadly arranged in chronological order. They are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris.⁸ Guillaume I Le Bé clearly was a well informed witness and the documents deriving directly or indirectly from him merit full attention.

The passage about Estienne in the c.1643 Le Bé Memorandum runs as follows:

Robert Estiene filz dudit henry cy dessus,⁹ c'estant instruit avec son pere, et encor plus en la fonderye, avec son ayeul Simon de Colines, homme expert aux caracteres, se seruit des caracteres du dit Colines, et y en augmenta quelques, en autres d'une sorte de lettre de la grosseur de St. Augustin quil nomma Sylvius, et autres sortes de lettres quil faisoit, et aprit tellement les particularitez de la fonderye de caracteres, tant chez son ayeul de Colines que chez son pere, quil se mit à faire et faire faire des caracteres hebrieux dont il imprima la bible in 4°....¹⁰

The main information in this passage is clear: the earliest types of Robert Estienne were provided by Colines; Estienne was knowledgeable in the art of type-making and introduced a new Roman and some Hebrews.

Checking this information in the pre-1530 imprints of Robert Estienne, one finds that Estienne did then not possess any of the types that later brought him celebrity but that his type cases contained founts for seven typefaces, all but one in use at the press of Colines (who was his stepfather and predecessor as tenant of the Estienne family house at the sign of St. John Baptist). Estienne had founts, in some cases probably matrices, of four Romans, one Greek, one Gothic, and one Hebrew, the latter being the only one not owned by Colines.

As far as I have been able to reconstruct, the chronology of the use of these seven founts is as follows: in 1526, the first year of activity of his press, Estienne seems to have had access to two Colines founts: first, a Roman of Small Pica size (73 mm for 20 lines) and a Greek on the same size. The following year, in his first large publication venture, the Latin folio Bible of 1527–28,¹¹ Estienne began using three more Romans plus a Gothic and a Hebrew, bringing the total number of his founts to seven. They constituted the stock of Estienne's type cases, until the autumn of 1530, when, as said above, he introduced, three newly designed and indeed outstanding Romans (which many tend to ascribe to Garamont).^a Estienne owned no Italic before 1532, though the Basle Italic on Pica (80 mm)¹² and the Colines Italic on English (90 mm) were present in Paris from 1523¹³ and 1528¹⁴ onwards.

The earliest type in use at Estienne's press was a Small Pica Roman (73 mm) borrowed from Colines [fig. 1–2]. It was Colines's second of that size; used from 1525 onwards, it is the much heralded text type of the *Horae* which Colines and Geoffroy Tory issued in that year.¹⁵ It was one of first Romans North of Alps to shed the influence the then popular Basle-style Romans. Colines put it to use as his workhorse for compositions in the octavo format. He used it over his whole career, albeit more sparingly from 1536 onwards, when his new Cicero (80 mm) became available.¹⁶

Robert I Estienne used this second Colines Small Pica Roman as a standard text type from the very beginning of his independent activity as a printer in

a. See below, p. 110 and 167.

7. Carter, 1967, 11, n. 6.

8. Res. X 1665 and ms. NAF 4528; published by Omont, 1887.

9. i.e. Henri I Estienne.

10. Robert Estienne, son of the foregoing Henry, was taught by his father, and even more, when typefounding was concerned, by his grandfather, Simon de Colines, who was an expert in types. The younger Estienne used the types of De Colines and added other to them, among these a face on English [St. Augustin] which he named 'Sylvius' and types of other kinds that he made. He learned typefounding so particularly, under Colines and under his father, that he set him himself to make or to get made a type for Hebrew. With this he printed the 4° Bible... (Translation Carter, 1967, 29).

11. Moreau, 3: no. 1373.

12. Carter, 1969, 118.

13. at the press of Conrad Resch and Pierre Vidoue (Moreau, 3: no. 31).

14. Vervliet, 2005a, no. 10.

15. Moreau, 3: nos. 841–2.

16. Vervliet, 2003a, no. 19.

1526. From 1529 on, he used it systematically on the larger size of Pica (80 mm) until 1539.^c I suppose it was cast on this larger body. Consequently, I assume Estienne owned a set of matrices or had access to them.

c. He then changed over to a new and lighter-weight Roman in this size (Vervliet, 2004, no. 6).

3
✠ GEORGII TRAPEZONTII
DIALECTICA.

Dialectica: est diligēs differendi ratio. Differere vero nemo poterit diligenter: nisi quæ inuenerit, dicendāq; iudicauerit, ea sic coniunxerit: ut illis datis, quod intendit necessario cōsequatur. quam orationē, Græci συλλογισμός dicunt: Latini vero ratiocinationē appellare possunt. Ea, propositiōibus constat. Omnis propositiō si simplex est: duobus terminis, subiecto atq; prædicato, connectitur. Quoniam ergo syllogismorum, elementa sunt ex quibus constant, & ad quos resoluuntur (nec enim componendo altius repetere: nec resoluendo longius abire possumus) de his primum dicamus. Verum dialecticorū more: ut de quo termino sermo à nobis habetur intelligas, vocē in significationes suas primū diuidamus. ¶ Terminus ergo: locorū fines appellati sunt, qui locum à loco distinguant, atq; separent. unde Græci similitudine ducti, ὅρος id est verbum de verbo, terminos, diffinitiones appellant. Disiungūt enim atq; separent diffinitiones, vniuscuiusq; substantiā: cum differētiās tanquā terminos generi adiiciunt. ¶ Terminos etiam simplicis propositionis, partes dicimus: vel quoniā significatione quasi cōscriptam rem ostēdunt, quā significant. Hinc est qd rerū nomina, implicitas diffinitiones: & diffinitiones, explicita nomina rerū, multi ac clari philosophi solent appellare. ¶ Terminum ergo quem hic dicimus, propositionis partem intelligimus: quem ita definit Aristoteles. Terminus est in quem resoluitur propositio. Est autē omnis terminus.

A. iij.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNQRSTVZ
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
et & si fl st ff

FIGURE 1 Colines's Small Pica Roman [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525) as it appears in G. Trapezuntius, *Dialectica*, Paris, Colines, 1528, f. a2v–a3. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 2 Colines's Small Pica Roman [R 73] or *Philosophie* (1525) assembled from P. Anghiera [Pierre Martyr], *Extract ou recueil des isles*, Paris, Colines, 1532. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

The other Colines type in early use at the Estienne press was a Pica Greek [fig. 3–4]. This typeface first appeared at the Colines press in 1522.¹⁷ It is a Greek in the Aldine fashion, less well designed than the better known ‘Sophocles’ Greek,¹⁸ introduced by Colines in 1528, which Estienne never used. Estienne used the first Colines Greek from 1526 to 1535, when he changed over to Augereau’s Greek.¹⁹ The latter remained in use at Estienne’s press until about 1543, when the first *Grec du Roy*²⁰ appeared.

FIGURE 3 Colines’s Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522) as it appears in A. Manutius, *Institutionum grammaticarum libri iiii*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1531, p. 314. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

χουσσα, προσβάσα τῷ λίδω τῷ ὕμῳ ἐπικειμένῳ ὑπὸ τῷ ποδὶ τῆς χαλκῆς ἀργασμένης λητούς, ὃ τῆς τότε πρῶτως μίμημα γινόμενον, ἀνάκειται περὶ τῆς πλάτανου ἐν δελφοῖς, ἔπερ ἴε παῖ. τυχερὸν ὃ τόξα κατὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα τὸν ἀπόλλωνα. τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν, ὡς ἔποι τις, ἄφιε παῖ, καὶ βάλλε παῖ. διόπερ ἀπὸ τούτου λεχθὲν ναὶ φασὶ τὸ, ἴε παῖ. *¶* ἴε παῖαμ. & paulo post subiungit, τὸ δὲ ὑφ’ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ πονηκοῦ λεχθὲν φάνεως πέπλασαι ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐς τρεῖς ἑπῆμ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως, ἴη παῖαμ, ἴη παῖαμ, ἴη παῖαμ. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τῆς πρῶτως τὸ τρίμετρον καλόμενον ἀνατίθισι *¶* θεῶν, φάσκων τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο ἑκάτερον ἔναι τῷ μέτρῳ, ὅτι μακρῶν μὲν τῷ πρῶτῳ δύο συλλαβῶν λεγομένων, ἴη παῖαμ, ἥρῳων γίνεταί, βραχέων δὲ λεχθεσῶν, ἱαμβέων. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο, δηλοῦν, ὅτι *¶* τὸν ἱαμβὸν ἀναθετέον αὐτῷ. βραχέων γὰρ γινομένων, ἐκ δύο τὰς οἰώωντων τελευταίας συλλαβὰς ἐς μὲν κρᾶν ποιήσῃ τις, ὃ ἰσώων ακτος ἱαμβος ἔσται.

FIGURE 4 Colines Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522) assembled from *Alphabetum Graecum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1528, f. arv. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque de la Ville, Chaumont.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ρ ξ ζ
ο π ρ ρ σ ς τ γ υ φ χ ψ ω

The 1527–28 folio Bible was Estienne’s first great venture. Its title-page is dated 1528 but its colophon mentions 27 November 1527. In the introduction, Estienne noted that he had been working as an editor on the project since 1524. The material production and the presswork probably occupied most of 1527. It must have been felt that the two rather small faces then available at the press were inadequate for such a large work. Five more were introduced: three Romans, one Gothic, one Hebrew.

The Roman types were, again, borrowed from Colines. The largest is a Great Primer (110 mm), an old Basle Roman that has been traced back to 1494 at the private press of the Basle cleric Joannes Bergmann de Olpe [fig. 5–6]. It was one of the earliest Basle Romans to enjoy an international distribution in France, England, and the Low Countries. In Paris it was the most popular Roman of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The face was there used from 1498 onwards by Levet, Le Noir, Tholoze and many others including Henry I Estienne and Colines.²¹ Robert I Estienne used it regularly until September 1530, when he started using his new Roman in this size.²² Despite its age, the ‘Bergmann’ fount as used by Estienne is crisp and manifestly freshly cast. Superscript sorts abound and sorts cast on a split body were available. Again, I presume Estienne had access to a set of matrices.

17. Vervliet, 2003a, no. 26.

18. Vervliet, 2003a, no. 28.

19. Vervliet, 2002, no. 9.

20. Vervliet, 2000a, no. 2.

21. Vervliet, 2005a, no. 5.

22. Barker, 1974, 12, n. 31;

Vervliet, 2004, no. 2.

rem publicā speciosissimā : cōstituit humanā soci-
etatem iucundissimā : imposuit frenū libidīni : igna-
uiā mortaliū ad virtutē excitauit . Tempestate tñ
philosophorū & poetarū fulgidissima interuenit
quē ob dicendī fingēdīq; iucunditatē: nō mediocrē
locū inter eruditōs obtinebat. Quorū quidā hero-
icū carmē: quo res diuinę humanęq; decantari so-
lent: cultissima scriptiōne celebrarūt . Quidam de
agricultura: alii de planetis & cursu syderū motuq;
polorū . nonnulli de amoris imperiō : vt elegiaci:
Pleriq; de Regum ac principum miserabili casu/vt
Tragici: poemata elegatissima cōposuere. Reliqui
Cōmēdiā (quā Gręci archęam vocarūt) cū magna
dicendī libertate coluerunt. E quorū numero Ari-
stophanes: Eupolis atq; Cratinus/laudatissimi va-
tes claruerūt. cū enī viderent iuuētutem Atheniē-
sium: ceteręq; Gręcię/omnibus libidinū generibus
irretiri : occasiōē notādi acceperūt: & plano qdē
eloquiō : quorūcunq; sceleratorū hominū vicia ac
peccata libere mordebāt . Ex hac veteri Cōmēdiā
nostri latini nō inelīgans scriptitādī genus forma-
rūt: & primus Lucilius qdē satyrā latinis dedit: in
qua noiātīm scelera Rhomanorū principū: ciuiūq;
priuatorū canebat: salibus multis: iucūdaq; dicaci-
tate totā pfricabat vrbē. Nō certe ista cratiōne du-
ctus: vt fandi lasciuia & effrenatā quandā pcacita-
tem exerceret: sed vt virtutū studiā: doctriņasq; sa-
lubres excitaret: & vicia e mediō fugaret. Igītur Sa-
tyra tota latinoę est (vt inquit Fabius/ libro decio
Institutiōnū oratorię: p Satyra quam nos habe

FIGURE 5 The 'Bergmann'
Great Primer Roman [R 102]
or *Gros-romain* (1497) as it
appears in S. Brant, *Stultifera
navis*, Basle, J. Bergmann,
1497, f. 7v. Courtesy of the
Royal Library, Brussels. See
also p. 22 above, fig. 5.

ABCDEF GHIKLMN
OPQQRSTVWX
a b c d e f g h i i k l m n o p q r s f
t u v x y æ & ff fl æ ff st 9 &
ā ē ė ĩ ñ ō p p p q q q r r ū
ı 4 7 9 : • ! () / = } 3

FIGURE 6 The 'Bergmann'
Great Primer Roman [R 102]
or *Gros-romain* (1494)
assembled from S. Brant,
Stultifera navis, Basle,
J. Bergmann de Olpe, 1497,
as shown in GfT, pl. 497.
Some sorts are reproduced
poorly.

23. Vervliet, 2003a, no. 11.

FIGURE 7 Colines's second English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1526) as it appears in L. Valla, *Epitome*, Paris. Colines, 1529, p. 106. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

The second largest face is an English-sized Roman (90 mm), originating at Colines's press in 1526 [fig. 7]. As far as I can ascertain, it appears at Estienne's press only in the 1527–28 Bible. Perhaps he only borrowed some cast type.²³

E L E G. L I B. I I I I. 106

dibus ferunt. Frequenter tamen fama etiam pro sermone non rei recētis sed iam inueteratæ, & pro opinione quadam. vt, fama est Athenas iam plus annorū viginti millibus fuisse cōditas. Et pro laude & pro celebritate hominis. vt, fama Camilli, fama Scipionū, Metellorū, Fabiorū, & eorū quoq; qui viuūt: vt, fama mea, fama tua, fama illius, pro quo non recte dixeris rumor.

A R G V M E N T V M

¶ Murus, est vrbis aut castrorū. lapideus ambitus. Paries, qualiscūq; domus priuatæ. Mœnia interdū pro muris: eo q̃ munimenta dicuntur. Porta, est in muris. Ianua, in pariete.

¶ Murus, paries, mœnia, & ianua. Cap. VIII.

MVrus & paries quid differāt, superuacūū erat admonere, nisi his tēporibus (vt sunt omnia deprauata) murus p̃ paries à pluribus vsurparetur, quanquā apud Græcos

24. Vervliet, 2003a, no. 6.
25. Armstrong, 1986, 325.
26. Chaix, 1954, 16.
24. Vervliet, 2003a, no. 6.
25. Armstrong, 1986, 325.
26. Chaix, 1954, 16.

The third type Roman is a small Roman in the Bourgeois size (63 mm). Colines introduced it in 1523 for a series of sextodecimo editions of the Bible in parts.²⁴ In his apology of 1552 Estienne mentioned and praised it as a 'belle lettre'.²⁵ Estienne used it, albeit sparingly, throughout his whole career [fig. 8–9]. The fact that it turned up in the Greek-Latin New Testament Estienne printed in 1551, after his flight to Geneva,²⁶ supports the hypothesis that he owned a set of matrices of this typeface too.

FIGURE 8 Colines's second Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523) as it appears in Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534, f. 15. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

P L A N T. D I F F E R.

Libanotidis. Rosmarini.
Libanotidi fœcundæ priori altera omnino respondet.
¶ Nec ab his abludit sterilis.
Lichnidis.
Lichnis agreſtis fatiuam in cunctis refert.

MAli.
Exigui mali magnitudine apparet Catanance altera.
Mecōnis. Papaueris.
Agreſti Papaueri non est diſſimilis Argemone vtraque.
Alijs Papaueribus longius est tertium, necnon ſylueſtrius & medicamentofius.

Myrices. Tamaricis.
Ereæ ad Tamaricem proxime accedit, ſed multo breuior.

NArthecis. Ferulæ.
Thapſia totam ferulæ ſpeciem exhibet.

Nymphææ.
Alterâ Nymphææ radice modo & flore à priori diſſentit.

ORigani.
Origano ſimile Ageratum.

A T O T O A C C E P T A E. 15

PEpli.
Paronychia nō diuerſa eſt à Pello, longitudine tamen minor.

Pityos. Piceæ.
Tithymalus quintus cognomine cypariſſias in vniuerſum nuper naſcentem Piceam æmulatur.

¶ Chamæpitys tertia Piceæ eſt halitu.

Polij.
Alterū Polium mōtano quidē fruticofius, ſed non tam valido eſt odore.

Praſij. Marrubij.
Stachys Marrubium ſimulat, verum oblongior.

Ptereos. Filicis.
Trichomanes & Dryopteris ad Filicem quidem accedūt, multo tamen breuiores.

RHamni.
Halimos Rhamnum repræſentat, ſed ſpinis caret.

¶ Cytifus tota Rhamni modo albet.

Rhodi. Roſæ.
Rhodia radix trita Roſam exhalat.

SElini. Apij.
Hippoleſinum hortenſi Apio maius eſt & candidius.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
 a b c d e f g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y z Æ æ Œ &

FIGURE 9 Colines's second Bourgeois Roman [R 63] or *Gaillarde* (1523) assembled from Textor, *Stirpium differentiae*, Paris, Colines, 1534. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

The Gothic is a textura in the size of Gros-canon (220 mm). It is a splendid Parisian Gothic, appearing from 1504 onwards at Hopyl's press [fig. 10]. It was very common in early sixteenth-century Paris typography. Henri I Estienne and Colines had it also.²⁷ Robert Estienne it very sparingly. I have seen it only in the heading of the privilege of the 1527–28 Bible. I guess he borrowed some cast type.

27. Vervliet, 2002a, 284–7.

A B C D E F G H
 I K L M N O
 P Q R S T U V
 a b c d e f g h i j k l m
 n o p q r s t u v x y z
 æ œ Œ & Æ æ Œ &
 ũ ā đ ċ ĭ Ĺ Ĺ ű ō
 p p̄ p q q̄ ċ ċ ũ
 ∴ = /) ✚ ☿ ☿

FIGURE 10 The 'Hopyl' Textura on Two-line Great Primer assembled from cast type preserved at the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (LE-Te 2). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

The last of the early Estienne founts is a square Hebrew in sephardic style cast on the size of English (90 mm) body [fig. 11]. Estienne used it in three publications of 1528, viz. the folio Bible mentioned above, the *Alphabetum Graecum* and the *Psalmi*.²⁸ In 1532 he had another Hebrew of this size and from 1539 onwards yet another, introducing in 1543 a fourth, which is attributable to Jean Arnoul dit Picard.²⁹ The 1528 Hebrew is an interesting face, one of the earliest Hebrews to be cut in Paris after the Gourmont (1520) and the Vidoue (1522) Hebrews. It is not well designed and clearly the work of a beginner, but its maker may have been Robert I Estienne himself. This at last could be inferred from the passage in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum, as quoted above: 'Il se mit à faire et faire faire des caracteres hebrieux...' It would take too long to elaborate here the whole history of the nine founts of Hebrews,³⁰ which appear in Estienne's Paris publications, but the hypothesis that the first of them was cut by the young Estienne may not be too far-fetched.

28. Moreau, 3: nos. 1357, 1373, 1377.

29. Vervliet, 2004, no. 27.

30. More details in Vervliet, 2004, 155–71.

ALPHABETVM Hebraicum, cuius literarum ordine composuit est psalmus CXVIII, & alij, caput item tricesimum Prouerbiorum Salomonis, & Ieremiæ Lamentationes.

			DVODECIM SIGNA SIVE APICES		
			quibus Hebræi vtuntur pro vocalibus.		
			Nomina apicum	Figura.	Potestas
א a	אֵלֶף	Aleph	Doctrina, siue mille		
ב b	בֵּית	Beth	Domus.		
ג g	גִּמֶל	Gimel	Retributio siue ablactatio.		
ד d	דָּלֶת	Daleth	Ianua siue paupertas.		
ה h	הָא	He	Ecce, vel ista.		
ו v	וָו	Vau	&		
ז z	זַיִן	Zain	Fornicatio		
ח h	חֵית	Heth	Vita.		
ט t	טֵית	Teth	Verrere, scopis mundare		
י i	יּוֹד	Iod	Laudatio, siue confessio, aut manus.		
כ ch	כָּף	Caph	Vola, id est palma manus, aut phiala.		
ל l	לָמֶד	Lamed	Doctrina vel disciplina		
מ m	מֵם	Mem	Aquæ		
נ n	נּוֹן	Nun	Posteritas aut stirps, vel ætern⁹.		
ס s	סָמֶךְ	Samech	Adhæfio, innexio, aut iunctura		
ע e	עֵין	Ain	Oculus, siue fons		
פ p	פֶּא	Pe	Os oris, aut hæc.		
צ c	צִדִּיק	Sade	Iustus vel iustitia		
ק c	קוֹף	Coph	Circuitus, vel congelatio.		
ר r	רֵישׁ	Res	Caput siue principium, aut paupertas		
ש f	שֵׁן	Sin	Dens, aut ebur.		
ת t	תּוֹ	Tau	Signum		
			פֶּתַח	Pathah	א a
			קָמֶץ	Cames	א a
			חֶטֶף פֶּתַח	Hateph pathah	א a
			עֵרֵי	Sere	ע e
			סֵגוֹל	Segol	ע e
			שֶׁבָא	Seua	ע e
			חֶטֶף סֵגוֹל	Hateph segol	ע e
			חֵרִיק	Hirich	י i
			חֹלֶם	Holem	ו o
			חֶטֶף קָמֶץ	Hateph comes	ו o
			שְׁלוֹשָׁה נְקֻדּוֹת	Selofa necudoth	ו u
			שׁוּרֶק	Surec	ו u

FIGURE 11 The first 'Estienne' square Sephardic Hebrew [Hb 2 mm] on English or

Saint-augustin (1527–28) as it appears in *Biblia [Latina in-folio]* (Paris, Robert I

Estienne, 1527–28), Part 2, f. az. Courtesy of the University Library, Leuven.

Robert Estienne's Printing Types

With Aldus Manutius, the Paris printer Robert Estienne (c. 1503–59) is regarded as the most eminent among the many learned printers of the sixteenth century. His high reputation for fine and scholarly printing makes it unnecessary to introduce him here elaborately. Elizabeth Armstrong has outstandingly surveyed his roles as author, editor, and publisher, his conflicts with the Sorbonne, his flight to Calvin's Geneva.¹

In the field of typography Estienne innovatively adapted the layout of his Bible editions to the needs of a general reading public, setting the standard for the centuries to follow.² With regard to type design, Estienne is chiefly acclaimed as one of the initiators of the *Grecs du Roy* (1543–50), cut by Claude Garamont on the basis of instructions or designs supplied by one of the royal calligraphers, Angelos Vergikios; and for the introduction in 1530 of three splendid Romans in a new, more 'Aldine', style, leading European typography into a new epoch.³ The two achievements secured his undisputed place at the Olympus of European typographers.

This paper attempts to describe exhaustively Estienne's stock of types, to find out which type designers and punchcutters may have served under him, and, in a more general way, to try out a methodology for distinguishing and naming historical typefaces. Describing twenty-nine types (nine Romans, four Italics, six Greeks, ten Hebrews), its ambition is to contribute to a much needed but still awaited conspectus^a of all known sixteenth-century printing types.⁴

It discusses, in turn, the available sources, Estienne's acquisitions of new typefaces, and the main characteristics of his Romans, Italics, Greeks, Hebrews. A technical description of each type and two tables, arranged by body size and date, respectively, complete this study. Its main conclusions address the (controversial) attribution of the new 1530 Romans and some Italics to Garamont, the use of the *Grecs du Roy* outside France and Geneva, and the ascription to Picard of the square Hebrews Estienne used from mid-1543 onwards.

All the typefaces described below were peculiar to Estienne and, except for the *Grecs du Roy*, their use outside his press or that of his family was all but nonexistent. He apparently considered trading in matrices or cast type, a practice gaining currency since the end of the fifteenth century, as inappropriate. He shared that incunabular conviction about the desirable independent ownership of type with his stepfather Colines – possibly one of the rare views they shared. In Geneva, however, he seems to have softened his opinion on this subject and grown more supportive towards other printers.

This paper is limited to the Estienne typefaces *stricto sensu*. It does not survey decorative materials, woodcut lettering, and initials, however important these may be for a full assessment of his role in the evolution of fine printing. Nor does it include, as they have been described elsewhere,⁵ the half-dozen typefaces he used at the very beginning of this printing career and that he borrowed from Colines's stock, nor his early Greeks,⁶ nor those he acquired in the mid-1540s from Colines's assortment, at the end of his stepfather's life.

When in 1526 Robert I Estienne married the reasonably well endowed printer's daughter Perrette Badius and started up his own press at his paternal house

Summary

This article describes Robert I Estienne's stock of types and attempts to find out what type designers and punchcutters may have served under him. It describes twenty nine types (nine Romans, four Italics, six Greeks, ten Hebrews) and discusses consecutively the sources available, Estienne's acquisitions, the main characteristics of his Romans, Italics, Greeks, Hebrews. A technical description and tables by body size and date end this study. Its main conclusions address the (controversial) attribution of the new 1530 Romans and some Italics to Garamont, the use of the *Grecs du Roy* outside France or Geneva, and the ascription to Picard of the square Hebrews Estienne used from mid 1543 onwards.

Revision of a paper that appeared in *The Library*, 7th ser., 5 (2004), 107–75.

a. See, however, Vervliet, 2008.

1. Armstrong, 1986.

2. Black, 1963, 437–41; Martin, 2000, 188–91.

3. Barker, 1974, 5–2; Kemp, 1991, 23–47; Mosley, 2006.

4. It must be made clear what is meant by the terms type, or typeface. For the purpose of this article a type and typeface is defined as any casting from any set of matrices derived from the same basic set of punches. See above, p. 1–2.

5. Vervliet, 2003.

6. Vervliet, 2002, nos. 2, 5, 9.

at the sign of St John the Baptist (causing his mother and her third husband, Simon de Colines, to move out), it seems that a licence to use founts (or matrices) so far as and in the state they were available on the premises was part of the deal. Besides two older designs – a big Textura on Canon and a Great Primer Roman – these included three Colines Romans respectively on Bourgeois, Small Pica, and English, and a Pica Colines Greek.⁷ All six of these founts have been described by Vervliet.⁸

Unquestionably this assortment was as good as that of any other of the better printing offices of the time. Nevertheless, from the end of 1530 onwards Estienne phased out their use (except for the Bourgeois and Small Pica Romans) and promptly began to transform his typography, as vigorously and resolutely as he was tracking down corrupt passages in the Latin biblical tradition. The latter earned him a fierce enmity from the conservatives in the Paris Faculty of Theology, which ended in 1550 with his expatriation to Geneva. Conversely – so far as we can infer from the many immediate imitations – his typographical innovations were much admired, at least in Paris. Despite the occasional criticism, such as voiced in 1543 by Johannes Metellus, who found the Estienne's Roman types less elegant and more of a strain to the eyes than those of Froben,⁹ they became the global standard for the next centuries.

The Sources

What are the sources for an enquiry such as this? First, there are the books Estienne printed, some six hundred. The types of about two thirds of these were examined for this study. By trying to distinguish new or unusual type-faces, some conjectures about their origin can be risked. The method requires a heuristic, as large as is feasible, not only of Estienne's books but of those of all his contemporaries, a requirement that in absolute terms is unfulfillable. The adopted procedure can therefore hardly be regarded as conclusive, as it rests fundamentally on an argument *a silentio*, but I submit that its findings may be brought forward as circumstantial evidence.

Second, there are the indications, however scarce, that Estienne himself gives in the introductions to his printed books (e.g. the postface in the 1542 *Tusculanae* or the preface in the 1546 Greek New Testament) and in his autobiographical apology of 1552.¹⁰

Third, there are archival records, pertaining specifically to matters of type design and type-casting. Especially well known is the 1540 contract,¹¹ that names Vergikios as the designer, Garamont as the punchcutter, and Estienne as the user of the *Greco du Roy* (15, 17, 18).¹² Some ten years later a Geneva archive document reports that Robert Estienne employed Pierre Haultin as a type-caster at least from 1553 onwards.¹³ To this category of sources pertain also the specimens, inventories and autobiographical notes deriving from one of Estienne's apprentices, the punchcutter and typefounder Guillaume I Le Bé (1524/5–c.1598). As the son of a well known family of Troyes paper merchants, he was apprenticed to several punchcutters, working in the early 1540s at Estienne's premises, later in the 1550s to Garamont. During the years 1545–50 he worked in Venice. On returning to Paris, he went back into the paper trade, and also into the craft of cutting type, mainly music and Hebrews. In the field of typefounding, he assembled an important collection of punches and matrices by Garamont, Granjon, Haultin, Villiers, and other contemporary masters.

7. For a table of old body size names in English or French and the their values for 20 lines in mm, see above, p. 6–7.

8. Vervliet, 2003.

9. Andres, 1804, 175.

10. Robert Estienne, *Ad censuras theologorum Parisiensium*, [Geneva], 1552; Chaix, 1954, 20; Armstrong, 323–38.

11. The contract is preserved at the Archives nationales in Paris (MC 8:60) and has been published by Parent, 1973, 57–8.

12. See (15) below. Bold-face numbers within parentheses refer to the descriptions and figures below.

13. Chaix, 1954, 142.

It became a basis for the main Paris typefoundry that lasted through four generations of Le Bés and two of Fourniers until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

For our purpose, three Le Bé documents^b need consideration: first, an historiographical memorandum on the history of printing; second, an inventory of the Le Bé typefoundry; third, his scrapbooks with type-specimens and autographed annotations.

The Le Bé Memorandum is a historiographical commentary¹⁴ on the Inventory of the Le Bé typefoundry mentioned below. Containing biographical notes about French punchcutters, typefounders, and printers active in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, it was compiled about 1643 by Le Bé's homonymous son, but it is clear that the bulk of the information on the sixteenth century was provided by his father. One passage mentions Robert I Estienne's interest and role in type design in a rather general way, as follows:¹⁵

Robert Estiene filz dudit henry cy dessus [i.e. Henri I Estienne], c'estant instruit auec son pere, et encor plus en la fonderye, auec son ayeul Simon de Colines, homme expert aux caracteres, se seruit des caracteres du dit de Colines, et y en augmenta quelquns, en autres d'une sorte de lettre de la grosseur de St. Augustin quil nomma Syluius, et autres sortes de lettres quil faisoit, et apprit tellement les particularitez de la fonderye de caracteres, tant chez son ayeul de Colines que chez son pere, quil se mit à faire et faire faire des caracteres hebrieux dont il imprima la bible in 4° et commença par quelques volumes qui se vendirent à part, Neamoin lesdits caracteres ne se trouuerent pas si agreables que lon esperoit, Et cest ce gros vilain hebreu dont sont imprimez quelques liures, comme Ieremie, Esaïe, Iob, et autres prophettes, de sorte quil fit Reffaire lesdits Caracteres hebrieux de la bible in 4° par vn nommé Jehan picard homme le plus adroit a la proportion & grace de Caracteres quil fut en ce templa, mon pere estoit alors apprentif chez ledit Estiene en 1542, et il trauailla sur la fin auxdits caracteres, et se sont Rencontrés Les plus beaux, et aussy toute la bible en fut imprimée qui est celle qui se voit apresant, Ledit Estiene Commença en 1524, Et le premier liure que jaye veu imprimé chez lui, cest vn *Psalterium* in 40 de lan 1528, auec plusieurs et diuerses leçons et asterisques, Et imprima grand nombre de bibles et autres liures hebrieux, grecs, et latins, auec les Caracteres grecs que Garamond auoit tailles, frappé les matrices et justifies letout au despens de Roy françois premier, et luy furent baillez pour en imprimer et sen seruir, et ainsy continua ses belles impressions bien trauaillées et correctes, à paris en la Ruë St Iehan de beauvais è *Regione Scolae decretorum* depuis lan 1524 jusques en lan 1551 [*expunxit* 1549] quil sortit de Paris pour aler à Geneue et ce qui luy bailla la grande Reputation se fut ces trois sortes de grecs mentionez cy dessus que ledit Roy françois premier auoit fait trauailler par Claude Garamond fondeur de lettres, imprimeur et libraire és années 1540, 41, 42, 43 44 et 45 Comme il sera encor dit cy apréz.¹⁶

Though written about a century *post factum* and despite some small errors chiefly in the dates, the main information in this passage is clear: the earliest types of Robert Estienne were provided by Colines; Estienne was knowledgeable in the art of type-making; he introduced some new Romans and Hebrews and he was allowed to borrow the Royal Greeks. On the whole all this information is correct and corroborated by the present research.

The second Le Bé source is an Inventory of his typefoundry, preserved in an eighteenth-century copy in the hand of the elder Fournier.¹⁷ The lost original must have been written (or updated) by Guillaume II around 1618, as the Inventory includes punches and matrices taken over from the Du Chemin mu-

b. Vervliet, 2007, 7–8.

14. Carter, 1967.

15. Carter, 1967, 16–17.

16. Translation: Robert

Estienne, son of foregoing Henry, was taught by his father and even more, where typefounding was concerned, by his forebear, Simon de Colines, who was an expert in types. The younger Estienne used the types of De Colines and added others to them, among these a face on English which he named Syluius and types of other kinds that he made. He learned typefounding so thoroughly, under De Colines and his father, that he set himself to make and to get made a type for Hebrew. With this he printed the quarto Bible, beginning with some volumes sold separately. The type proved not to be as agreeable as was hoped: it was the ugly big Hebrew with which some of the Books, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Job, and other prophets were printed; so he had new faces cut for the 4° Bible by a man named Jehan Picard, who was at that time the most skilled in the proportions and grace of the printer's letters. My father was apprentice to Robert Estienne, that is to say in 1542, and he worked at these letters towards the end. The new letters were considered to be most beautiful, and with them was printed the complete Bible, the one that is now to be met with. This Estienne set up in 1524. The earliest book of his that I have seen is a 4° *Psalterium* of 1528 with many and various lessons and notes. He printed a large number of Bibles and other books in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He used the Greek types that Garamont had cut, struck, and justified entire at the expense of King François I, and they were deposited with Estienne with Estienne for his printing and use. He went on with his fine printing of books that were carefully edited and corrected at Paris in the Rue St. Jehan de Beauvais, 'e regione Scholae Decretorum', from 1524 until 1551, when he left Paris to go to Geneva. What gave rise to his great reputation was the Greek of three sizes mentioned above which King François I commissioned of Claude Garamont, letterfounder, printer, and bookseller in the years 1540, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45, of which more below.

17. Paris, Archives nationales, MC 65: 229; ed. by Morison, 1957. See also Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 4, n.8.

sic heritage.¹⁸ But it evidently also refers back to a collection originally built up by Guillaume I. It mentions a 'Saint Augustin Sylvius',¹⁹ ostensibly an Estienne typeface and ascribes it (wrongly as is thought) to Colines (3).

Finally, two scrapbooks with autographical annotations and smoke proofs or printed specimens mainly of Le Bé's own type production, broadly arranged in chronological order, constitute a third source. They are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris.²⁰ Two leaves contain some information on Estienne's Hebrew typefaces. One of these is a Hebrew type-specimen, up to now unrecognized as such. Le Bé's autograph annotation attributes four of the five types shown to his master Picard; see below (25–28).

Estienne's Acquisitions

Broadly speaking, Estienne's acquisition in new types took place in two peak periods, the first in the years 1530–33; the second about ten years later. Outside these periods very few new types were acquired, possibly for lack of funds.

Leading up to the first peak period, two changes in Estienne's early type-cases are to be noted; first, the appearance of a Hebrew face in three editions of 1527–28, and second, the casting upon a bigger Pica mould of the Colines Small Pica Roman. The square Sephardic Hebrew [2 mm mem-height] is of a rather weak design and may have been engraved by Estienne himself; apparently it was discarded after 1528 (20). The Small Pica Colines Roman,²¹ cast upon Pica and used in this larger size from 1529 onwards, marks a intentional departure from Colines's rather heavy typography towards a more italianate, lighter, and airier printed page, thus anticipating the trend that the new Estienne Romans of the next decade would firmly establish.

And then, in the early 1530s, Estienne's type room underwent an expansion, unexpectedly and as never seen before, with the acquisition of eight new type. Estienne must have given orders to start work on them in 1529, as the three earliest typefaces were ready for the composition room before September–December 1530. By the end of 1533 he owned eight new types: five Romans, one Italic, one Hebrew, one Greek. For the engraving alone of some seven hundred punches, Estienne may have invested some eight hundred *livres tournois*, the equivalent of the cash in his wife's dowry.²²

The five Romans (1–5) were remarkable in four ways: they were unprecedented were in the range (from a Canon or Two-line Double Pica to a minute Nonpareil), in the speed of execution (just three years), in their uniformity over all sizes (for the first time in typographical history), and, finally, in the harmony and brilliance in the interpretation both of the inscriptional capitals and its lower case letters, reminiscent of the best lettering in humanistic manuscripts. The design of these typefaces has traditionally, and appropriately, been considered in relation to Aldus's typography,²³ but the extent and rapidity of the changes brought about by Estienne meant that that model was easily out-classed. These Estienne Romans are frequently, though in my opinion somewhat overhastily, attributed to Garamont; whatever the truth, they became a standard in typographical history for the centuries to come.

From 1533 to 1539 no new Estienne typefaces appeared, except that about 1535 Colines's old Pica Greek, which Estienne had been using since 1526,²⁴ was exchanged, first (temporarily) for the 'Badius' Greek, then, perhaps at the request of Budé, for the better designed 90 mm Greek by Augereau.²⁵ The last

18. Carter, 1967, II, n.6.

19. Morison, 1957, 18.

20. Res. X 1665 and ms. NAF 4528; cf. Omont, 1887.

21. Vervliet, 2003a, no. 4.

22. Parent, 1974, 175; Armstrong, 1986, 15.

23. Carter, 1967, 14; Barker, 1974, 11; Mosley, 2006.

24. Vervliet, 2002, no. 5.

25. Vervliet, 2002, nos. 2 and 9.

named, accused of heresy, met his death at the stake in 1534. His Greek came into the hands, first of Colines, then of Estienne, the earliest evidence of a typographical contact between stepfather and stepson, after their separation in 1526.

A second peak, occurring from 1539 to the mid 1540s, saw the introduction of the amazing number of sixteen new faces. Apart from three new Romans, two Italics and one Greek, it included seven new Hebrews and Estienne's involvement with the creation of the (three) *Grecs du Roy*. To deal with the Hebrews first: these were initially limited to two square types (22 and 24), and one Rabbinical or cursive (23), all in Sephardic style. The squares were found less elegant than was hoped, and Estienne stopped using them in 1542. Four new square Hebrews were commissioned from Jean Arnoul dit Picard and came into use from mid 1543 onwards (25–28). Again an Italian press, Soncino or more probably Bomberg, supplied the model.

The history of the Royal Greeks, engraved at the expense of François I by Garamont on the basis of designs of Angelos Vergikios is well documented. For Greek letters they became the model to follow for the next two centuries.²⁶ One other Greek was added: a Brevier (18), not equalling the class of the Garamonts. The three Romans too – a Pica (6), a Two-line Great Primer (7) and a Brevier (8) — were indifferent designs, below the standard of Estienne's earlier Romans. The two Italics, a Pica (11) and a Bourgeois (12) were handsome faces in Aldine style. The Pica Italic is frequently linked to Garamont, but once again, in my opinion, without much proof.

With the exception of the largest (17) of the *Grecs du Roy* (available in the spring of 1550) and some typefaces of Colines, Estienne seems to have ceased to acquire other type designs after the mid 1540s, at least during his time in Paris. The reintroduction of Colines typefaces started in 1543 with uses of Colines's 1524 Roman titling on Two-line Long Primer, e.g. in the 1543 sextodecimo New Testament.²⁷ After Colines's death, founts of Colines's Great Primer and Bourgeois Italics appeared.²⁸

In Geneva, to where Estienne emigrated late in 1550 and where he contracted with Pierre Haultin as type-caster, new types were limited to a Roman (9) and Greek (19) titling on Two-line Long Primer, again indifferently designed, and two well designed Breviers (an Italic and a Rabbinical Hebrew), possibly cut by Haultin (13 and 29).

The Estienne Typefaces

Roman Typefaces

So far as can be ascertained, Estienne published nothing in the months June, July, August of the year 1530.²⁸ Such a break is unusual, occurring in neither the preceding nor the following years. Moreover there is a striking difference in layout and typography between the Estienne imprints of early *vs.* late 1530. The earlier works display only older Colines types to which Estienne obviously had some access,²⁹ while from September 1530 onwards he gradually discards these and starts using a totally new typography. This involves three new Romans in the sizes Two-line Double Pica (280 mm/20 lines) and Great Primer (115 mm), which both appeared in September (1–2), and English (92 mm), which occurred from December (3). It is highly likely that the recess was used to overhaul typefoundry and composition room. As a seventeenth-century description of the premises indicates, the first was possibly located in the backyard

c. Vervliet, 2005, nos. 12 and 13.

26. Vervliet, 2000a, 3–55.

27. Renouard, 1843, 55, no. 1; Vervliet, 2003a, no. 8.

28. Barker, 1974, 12, n.31.

29. Vervliet, 2003.

of the Estienne's parental house in the rue Jean-de-Beauvais, taken over from Colines in 1526.³⁰

The design of the new Roman typefaces to which, in 1533, two smaller-sized Romans were added, was revolutionary, introducing in transalpine Europe a new 'fashion for lightness and delicacy'³¹: the same features as had been injected into Paris book illustration by Geoffroy Tory after his return from Italy some five years earlier. Moreover, the Two-line Double Pica is remarkable, being the first complete Roman – i.e. with both upper and lower case letters – in typographic history on so large a size. Up to then larger Romans were confined to capitals.³² To our eyes (although William Morris would have thought differently) the new Estienne Roman type design is outstanding for its evenness, legibility, refinement, and serenity. Its basic letterforms, with a characteristic one-eared M, long-tailed Q, lower case e with horizontal bar and small bowl, elegant g, have been fittingly associated with the sorts of the Aldus's 1495 *De Aetna*.³³

It is a mystery how the five new Estienne Romans were created in so short a time and with no antecedents, at least none in Paris. One imagines that in the Paris typophile circle that comprised talents such as Tory, Colines, Estienne, sketches of the best possible letterforms must have been circulated, studied, and discussed. Whoever engraved these new Romans, it was quite certainly not Colines, notwithstanding the attribution to him, in the c.1598 Le Bé Inventory, of Estienne's English (92 mm) Roman (3).³⁴ Colines's Romans are very different in style, bolder, heavier, less italicate. Colines worked continually on them, revising frequently details of their designs. Contrarily the 1530 Estienne Romans were never revised and, being excellent as they were, they remained unaltered in the following decades. The fact that they were not used outside the Estienne family indicates that the Estiennes owned the punches and matrices and clearly were not eager to market them.

Whether Robert I Estienne himself contributed substantially to the design of the new Romans, is an open question. He clearly had a hand in the new layout of his books: after the introduction of his new Romans, say from end of 1530 onwards, the headlines of his title-pages switch from Roman capitals to a large-sized lower case Roman and introduce a new style in title-page typography. That Estienne had been schooled in type-casting and punchcutting is reported by Guillaume II Le Bé³⁵ and he may have had strong personal feelings about the ideal form of Roman type, but the rather sub-standard design of his later Romans seems to weaken the thesis of a major involvement, as far as type design proper is concerned. Nor is the candidacy of other contemporary Paris letter-engravers such as Antoine Augereau, François Gryphius, Michel Du Boys obvious. The Romans of Augereau and Gryphius appear rather to be imitations of a lower standard,³⁶ and what we know about the later type designs of Du Boys makes it unlikely that he may have been involved in the early Estienne Romans. The enigmatic 'Maitre Constantin' mentioned in the c.1643 Le Bé Memorandum as a contemporary of Colines and Augereau,³⁷ has resisted every effort of research.^d

There remains Garamont, to whom, for mainly stylistic reasons, the early Estienne Romans have frequently been attributed.³⁸ However, it is doubtful whether Garamont was active as a master as early as 1529. Such an early date conflicts with Le Bé's statement³⁹ that Garamont was apprenticed, first to Augereau (act. 1531–34), then worked for Claude Chevallon, whose new,

d. Maitre Constantin has recently been suggested; see below, p. 164–5.

30. Armstrong, 1986, 271–2.

31. Carter, 1969, 81.

32. Johnson, 1937; Vervliet, 1969, 482–3.

33. Barker, 1974, 11.

34. Morison, 1957, p. 18.

35. Carter, 1967, 16.

36. Kemp, 1991.

37. Carter, 1967, 15.

38. Recently by Carter, 1967, 40, n.15 and 40; Carter, 1969, 84; Barker, 1974, 11, n.24; Barker, 'Introduction', in Schreiber, 1982, 1982, 2, n.2; Armstrong, 1986, 275; Kemp, 1991, 31. The first to do so was probably Guillaume Postel in his *Paralipomena*, post 1562 (London, British Library, ms. Sloane 1413, f. 45; ed. François Secret, Milan, 1989, 116).

39. Carter, 1967, 17–18.

though still inferior Romans start to appear in 1533. Further, the fact that Garamont's mother, Isabeau Barbier, although old and incapacitated, was still living in 1562,⁴⁰ suggests that Garamont may have been younger than usually thought; when in November 1540 he contracted to cut the *Grecs du Roy*, he may have been a coming man rather than a recognized master. Finally, the type descriptions below reveal that Estienne employed several other punchcutters other than from Garamont. As has been said, the late Romans that came into use at Estienne's press in the 1540s, when we know for sure that Garamont was working with Estienne on the Royal Greeks, were rather poorly designed and almost certainly not engraved by that master. On the present evidence I am inclined to believe that Garamont never worked for Estienne, except in the case of the Royal Greeks, which were, in any case, ordered by Du Chastel, the king's librarian. To be sure, this conclusion is disappointingly negative: as yet we have no name to propose as to who may have done letter-cutting of paramount distinction for Estienne in the early 1530s.

Italic Typefaces

In contrast to Lyons, where the Aldine Italic was imitated as early as 1502,⁴¹ Paris was late to introduce Italics. The earliest date we have for Paris is 1506, but that is probably a mistake.⁴² Italics in four sizes appear about 1512 and they may have been cut by Guillaume Le Rouge.⁴³ The inept 1521 Gromors Italic was apparently a trial and its use was limited.⁴⁴

The Schoeffer or 'Basle' Pica Italic was introduced in Paris by Vidoue in 1523. It originated in Basle about 1519.⁴⁵ Later users in Paris were Wechel, Badius, Morrhe, Loys, Blaubloom. In 1528–34 Simon de Colines engraved four new Italics: two in chancery style and two Aldines. They were excellent, but none of them was available to Estienne, at least not during Colines's lifetime.^e

Compared to his assortment in Roman, Greek or Hebrew type, Estienne's collection of Italics was limited. He had his own Italic (10) engraved in 1532, using it until 1542, when he changed to another much better one, which again perhaps too rashly, has been attributed to Garamont (11). Both were on Pica and up to 1544 he owned only this one size. In that year he added another one on the smaller size of Bourgeois (12). After Colines's death in 1546 the latter's Bourgeois and Great Primer Italics were incorporated.⁴⁶ Finally in Geneva he used a new Brevier, possibly cut by Pierre Haultin (13).

Greek Typefaces

In the first half of his printing career Robert Estienne's Greek assortment was rather limited. It was confined to merely two sizes, one on Pica, usable as a text type, and another smaller one on Brevier. On Pica he employed three types successively. As for his earliest Romans, he started in 1526 with Colines's first Greek on Pica, a fount which in 1535 he changed first to Badius's Greek, then to Augereau's.⁴⁷ The latter was discarded in 1543, when the first of the three *Grecs du Roy* (15, 17, 18) was introduced. Though they were legally the King's property, Estienne was their principal and sole user, at least up to 1550. After Robert's emigration to Geneva, other Paris and even foreign printers enjoyed their use. Their traditional attribution to Garamont, the roles of Robert Estienne and the royal calligrapher Angelos Vergikios in their development, and the whole royal concept of disseminating knowledge through typography are well documented by the 1540 contract between Garamont and Pierre Du Chastel, the king's li-

e. Vervliet, 2003a, nos. 10, 12, 13, 15.

40. Guillemot, 1997, 133–41.

41. Shaw, 1993, 117–33.

42. Paris, Th. Kerver, 1506/16 (Moreau, 1: 198, no. 93). Its colophon is dated 1506, while the title-page mentions 1516. The later date is the more probable because of the occurrence of Le Rouge's decorated 5,5 mm initials, which are not found earlier than 1512; Vervliet, 2004a, 198–9.

43. Lucanus, *Pharsalia* (Moreau, 2: 147, no. 400); Vervliet, 2005, nos. 1–4.

44. Johnson, 1959, 97; Vervliet, 2005, no. 8.

45. Carter, 1969, 118; Tinto, 1972, 47–50.

46. Vervliet, 2003a, nos. 23–4.

47. These three Greek founts are not reviewed here. See instead Vervliet, 2002, nos. 2, 5, and 9.

brarian.⁴⁸ The first Brevier Greek (14), used from 1532 up to 1545, as well as the second (16) are peculiar to Estienne. Obviously they were engraved on his orders, though I do not know by whom. In Geneva a titling was added in 1551, probably locally made (19).

Hebrew Typefaces

During his printing career Estienne used ten Hebrew types: eight square Hebrews, all in Sephardic style, and two Rabbinicals. Of five of the square types a punchcutter's name can be guessed or ascertained: the first used (1527–28) is tentatively ascribed to Robert I Estienne himself (20); the latest square Hebrews, used from 1543 onwards, were attributed by Guillaume I Le Bé to Jean Arnoul le Jeune *dit* Picard (25–28). The engraver of the other types remains unknown, though a late Rabbinical (29) may have been engraved by Pierre Haultin.

From the point of view of type design, Estienne's Hebrew typography can be divided in two periods. First, from 1527 to 1542, comes a phase of experimentation in which he employed successively three different square Hebrews (20, 21 and 24) approximately on the size English/Great Primer, one square on Two-line Pica (22), and one Rabbinical on English (23). All, except the last, were to be discarded in 1543. A second phase starts mid-1543. The two last printed instalments (Pentateuch and Chronicles) of his 1539–43 Hebrew quarto Bible, as well as its reissued (though antedated) parts, exhibit four square Hebrews all cut by Picard (25–28); as was said, the 1539 Rabbinical remained in use (23). These five Hebrews became Estienne's standard equipment for the decades to come, enabling his press to rival Daniel Bomberg's in Venice. They are displayed in a type-specimen, up to now unrecognized as such, which is preserved in one of Le Bé's scrapbooks. Datable to about 1543, this is, so far as I know, the earliest French type-specimen of Hebrew typography.⁴⁹ Finally, in Geneva Estienne added a small Rabbinical that may have been cut by Pierre Haultin (29).

48. Parent, 1973; Vervliet, 2000a, 3–16.

49. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 262. See below (25).

Conspectus of Types

Two tables at the end of this paper list the types by ascending size and year of first occurrence.

Roman Typefaces

1. The 'Estienne' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530)
2. The 'Estienne' Great Primer Roman [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530)
3. The 'Estienne' English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
4. The 'Estienne' Small Pica Roman [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1533)
5. The 'Estienne' Nonpareil Roman [R 42] (1533)
6. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539)
7. The 'Estienne' Two-line English Roman [R 195] or *Petit-canon* (1543)
8. The 'Estienne' Brevier Roman [R 56] or *Petit-texte* (1545)
9. The 'Estienne' Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5 mm] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1553)

Italic Typefaces

10. The First 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1532)
11. The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1542)
12. The 'Estienne' Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1544)
13. The 'Badius' Brevier Italic [It 52] or *Petit-texte* (1554)

Greek Typefaces

14. The 'Estienne' First Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or *Petit-texte* (1532)
15. Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543)
16. The 'Estienne' Second Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or *Petit-texte* (1545)
17. Garamont's Royal Pica Greek [Gk 80] or *Cicéro* (1546)
18. Garamont's Royal Double Pica Greek [Gk 150] or *Gros-parangon* (1550)
19. The 'Estienne' Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1551)

Hebrew Typefaces

20. The First 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 2 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1527–28)
21. The Second 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 2.2 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1532)
22. The First 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm] or *Gros-parangon* (1539)
23. The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1539)
24. The Third 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 2.4 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1539)
25. Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Great Primer [Hb 6 mm] or *Petit-canon* (1543)
26. Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm] or *Gros-parangon* (1543)
27. Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Great Primer [Hb 2.2 mm] or *Gros-romain* (1543)
28. Picard's First Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 1.8 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1543)
29. The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew on Brevier [Hb 1.2] or *Petit-texte* (1556)

1. The 'Estienne' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530)

In late 1530 Estienne starts using a totally new typography involving three new Romans in the sizes Two-line Double Pica Roman, Great Primer, and English. As was said above (p. 109–10), their design has been heralded as a revolution, introducing in transalpine Europe a new 'fashion for lightness and delicacy'. The size of the biggest Roman is highly unusual: it is the first Roman with upper and lower case letters in typographic history on so large a body.

It is unclear what inspired Estienne to this particular innovation. A first clue is Gothic typography. In Gothic, uses of large-sized lower case was common, while typography in Roman, in Paris as in the rest of Europe, rather followed antique epigraphical examples and preferred the sole use of capitals (Kemp, 1991, 28, n.15). Estienne will have known of the introduction during the 1510s of the series of new large-sized Fraktur by Schönsperger, the printer of emperor Maximilian I, not to mention the large-sized Texturas and Rotundas that abound on early-sixteenth-century Parisian and Lyonesse title-pages. Another and probably more valid clue is Estienne's familiarity with early Carolingian Bible manuscripts, written in magnificent Carolingian minuscules whose chapter titles frequently use half-uncials as display letters.

During the sixteenth century, Romans on this size remained relatively scarce. Here follows a list of the dozen Two-line Double Pica Roman types (excluding titlings) I have happened to notice:

- 1530 'Estienne', Paris
- 1531 François Gryphius, Paris (Barker, 1974, fig. vii; Kemp, 1991, 33; Amert, 2005, fig. 6; Vervliet, 2007, no. 2)
- 1535 'Budé', Paris (Moreau, 4: no. 1224)
- 1536 Juste, Lyons
- 1536 Colines's 'Finé', Paris (Vervliet, 2007, no. 5)
- 1537 'Boulle', Lyons (Gültlingen, 1992, 6: 8, no. 5)
- 1538 'Vidoué', Paris (Vervliet, 2007, no. 7)
- 1541 'Steelsius' [Guyot?], Antwerp (Vervliet, 1968, 226–7)

1546 Le Bé, Venice (Omont, 1887, 282–3; Amert, 2005, 258–9, fig. 7)

1547 Guyot, Antwerp (Vervliet, 1968, 228–9.

1549 Garamont, Paris (Vervliet, 1969, 488–9, fig. 6–7; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 16)

1571 Haultin, Orléans (Vervliet, 2000, 122–3, no. 14)

So far as their engravers could be ascertained, all types were engraved by French cutters, usually in Paris. Some of them were associated with this Estienne face, that regularly, though only for stylistic reasons, has been attributed to Garamont (see above, p. 110, n.38). However, they differ in details, albeit minute ones, and clearly derive from different sets of punches.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica Roman (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 4.5 : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 September 1530, Paris, Robert I Estienne (Cicero, *Oratoriae partitiones*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale et interuniversitaire, i–639; Moreau, 3: 539, no. 2027; and Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in elegantiarum libros L. Vallae*; Cambridge University Library, Aa* 6.15(1)F; Moreau, 3: 552, no. 2084; Barker, 1991, fig. 4).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, J. Roigny & J. Loys, Heirs of J. Badius & J. Loys; 1538, R. Chaudière & R. I Estienne, F. I Estienne; 1546, C. Badius; 1548, C. Badius & J. Roigny; 1551, C. I Estienne; 1561, R. II Estienne; 1570, J. Du Puys & F. II Estienne; 1580, R. III Estienne; Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne; 1552, J. Girard; 1557, C. Badius; 1560, E. Anastase; 1561, H. II Estienne; 1568, J. Bourgeois & L. Cloquemin.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top; one-eared M; long-tailed Q; S slanting to the right; asymmetrical top serifs of T; large rounded counter of lower case a; i with dot to the right; s slanting to the right; extended base of v; floating accents (cf. Cordier, *De corrupti sermonis emendatione*, 1530, pp. 1 and 155; Moreau, 3: 542, no. 2042).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 155, fig. 21; Johnson, 1959, 46–7, fig. 14; Carter, 1969, 85, fig. 63; Vervliet, 1969, 483–7, fig. 2–4; Barker, 1974, 11, fig. 4; Armstrong, 1986, 275–6; Kemp, 1991, 28; Amert, 2005, 241–3, fig. 1–2; Vervliet, 2007, no. 1.

FIGURE 1a (opposite, above) The 'Estienne' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530) as it appears on the title-page of Cuthbert Tunstall, *De arte supputandi* (Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1538). Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 1b (opposite, below) The 'Estienne' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530) assembled from the *Biblia [Latina]* (Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532) and the *Hebraea, Chaldaea...nomina [in 2^o]* (ibid., 1538). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

DE ARTE SV-
putandi libri qua-
tuor, Cutheberti
Tonstalli.



ABCDEFGHILM
NOPQRSTVZ
abcdefghijklmnop
qrstuvxy æ & st

2. The 'Estienne' Great Primer Roman [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530)

This Great Primer is a reduction of the Two-line Double Pica Roman (1), introduced by Robert I Estienne in September 1530 in the same two titles as above. Like the Two-line Double Pica, it has been frequently attributed to Garamont. Its outstanding design became standard for Roman type in the two centuries to follow.

Unlike the Two-line Double Pica, a Great Primer Roman, typically in the range 105/120 mm, was a standard body size in sixteenth-century Parisian typography, used mainly as a text type for folios or quartos and for the title-pages or preliminaries of the smaller book formats. In the early part of the century most Roman types used in Paris seem to have been imported from 'Germany' (in the medieval sense of the term) or possibly Italy, as was the case with the popular 'Bergmann' Roman or the 1503–34 Badius-Vascosan Roman (Vervliet, 2005, nos. 3 and 5).

A locally made type in this size seems to originate in 1516 with the 'Dioscorides' Roman of Henri I Estienne, variously ascribed to Colines or Guillaume Le Rouge (Vervliet, 2005, no. 13). However, the principal expansion of locally made types occurred at the end of the 1520s with Colines's first Great Primer Roman (R 118) of 1528 (Vervliet, 2005, no. 41) and this Estienne typeface of 1530.

Both were quickly imitated, the immediate successors appearing from 1531 onwards (Vervliet, 2007, nos. 9–20). The first, 'a little rough' in the words of Barker (1974, 14) appeared at Christian Wechel's press in September 1531 and its improved update at the end of the same year; probably both were engraved by François Gryphius, brother of the more known Lyonesse printer. The types of Simon de Colines (his second and third in this size; 1531–33) and Antoine Augereau (1532), followed shortly afterwards. Later in the 1530s followed the third Great Primer of Gryphius (1534) and six others at the presses of Girault (1535), Loys (1536 and 1538), Vascosan (1536), Chevallon (1538), Vidoue (1538), Janot (1539). Some but not all of them were exquisitely designed. One (or some) of these may have been engraved by Garamont, as suggested by Carter or Renouard (Carter, 1976, 69, no. B 53;

Renouard, 1964, 5: 92; Suppl. 4, 19) but there is as yet no certainty in this matter.

This Estienne Great Primer Roman has not been seen outside the presses of the Estienne family. A close copy occurs somewhat surprisingly from 1540 onwards in Geneva at the presses of Girard and Du Boys (Peter-Gilmont, 1991, 1: 84). This is also the case for two other Estienne types, described below (4 and 7). The copies are very close and the differences hardly noticeable; in the Great Primer size only the narrower Estienne capital L and the lower Du Boys capital Q are easily recognizable. In fact, at first I considered these copies as originating from the same sets of punches, albeit cast from different sets of matrices. If really they are copies, was Michel Du Boys perhaps their engraver? He was a professional punchcutter, moving from Paris to Geneva in 1537 (Peter, 1978, 287); Peter-Gilmont, 2: 1093; Gilmont, 1997, 185. Was he already during his Paris stay somehow connected to Robert Estienne as Armstrong (1986, 215) suggests? More research is here appropriate.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 115 x 2.1 : 3.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 September 1530, Paris, Robert I Estienne (Cicero, *Oratoriae partitiones*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale et interuniversitaire, i–639; Moreau, 3: 539, no. 2027; and Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in elegantiarum libros L. Vallae*; Cambridge University Library, Aa* 6.15(1)F; Moreau, 3: 552, no. 2084).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1538, R. Chaudière & R. I Estienne; 1548, C. Badius; 1551, C. I Estienne; 1557, H. II Estienne; 1563, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne; 1554, C. Badius; 1562, E. Anastase.

KEY LETTERS Capital line below ascender line; narrow capitals F and L; one-eared M; slightly oblique top serifs of T; shallow counter of a; i with dot to the right.

VARIANT LETTERS Narrow capital T (1543); some lower case variants (1552); broad ampersand (1553).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, fig. 20; Johnson, 1959, 46, fig. 14; Carter, 1969, fig. 63; Barker, 1974, fig. 5a; Vervliet, 2007, no. 9.

FIGURE 2a (opposite, above) The 'Estienne' Great Primer Roman [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530) as it appears in *Exemplaria literarum quibus Rex Franciscus ... defenditur*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, f. Eiv. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 2b (opposite, below) The 'Estienne' Great Primer Roman [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530) assembled from *Alphabetum Graecum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1548, f. A2–A8. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Frācoys par la grace

DE DIEV ROY DE FRANCE, AV
Preuost de Paris, Bailly de Rouen, Dorleans,
de Touraine, Seneschal de Lyon, & a tous noz
autres iusticiers & officiers, ou a leurs lieutenāns
Salut.

R E C E V auons lhumble supplication de Ro-
bert Estienne imprimeur demeurāt a Paris, cōte-
nant que depuis peu de temps en ca, il a eu par
les mains de lung de noz seruiteurs vng Recueil,
qui a este faiēt de plusieurs lettres escriptes tant
par nous, que par aucuns noz seruiteurs & bien-
vueillans, par lesquelles sont cōfutees les calum-
nies qui par noz ennemys ont este semees cōtre
verite, & pour denigrer nostre honneur. Et y sont
declarez les debuoirs esquelz nous sommes mys
tant pour auoir que pour entretenir la paix entre
Lempereur & nous, noz royaumes, pays, terres &
subiectz. Aussi pour mettre bon accord & vnion
en nostre mere sainte esglise. Lequel Recueil &
liure quil a monstre a plusieurs personnages de
grād scauoir, loyaulté, vertuz & literature, il feroit
volūtiers imprimer: affin que la verite des choses
ne puisse estre calumnicee, mais venir a parfaicte
cōgnoissance, Nous humblement requerant luy
permettre faire la dicte impression: & sur ce, luy

ABCDEFGHI LMNOP RSTV XZ

a b c d e g i l m n o p q r f s t u v x y z

x c t & fl ft

3. The 'Estienne' English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1530)

Less than two months after the appearance of his Two-line Double Pica and Great Primer, Estienne introduced the smallest of his three newly styled Romans. That implied the end of his use the 'Bergmann' Great Primer and the second Colines English Romans. Both founts came from Colines's stock. However, Estienne continued using the smaller-sized Colines typefaces on Small Pica and Bourgeois (Vervliet, 2003).

In January 1531 the new Saint-augustin found a splendid showing in Jacques Dubois's, *Isagoge* (Moreau, 4: 82, no. 135). Dubois or Sylvius, a young physician with a Montpellier degree, had as a pastime (while waiting for an accreditation with the Paris faculty) written a grammar of the French language (in Latin). He had it printed by Robert Estienne, his 'honestissimus, doctissimus, diligentissimus, & fidelissimus bibliopola'. It was addressed to Eleonora of Austria, sister of emperor Charles I and the new bride of Francis I. She was to be crowned and enjoy a royal entry in Paris in March and April 1531.

The typography of the *Isagoge* was not simple. A great many new phonetic signs (only the apostrophe, diaeresis, circumflex lived on) were to be engraved. The text type was to be available in split sizes in order to allow the continual display of suprascripts: two features pointing to substantial type-casting facilities at Estienne's press.

The type is apparently mentioned in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory mentioned above, where the entry to a 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline' (Morison, 1957, 18) is commonly thought to refer to it (Carter, 1967, 40, n.15). The

attribution to Colines is puzzling and the wording of this entry must be an error, one of the very rare ones in the Inventory (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 107–12; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 6–7). Colines never used the Sylvius Saint-augustin Roman nor any other of the new Estienne types. Conversely, Le Bé owned none of the Estienne types but he had acquired three sets of Colines types. It may be that the entry refers to the latest version of Colines's Saint-augustin (1533), which is a close copy of Estienne's (Vervliet, 2003, 145, no. 16; 2007, no. 23).

This English-Bodied Roman has not been seen outside the presses of the Estienne family.

SIZE English (Saint-augustin); 20 92 x 1.8 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1 December 1530, Paris, R. I Estienne (Cicero, *Orator*; Copenhagen, Royal Library, 74-II-187-4°; Moreau, 3: 537, no. 2018).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1538, R. Chaudière & R. I Estienne; 1552, C. I Estienne; 1566, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne; 1557, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Capital line below ascender line; narrow capitals L; one-eared M with double left top serif; asymmetrical top serifs of T; shallow counter of a; i with dot to the right; short stem of p.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION The c.1618 Le Bé Inventory refers to a 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline' (Morison, 1957, 18).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 150; Johnson, 1959, 46; Barker, 1974, 12, fig. 5b; Vervliet, 2007, no. 21.

FIGURE 3a (opposite) The 'Estienne' English-Bodied Roman [R 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1530) as it occurs in Vergilius, *Opera*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532, f. *3a. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 3b The 'Estienne' English-Bodied Roman [R 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1530) assembled from *Biblia [Latina in 2°]*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1546, f. *4 and ar. Courtesy of the University Library, Leuven.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ ã & ff fi œ ff it

P. Virgilii Maronis vita, per AELIVM DONATVM CELEBREM GRAM- MATICVM EDITA.



VBLIVS VIRGILIVS MARO parentibus modicis fuit, & præcipue patre Marone: quem quidã opificem figulum: plures, magi cuiusdam viatoris initio mercenariũ, mox ob industriã generũ tradiderunt: quem quum agricolationi rei que rusticæ & gregibus præfecisset focer, sylvis coemundis & apibus curandis reculã auxit. Natus est C N. Põpeio magno, & M. Licinio Crasso primũ C O S S. Iduũ Octobriũ die, in pago qui Andes dicitur, qui est à Mantua nõ procul. Prægnans mater Maia, cum somniasset enixã se laureũ ramum, quem compactũ terræ coaluisse, & excreuisse ilico in speciẽ maturæ arboris refertæ variis pomis & floribus cerneret, Sequenti luce cum marito rus propinquum petens ex itinere diuertit, atque in subiecta fossa partu leuata est. Ferunt infantẽ vt fuit editus, nec euagisse: & adeo miti vultu fuisse, vt haud dubiã spem prosperioris genituræ iã tũ indicaret. Et accessit aliud præfagiũ. Siquidem virga populea more regionis in puerperiis eodem statim loco depacta ita breui coaluit, vt multo antè satas populos adæquarit: quæ arbor Virgilii ex eo dicta, atque consecrata est summa grauidarũ & foetarum religione suscipientiũ ibi & soluentium vota. Initia ætatis, id est vsque ad septimum annum, Cremonæ egit, & XVII anno virilem togã cepit illis consulibus iterũ quibus natus erat. Euenitque vt eo ipso die Lucretius poeta decederet. Sed Virgilius à Cremona Mediolanũ, & inde paulo post Neapolim transiit: vbi cũ literis & Græcis & Latinis vehemētissimam operam dedisset, tandem omni cura, omni que studio indulgit medicinæ & mathematicis. Quibus rebus cũ ante alios eruditior peritiórque esset, se in urbẽ cõtulit: statimque magistri stabuli equorum Augusti amicitia nactus, multos variosque morbos incidẽtes equis curauit. At ille in mercedẽ singulis diebus panes Virgilio, vt vni ex stabulariis, dari iussit. Interea à Crotoniatis pullus equi miræ pulchritudinis Cæsari dono fuit missus: qui omnium iudicio spem portendebat virtutis & celeritatis immẽsæ. Hunc cum aspexisset Maro, magistro stabuli dixit natum esse ex morbosa equa: & nec viribus valiturum nec celeritate: idque verum fuisse inuentum est. Quod cum magister stabuli Augusto recitasset, duplicari ipsi in mercedẽ panes iussit. Cum item ex Hispania Augusto canes dono mitterentur, & parentes eorũ, dixit Virgilius & animum celeritatẽque futurã. Quo cognito mandat iterũ Virgilio panes duplicari. Dubitauit Augustus Octauĩne filius esset, an alterius: idque Maronẽ aperire posse arbitratus est, quia canũ & equi naturã, parentesque cognorat. Amotis igitur omnibus arbitris, illũ in penitiore partẽ domus vocat, & solum rogat an sciat quisnã esset, & quam ad fœlicitandos homines facultatem haberet. Noui, inquit Maro, te Cæsar Auguste, & ferme æquã cũ diis immortalibus potestatẽ habere, vt quẽ vis fœlicẽ facias. Eo animo sum, respondit Cæsar, vt si verũ pro rogatu dixeris, beatũ te, fœlicẽque reddã. Vtinã, ait Maro, interroganti tibi vera dicere queã. Tunc Augustus, Putant alii me natũ Octauio, quidam suspicãtur alio me genitũ viro. Maro subridens, Facile, inquit, si impune, licentẽque quæ sentio, loqui iubes, id dicam. Affirmat Cæsar iureiurando nullũ eius dictũ ægre laturũ: imo nõ nisi donatum ab eo discessurũ. Ad hæc, oculos oculis Augusti infigẽs Maro, Facilius, ait, in cæteris animalibus qualitates parẽtum mathematicis & philosophia cognosci possunt: in homine nequaquã

4. The 'Estienne' Small Pica Roman [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1533)

Up to the mid-1530s Estienne used Colines's Small Pica, first on its normal 73 mm size, and from 1529 onwards on the next-larger body size of Pica (80 mm). Casting it on a larger body gave some lighter weight to the rather bold Colines Roman. This change of body may indicate that Estienne was envisaging, as early as 1529, the visual revolution which, a year later, his lighter-weight Romans, described above, would generate.

As far as new typefaces concerns, the years 1531–32 were reserved for Estienne's first Italic, a Pica, a small-sized Greek and a new Hebrew (2.5 mm), his second. In 1533, new Roman types were added to his stock, first, this Small Pica, and second, the Nonpareil to be described next, both in the same light-weight style as the 1530 Estienne Romans. One supposes they were all engraved by the same person.

I have not seen this face used outside the Estienne circle. A surprising appearance of a close copy occurs from 1546 onwards in Geneva at the press of Jean Girard, a phenomenon that deserves further investigation. See above, (2).

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 72 x 1.3 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 15 August 1533, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Lucianus, Dialogi*; Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, FA 8° E 1g; Moreau, 4: 249, no. 760).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1538, R. I Estienne & R. Chaudière; 1553, C. I Estienne; 1565, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne.

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; long-tailed Q; shallow bowl of R; S slanting to the right; asymmetrical top serifs of T; lower case g with short link; s slanting to the right; low terminal of v; small capitals.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 8–9; Vervliet, 2007, no. 31.

FIGURE 4 The 'Estienne' Small Pica Roman [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1533) as it occurs in Joannes Despauterius, *Commentarii grammatici*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, f. 69. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

LEVINI CRVCII ALDINARDINI AD STVDIOSAM ephebiā paraclesis.

Siquid in hoc mancum pubes studiosa libello,
Si natet in multis crassa Minerua locis,
Ne precor auctori sit fraudi: si potuisset
Inuida per plures cernere fata dies,
Omnibus hoc numeris opus absoluiisset, & idem
Linxisset, catulos vrsus ut ipse suos.
Omne igitur vitium fauis transcribito fatis,
Quæ studiis semper sunt inimica bonis.
Addere nil volui, nil demere: nempe alienam
In messem, falcem mittere nolo meam.
Alca nam cecidit sæpe infœliciter illi,
Cuius ad alterius addita scripta manus.
Nemo manum Veneri summam est imponere Apellis
Aufus, Phidiacum fingere nullus ebur.

5. The 'Estienne' Nonpareil Roman [R 42] (1533)

A Nonpareil body size was a rarity in early sixteenth-century typography and was owned only by the better-equipped printers. In Italy, small-sized (though still in the Minion range, 49/45 mm), Italics were employed by Paganini in 1515 and Griffo, 1516 (Isaac, 1938, pls. 15 and 22). In France, early users of true Nonpareil Romans were Vidoue in 1521/2 (Vervliet, 2005, no. 27), Estienne and Colines, both in 1533. In 1553, Haultin introduced his version, both in Italic and Roman, which captured the market into far in the seventeenth century (Vervliet, 2000, 96–8).

As a text type, the Estienne Nonpareil Roman was used in 1534 for Estienne's pocket edition of Terence and for his in-octavo Bible of 1534 (Moreau, 4: nos. 876 and 1151). Later it was put to use in Estienne's sextodecimo editions of the classics and in the octavo, so-called Nonpareil

Bibles of Paris, 1545 and Geneva, 1555, the latter printed by Conrad Badius. The *litterae minutulae* earned the praise of Jean Dorat, one of the poets of the Pleiade (Demerson, 1989, 17).

Like the preceding typefaces, this Nonpareil has not been seen used outside the Estienne family.

SIZE Nonpareil (Nonpareille); 20 42 x 0.8 : 1.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 19 November 1533, Paris, R. I Estienne (Philip Melancton, *Grammatica Latina*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 7475:2; Moreau, 4: 252, no. 771).

EARLY APPEARANCE Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne; 1554, C. Badius. KEY LETTERS Narrow capital H; one-eared M; long-tailed Q; shallow bowl of R; doubly bracketed top serifs of T; lower case g with small bowl.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2007, no. 44.

FIGURE 5 The 'Estienne' Nonpareil [R 42] Roman (1533) as it appears in *Hebraea, Chaldaea...nomina* [in 8°], Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, p. 419. See also fig. 8. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Index Vet. & Nou. testam.

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- ¶ **L**umbos accingat, & festinet ire ad domum hospita, iubet Elifeus Giezi. 4. reg. 4. c.
- ¶ **L**umbi mentis nostrae sint succincti, fidē perfectam habentes, ut iam non fornicemur a deo. 1. petr. 1. c.
- ¶ **L**umbos nostros accingi iubens Christus, monet ne nos cura rerum praesentium grauemus, sed expediti expectemus aduentum. luc. 12. c.
- ¶ **L**umen est euangelium. act. 1. 6. c. f.
- ¶ **L**uminaria in mundo sunt Christiani, qui sine querela & reprehensione in simplicitate viuunt, verbum vitae continent. philipp. 2. b.
- ¶ **L**uminaria, sol, luna & stellae verbo dei creantur. genef. 1. b.
- ¶ **L**una verbo dei creatur, ut nocti praestet, & eam illuminet. genef. 1. c.
- ¶ **L**unae folis fructibus precatur Moyses benedici Ioseph. deut. 33. b.
- ¶ **L**unā adorantes occidebantur. deut. 17. a.
- ¶ **L**unae foli sacrificantes occiduntur a Iofua. 4. reg. 1. b.
- ¶ **L**unae gloria alia q̄ folis. 1. corinth. 10. f.
- ¶ **L**unaticus qui & daemoniacus dicitur, factus natur a Christo. matth. 17. b. marc. 9. c. luc. 9. e.
- ¶ **L**usur sunt homicidia ducibus exercit. 1. reg. 1. c. d.
- ¶ **L**uteres aucti in templo Salomonis. 3. reg. 7. f.
- ¶ **L**ux, quae & dies dicta est, verbo dei creatur. genef. 1. a.
- ¶ **L** V X D E V S E S T, in quo non sunt tenebrae. 1. iohan. 1. c.
- ¶ **L**ucem deus habitat inaccessibilem. 1. timoth. 6. c.
- ¶ **L** V X C H R I S T V S, omnium hominum oculos illuminans. iohan. 1. a. 8. b. 9. a. 1. iohan. 1. b.
- ¶ **L**ux Christus, quare a Iudeis non receptus. iohan. 1. c.
- ¶ **L**ux mundi, apostoli. matth. 1. c. b.
- ¶ **L**uci Christo credamus, ipse Christus nos hortatur. iohan. 11. f.
- ¶ **I**n Luce Christo si ambulemus, confortati habemus eum ipso. 1. iohan. 1. c.
- ¶ **I**n Luce non est qui fratrem suum odit. 1. iohan. 1. b.
- ¶ **E**um Luce societatem non habemus, si infideles sumus. 1. iohan. 1. c.
- ¶ **L**uci opera, omnis bonitas, iustitia & veritas. ephef. 4. b.
- ¶ **L**ux fuerunt gentes post cognitum Christum. ephef. 4. b.
- ¶ **L**uxuria, luxus, & superfluitas in ebriationibus & vino. ephef. 4. d.
- ¶ **C**ontra Luxuriam oratio. eccli. 31. a.
- ¶ **L**uza aliis Bethel dicta. gene. 28. d. 15.
- b. iof. 18. b.
- ¶ **L**uza, vrbs Chananae persecutitur a Iudea. iudic. 1. c.
- ¶ **L**ysias, dux exercitus Antiochi. 1. machab. 3. c.
- M
- ¶ **M**aceda vrbs capitur a Iofue, omnesq̄ eum rege ipsius habitatores occidit. iofue 10. e.
- ¶ **M**acedonibus ut euangelizet, cetum signum accipit Paulus. act. 16. b.
- ¶ **M**acedoniensium gaudiū in tribulationibus abundans, & cleemosynas in pauperes sanctos proponit Paulus Corinthiis in exemplum. 1. corinth. 8. a.
- ¶ **M**aceriam & inimicitiam inter gentes & Iudeos sustulit Christus, & quomodo. ephef. 2. d.
- ¶ **M**achabæorum septem fratrum & matris eorum passio. 1. machab. 7. a.
- ¶ **M**achati in medio Israel habitant. iof. 13. b.
- ¶ **M**achiritarū possessio. deut. 1. c. iof. 17. a.
- ¶ **M**adianitis iubet deus occidere, & quare. nume. 1. c. d.
- ¶ **M**adianitarū iussu dei interficiuntur. num. 31. a.
- ¶ **M**adianitis opprimuntur septē annis Israelitae, ad idola conuersi. iudic. 6. a.
- ¶ **M**adianitas tradit deus in manus Gedeonis. iudic. 7. e. f. g.
- ¶ **M**agi Pharaonis virgas suas vertunt in colubros. exod. 7. b.
- ¶ **M**agi primitiae gentium, Christum adorant. matth. 1. b.
- ¶ **M** A G I S T E R N O S T E R V N V S Christus. matth. 13. a. iohan. 1. a.
- ¶ **M**agister Christus a Iudeis varia passus, ne miterentur si & varia patiantur fideles. matth. 10. c.
- ¶ **M**agistri ne vocentur inter Christianos prohibet Christus. matth. 23. b.
- ¶ **M**agistri fieri ne ambiamus, & quare. iacob. 1. a.
- ¶ **M**agister gentis Paulus. 1. timoth. 1. c.
- ¶ **M**agistri mendaces describuntur quales sint, & quae tormenta eos maneant. 1. petr. 2. a.
- ¶ **M**agistratibus dei ministris quomodo sit parandum, tributa reddenda, & quare gladium portent, & c. rom. 13. a. b. c.
- ¶ **M**agistratui tributum pendit Christus. matth. 17. d.
- ¶ **M**agistratus deū timētes constituit Moyses iuxta consiliū Iethro. exo. 18. d. deu. 1. c.
- ¶ **M**agistratus quales esse debeant. exod. 18. d. deut. 1. d.
- ¶ **M**agistratus reuereri oportet. exod. 22. d. 24. prouerb. 16. b. 17. d. 19. b. 10. a.
- D. ij.

6. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539)

After an interval of some six years Estienne resumed in 1539 acquiring new type designs. Besides this Pica Roman, three new Hebrews (22–24) appeared in the same year. The new Roman was rather rarely used and seems to have been withdrawn after 1541. We do not know who cut it, though it must be noted that two out of three 1539 Hebrews were found insufficient and likewise discarded in 1542. Was the same engraver involved, perhaps Michel Du Boys?

The Estienne Pica Roman is one of the several Paris Roman Picas with the fashionable one-eared M which originated in the 1530s. They are very much alike and only close scrutiny them allows to be distinguished. For the early 1530s Kemp (1991, 46) cites half a dozen of them, to which may be added the 1536 Garamont Pica and this 1539 Estienne Pica (Vervliet, 2007, nos. 29–36).

In 1553 Estienne started using a slightly bigger Pica (cast on 84 mm) which seems identical with the 1550 Crespin Pica. The relation of Estienne with Crespin deserves more

scrutiny. I noted that in his 1552 *Ad censuras theologorum* Estienne quite exceptionally used the first Great Primer Italic and Roman of Garamont, which were Crespin's regular types in this size. On the other hand Crespin used some Estienne founts. See below (9), (15), and (25–28).

SIZE Pica (Cicéro); 20 79 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 5 December 1539, Paris, R. I Estienne (C. Stephanus, *De re hortensi*).

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; narrow H and S; doubly bracketed top serifs of T; lower case i with dot to the left.

VARIANT LETTERS A slightly bigger set of capitals (2.7 mm) appears in Geneva about 1553.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2007, no. 36.

FIGURE 6a The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539) as it appears in Charles Estienne, *Seminarium et plantarium*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540, p. 59. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 6b The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539) assembled from Charles Estienne, *Seminarium et plantarium*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540, pp. 58–9 and f. N4v–O4v. The capital Z is probably inverted. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

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pellauere: quæ ramis, caudice, frondibus, syluestri cupresso propemodum similis est. De hac videto Theophrastum lib. 4. & 5. cap. 5. Cæterum citrus nostras nihil commune cum cupresso habere videtur: cui folium est andrachnes vnedonisque, spinis intercurrentibus, ut in pyro & oxyacantha, sed læuibus, infestis mucrone & validis. Hæc Barbarus. Sed ut ad ipsa mala redeamus, certum est ex Athenæo mala citrea Plutarchi auorum memoria nunquam gustata fuisse: sed neque Plinii & Theophrasti seculis magnopere degustabantur, tantum odore commedato: nunc verò (inquit Hermolaus) à Palladii fere temporibus promiscuum expetimus cœnis: qui & medullas eorum acris dulcibus mutare docuit. Hæc itaque mala ex infitione quoties proueniunt, citromela proprie dicuntur ab aliquibus. Aristophanes autem grammaticus à Lacedæmoniis oxymala persica nuncupari prodidit, à sapore acetoso, & quod ex Persia allata sint, quibus etiam deos coronari solitos suis temporibus refert. Diphilus author est, citria quandoque pruna Persica vocari solita. Sed hæc ferè ex Hermolai commentariis in Dioscoridem. Plura videto apud Ruellium libro primo De stirpium natura, quæ nunc summa diligentia, & incredibili pene elegatia, in studioforum gratiam imprimendum curat. Opus

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

æ & ß fi fl

7. The 'Estienne' Two-line English Roman [R 195]
or *Petit-canon* (1543)

A Roman on Two-line English appears at Estienne's press from 1543 onwards, mainly for titling initials. Its lower case is used sparingly; a good showing is in Estienne's 1544 *Mots françois selon lordre des lettres* (Facsimile: Geneva, Slatkine, 1972. or in the headlines of his 1546 Latin folio Bible. Its design is rather weak – see its lower case a and m – and below the standard of Estienne's earlier Romans. It could be the work of a beginner.

It must be differentiated from another Paris Two-line English Romans appearing at the presses of Loys (1545), Barbé (1545), Mesvière (1546), which Beaujon (1926, 139, fig. 9) attributes to Garamont, and also from the 1543 Two-line English occurring in Lyons (Frellon; Du Boys), Geneva (Crespin), Venice (Paolo Manuzio) or from Granjon's popular 1547 Two-line English (Vervliet, 1998,

16–20). I have no suggestions about the identity of the engraver of this Estienne face. As with (2 and 4) a close copy appeared in Geneva as early as 1546 at the press of Jean Girard.

SIZE Two-line English Roman (*Petit-canon*); 20 195 x 3.5 : 6.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 21 May 1543, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Dictionarium seu Latinae linguae thesaurus*, f.*IV; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 875; Renouard, 1843, 55.).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne; 1562, E. Anastase; Paris: 1552, C. I Estienne; 1566, R. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; lengthy tail of R; asymmetrical and doubly-bracketed top serifs of T; large bowl of lower case a; unequal counters of m.

VARIANT LETTER Small-bowled lower case a after 1551.

FIGURE 7 The 'Estienne' Two-line English Roman [R 195] or *Petit-canon* (1543) as it appears in *Biblia [Latina in 2°]*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1546, f. *4 and ar. Courtesy of University Library, Leuven.

INDEX TESTIMONIORVM A Christo & Apostolis in Nouo testamento citato- Liber Genesis, Hebraice Beresith.

9. The 'Estienne' Roman Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1553)

Estienne seems to have used two titlings on this size: the first appears from the mid 1540s at his press and is more likely Colines's second 1524 titling (Vervliet, 2003a, no. 8) and not the 1545 Garamont one (*pace* Vervliet, 2000a, 16). Estienne's second titling, the one described here, appears in Geneva in the early 1550s; it is probably a companion face to the 1551 Greek titling of the same size (19). It is not too well designed and not in the style of Pierre Haultin, though the latter lived in Geneva in those years and possibly owned a fount (it appears, I believe, in the third line of the title-page of Calvin's *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (Lyons, Haultin, 1565). The Roman titling appears at Crespin's press in the same year as Estienne started using it, and at several other Geneva presses in subsequent years. It may be questioned whether it was made for Estienne (on the possible relation of Crespin and Estienne, see (6) above). As its Greek companion face, described below in (19), it seems to occur too early for an ascription to Charles II Estienne, Robert's third son, born in 1537 and later active as a punchcutter (Armstrong, 1986, 257), although he may be the engraver

of its lower case appearing from 1566 onwards at Henry II Estienne's press (Herodotus, *Historiae*, Geneva, 1566, title-page and f. Z1).

SIZE Titling on Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN **Geneva**, 1553, R. I Estienne (J. Calvin, *Catechisme*, f. A1–A2; Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Univ., XC 06282; Chaix-Dufour-Moeckli, 1966, 21). and 1553, J. Crespin (J. Oecolampadius, *In librum Iob exegetica*; Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, 2 U 1452; Gilmont, 1981, 1: 39–41, no. 53⁹).

EARLY APPEARANCE **Geneva**: 1553, J. Crespin & N. Barbier; 1556, S. du Bosc; 1558, N. Barbier & T. Courteau; 1560, H. II Estienne, A. Rebul; 1562, F. Jaqui & A. Vincent, F. Perrin; **Lyons**: 1565, P. Haultin.

KEY LETTERS Pointed lower terminal of capital C, narrow D and H; one-eared M; slanted top serifs of T.

FIGURE 9a The 'Estienne' Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5 mm] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1553) as it appears in Jean Calvin, *Catechisme*, Geneva, R. I Estienne, 1553, f. a1–a2. Courtesy of the University Library of the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

FIGURE 9b The 'Estienne' Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.5 mm] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1553) assembled from Thucydides, *De bello Peloponnesiaco*, Geneva, Henry II Estienne, 1564, f. T1–T4v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

CATECHISME
DES ARTICLES

ABCDEFGHIJLM
NOPQRSTVXZ

10. The First 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 80]
or *Cicéro* (1532)

Estienne never had the same number of Italic types, as he had for his Romans, Hebrews, or Greeks. Up to 1542, his assortment in Italic was limited to this one Italic on Pica with small-sized upright capitals in a true Aldine style. In that year he replaced it by another Italic in the same size (11); a couple of years later he had added another on Bourgeois (12). We do not know who engraved the 1532 Italic. It may have been cut by the engraver of his 1530 Romans, but except for its contemporaneity we lack any evidence for this hypothesis. Its design is rather mean and it may be the work of a beginner.

In the period 1528–32 Colines engraved three of his four Italics, viz. his two chancery Italics on 91 and 110 mm

and his small Aldine on 65 mm. None of them were available to Estienne, but he used the latter two after Colines's death. I have not seen this first 'Estienne' Pica Italic used outside Estienne's own press.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 80 x 11.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 17 June 1532, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Cicero, Epistolae familiares*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3001; Moreau, 4: 144, no. 369.

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals well below the ascender line; A with pointed apex; C and R below the capital line; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; winged Y extending above capital line; small-bowled lower case g; narrow s; short y.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2005, no. 14.

FIGURE 10 The First 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1532) as appearing in *Exemplaria literarum quibus Rex Franciscus ... defenditur*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1 September 1537, f. [207]. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

Francoys par la grace

DE DIEV ROY DE FRANCE, AV PREVOST DE
Paris, Bailly de Rouen, Doreans, de Touraine, Seneschal de Lyon, & a tous noz
autres iusticiers & officiers, ou a leurs lieutenans Salut.

RECEV auons l'humble supplication de Robert Estienne imprimeur demeurât
a Paris, cōtenant que depuis peu de temps en ca, il a eu par les mains de luy de
noz seruiteurs ung Recueil, qui a este fait de plusieurs lettres escriptes tāt par nous,
que par aucuns noz seruiteurs & bienueillās, par lesquelles sont cōfutees les calū-
nies qui par noz ennemys ont este semees cōtre uerite, & pour denigrer nostre hon-
neur. Et y sōt declarez les deuoirs esquelz nous sōmes mys tāt pour auoir que pour
entretenir la paix entre Lepercq & nous, noz royaumes, pays, terres & subiectz.
Aussi pour mettre bon accord & unio en nostre mere sainte esglise. Lequel Recueil
& liure quil a mōstrē a plusieurs personages de grad sçauoir, loyaulte, uertuz &
literature, il feroit uolūtiers imprimer : affin que la uerite des choses ne pūsse estre
calūniee, mais uenir a parfaite cōgnoissance, Nous hūblement requerant luy per-
mettre faire la dictē impressiō : & sur ce, luy impartir nostre grace. Pource est il
que nous ces choses cōsiderces, & qui desyrōs especiallemēt que cōme dict est, chascū
soit sur ce deuement informē, & que la uerite ne soit calūniee, Inclīnans a la suppli-
cation & requeste dudict suppliant : luy auons permis & octroyē, octroyōs & per-
mettons par ces presentes qu'il pūsse imprimer & faire imprimer ledict liure, & les li-
ures par luy imprimez, uēdre ou faire uēdre par tout nostre Royaume, pays, terres
& seigneuries, sās ce que autre que luy, ou ceulx qui aurōt charge de luy, le pūssēt
imprimer, ne faire uēdre, ne distribuer iusques au tēps & terme de six ans, a cōpter
du iour & date de cesdictes presentes. Si nous mādons & cōmettons par cesdictes
presentes, & a chascun de nous en droit soy, que de nostre presente grace & permis-
sion nous faictes, souffrez & laissez ledict suppliant, & ceulx qui auront charge de
luy, iouyr & user pleinemēt & paisiblemēt, sās leur mettre, ou dōner, ne souffrir
estre fait, mys, ou dōné aucun destourbier ou empeschement au contraire. Lequel si
faict, mys, ou dōné leur estoit : le reparer, ou faictes reparer incontinent & sās de-
lay : en faisant, ou faisant faire expressement inhibitiōs & deffenses de par nous sur
certaines & grad peines a nous a appliquer, a tous libraires & autres personnes
quelcōques de non imprimer, uēdre ne distribuer ledict liure, ledict temps durant,
sās le conge, licence & permission dudict suppliant. Et ce sur grand peines a nous a
appliquer, & de perditiō & cōfiscation desdictz liures, si aucuns estoient par eulx
imprimez cōtre & au prīudice de ladictē prohibition. Car ainsi nous plaist il estre

11. The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1542)

Estienne introduced a second Italic on Pica in 1542. Apparently he was quite pleased with it as his bookseller's catalogues describe some of his 1543 publications as printed in 'minori forma & characteribus elegantiss. Italicos Aldi Manutij characteres proximè referentibus' (*Libri in officina Roberti Stephani ... excusi*, Paris, Estienne, 1546, f. B2v-B3; Leuven, University Library, 3 A 21017:1; Maittaire, 1719, 2²: 488; Renouard, 1843, 57). In fact, the new Pica Italic is a very close, perhaps somewhat inferior, copy of the 1532 Colines Pica Italic, differing only in few letters. Estienne's has a narrow H, broad L, top serifs of T slanting to the left, winged Y, lower case g with a small egg-shaped bowl.

It is also similar to, though not identical with Garamont's 1545 Aldine Italic on Pica. Garamont's has a capital C with a sheared lower terminal, a singly-eared M, a strong N, long-tailed R, Y with straight arms, horizontal terminals of p and q, a tail of y markedly overhanging to the left, two forms of z, both short-tailed.

Johnson (1959, 97) suggests and Renouard (1964, 2: 308, no. 782), Carter (1969, 123), Schreiber (1982, 71-3) affirm that Garamont cut this second Estienne Italic. In 1542 Garamont had started cutting the *Grecs du Roy* under Estienne's supervision and the capitals of the Royal Greek on Pica, the second to be cut and appearing in 1546, so far as they are common, are quite similar to those

of Garamont's own 1545 Italic but not with those of this second Estienne Italic. Of course, Garamont's ideas about their design may have changed over the years, but the sole certain fact is that on sure grounds only the 1545 Garamont Italic can be attributed to the master (Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, n.7; Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, n.18; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 70, n.18; 1996, 12; Vervliet, 2005, no. 22).

On the question whether François I sponsored the new Estienne Italic, see below (25). I have not seen it used outside the Estienne family.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 81 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 15 November 1542, Paris, R. I Estienne (Cicero, *Tusculanarum quaestionum ad M. Brutum libri v*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 8° X 2264 Rés.; Renouard, 1843, 53, no. 8.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1548, C. Badius; 1552, C. Estienne; 1565, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne; 1554, C. Badius; 1557, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals well below the ascender line; flagged A; pointed lower terminal of C; narrow H; broad L; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; narrow N; top serifs of T slanting to the left; winged Y; oblique terminals of p and q; long-tailed z (two forms).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Carter, 1969, 123; Schreiber, 1982, 71-3; Vervliet, 2005, no. 19.

FIGURE 11A The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1542) as it appears in Dion Cassius, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1544, p. 4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 11B The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1542) assembled from Charles Estienne, *De re hortensi*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1545, p. 126-41. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek Antwerp, Antwerp.

COCCEIVS NERVA. 5

rēt atq; pertentarent, satisne acuti foret. Re autem uera significabat, non admodum sibi curæ esse, si uel tunc eo in loco occideretur. Præfectus erat prætorij Aelianus Casperius, quam præfecturam etiam sub Domitiano gesserat. Hic tumultuantes prætorianos aduersus Nerva concitauit, hoc sanè consilio ut per speciem ulciscendæ seditionis quosdam eorum, æu hostes Cæsaris, ad mortem posceret. Sed Nerva Casperio talia molienti adeo restitit, ut denudato collo, iugulum confodiendum porrigeret: quanquā nihil profecit. Nā hi fere omnes quos Casperius designauerat, interfecti sunt. Quare cum ob senectam ætatem, amissa reuerentia, omnibus contemptui quodammodo esset, in Capitolium ascendit: atq; Quod felix faustumque S.P.Q.R.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x y z
æ au ca ci co cu et ex elu elu fa fe fi fl fr
fu ga ge gi go gu in is ll me mo mu na ne ns
nu æ ff ti to tt tu ua ui um un us

12. The 'Estienne' Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1544)

An Aldine Italic, on a smaller size than his 1542 Pica Italic, appears at Estienne's press, a good year later. It is in the same style as the Pica and was perhaps engraved by the same punchcutter. So far as I know, it was only used by the Estiennes. At the end of the 1540s Estienne started using Colines's Bourgeois Italic (Schreiber, 1982, 93, no. 103; Vervliet, 2003a, no. 23; 2005, no. 12), a somewhat amazing choice because stylistically that typeface differs much from Estienne's own Italics (the intimation of Armstrong (1986, 49) that possibly Robert Granjon was involved as the type designer of this face, must be considered a slip of the pen).

Occurrences at Estienne's Geneva press of yet another and slightly bigger Italic deserve more careful examina-

tion that I have been able to exercise: its upright capitals are similar to those of Granjon's first Long Primer Italic of Granjon (Vervliet, 1998, 13–14), but its lower case is more in Haultin's style.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 64 x 1.1 : 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN August 1544, Paris, R. I Estienne (R. Estienne, *Les mots françois selon lordre des lettres*; London, British Library, C.28.f.3; STCf, 134)

EARLY APPEARANCE Geneva: 1560, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Flagged capital A; pointed lower terminal of C; narrow H and N; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; two forms of z (short/long-tailed); short tail of ampersand.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2005, no. 24.

FIGURE 12 The 'Estienne' Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1544) as it appears in Juvenalis, *Satyrae*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1544 [col. 1545], p. 151. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

V A R I A E E X V E T V S T O I V V E N A L I S ¶ Per sū codice lectiones.

3	14	furtiva	59	12	Marmoris, at Sar-
	24	Aruncæ			rano
5	17	esse aliquid	60	21	Aphrorum epimenia
7	16	Spes hominis, Spes			bulbi, epimendia
		hominum,			bulbi,
	21	ferat	61	27	Nosse volunt
8	8	deducis arena	64	29	Famosos equitum
	20	Hæc animæ tuba	65	30	Blande, tumes
10	18	melius, leuius tor-	68	22	folium recitasse
		quetis	71	18	nec culleus
11	31	Aruncij spoliū	75	3	sane tenerum
14	7	Minentur braccæ	88	14	Irati debent:
16	15	sumit trechedipna	91	28	Cum uertre solum
21	5	Arcturi cecidit	92	7	uita, uel moribus
24	25	Crispin ^o adest mihi	9		sed in aure
25	21	glutisse putamus	95	30	Lacedæmonium pi-
26	22	lacus suberant			tyfmate lubricat
27	27	gladij tā festinata			ali j pitylismate
28	20	In leuam cōuersus,	100	2	matutinis operitur
30	7	Mercedem solitam	105	1	mones, emittere
	18	succida noller	109	5	fronte pudorem?
32	6	Vis tu	113	21	Alterius conchem
	8	hoc fuerit	114	6	Iumenta ad
35	22	Turbabat nitidos	115	20	puer, uigil, ac
39	25	Cæsonia	118	24	distinguitur una
41	29	¶ mustacea perdas	120	19	uesci liber:
42	19	Sic nolo, sic iubeo		26	Cyaneas,
45	10	collactea Mauræ.	121	11	furor uulgi,
49	6	sextarius alter	122	5	Et sana
	28	curuum sermone		28	Hic gaudere libet,
50	21	facies dicatur,	125	14	agit rapida
51	3	Præfectura domus			
52	5	xerampelinasuestes			P E R S I I.
	14	spargat in ædem			
	17	nocte loquantur.	130	24	¶ ianthina
	23	pæna caduceo	132	29	Felix non leuior cip-
53	9	credent a fonte			pus nunc imprimi

13. The 'Badius' Brevier Italic [It 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1554)

A late small-sized Aldine Italic occurs in Geneva first at Badius's press in 1554, then at Estienne's in 1556. I cannot attribute it with certainty to a punchcutter, but its lower case is all but similar to Haultin's Italic on this size, which he made in 1552 for Crespin (Vervliet, 2000, 180–1). Like that, it is a well designed and harmonious Italic, worthy of Haultin who happened to travel between Geneva and Lyons in those years.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 52 x 11 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1554, Geneva, C. Badius (*Le nouveau testament*, f. *1 v; Lyons, Université catholique, Rés. 2-B-iii; Chambers, 1983, 213, no. 194; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 635, no. 4278).

EARLY APPEARANCE Geneva: 1556, R. I Estienne (*Liber psalmorum Davidis*).

KEY LETTERS Small-sized Aldine capitals; one-eared M; pointed lower case v.

FIGURE 13 The 'Badius' Brevier Italic [It 52] or *Petit-texte* (1554) as it appears in *Liber psalmorum Davidis*, Geneva, R. I Estienne, 1556, p. 400. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

1 Hallelu-ia. CX.
C Onfitebor tibi Domi-
ne in toto corde meo in
consilio iustorum & cō-
gregatione.
2 Magna opera Domini, ex-
quisita in omnes voluntates
eius.
3 Confessio & magnificen-
tia opus eius, iustitia eius
manet in seculum seculi.
4 Memoriam fecit mirabi-
lium suorum, misericors &
misericors Dominus, etiam
dedit timentibus se.
5 Memor erit in seculum te-
stamenti sui.

14. The 'Estienne' First Brevier Greek [Gk 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1532)

This Estienne small Greek is distinguishable from the other concurrent Paris types, which appeared at the presses of P. Gromors (1523), S. de Colines (1527), G. de Gourmont & P. Vidoue (1528), P. Gaudoul & P. Gromors (1529), and Fr. Gryphius (1535). I have not seen this first Estienne Greek it elsewhere. It was probably engraved for Estienne and seems modelled after Aldus's fourth 'Sophocles' Greek (Mardersteig, 1964, 3: 143; Barker, 1992, 59–63). Estienne used it occasionally (for quotations) until the mid 1540s, when he introduced a second Greek on this size. See below (16).

SIZE Brevier Greek (*Petit-texte*); 20 52 x 12 : 1.5/2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 17 June 1532, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Cicero, Epistolae familiares*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3001; Moreau, 4: 144, no. 369).

KEY LETTERS Two sets of capitals; straight-backed lower case β; short λ; π with diagonal stems;

FIGURE 14 The 'Estienne' First Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or *Petit-texte* (1532) as it appears in *Cicero, Epistolae familiares*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532, p. 190. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

190

L I B.

so, quin quantum de illo libro, tantundem de meo in
dicii fama detrahatur. Leptam nostrum cupio de-
lectari iā talibus scriptis: & si abest maturitas eta-
tis, iā tamē personare aures eius huiusmodi uocibus
non est inutile. Me Romae tenuit omnino Tullia mee
partus. Sed cum ea, quemadmodum spero, satis firma
sit, teneor tamen, dū à Dolabella procuratoribus exi-
gam primam pensionem. & me hercule non tam sum
peregrinator iam, quā solebam. aedificia mea me
delectant, & otium domus est, quae nulli uillarū mea-
rum cedat, otium omni desertissima regione maius.
Itaque ne litera quidē meae impediūtur, in quibus si-
ne ullo interpellatore uersor. Quare, ut arbitror,
prius hic te nos, quā istic tu nos uidebis. Lepta sua-
uissimus ediscat Hesiodum, & habeat in ore,
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρωτά θεοὶ προπάρειν ἑθνηκῶν.
ἀθανάτοι. μακρὸς δὲ, καὶ ὀρθὸς οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτήν,
καὶ τριχὺς τὸ πρῶτον. ἐπὶ δ' αἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται,
ἐν δὲ δὴ δ' ἡ πάτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα.

Vale.

15. Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543)

A Great Primer was the first result of the 1540 contract concerning the *Grecs du Roy*. It occurs first in Estienne's 1543 *Alphabetum graecum* and the 1544 Eusebius. The type was probably ready by the end of 1542 as it was advertised by Robert Estienne at the end of his postscript (honouring Francis I) to his edition of Cicero's *Tusculanae* of mid november 1542: 'novas et accuratissime imitatas literarum formas per artifices praestantissimos exculpi iussit [Franciscus Primus]' (...he ordered that new and accurately copied forms of letters should be cut by distinguished craftsmen'; Cicero, *Tusculanae quaestiones*, 1542, f. *IV-2; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 2264; Maittaire, 2: 461; the translation is from Armstrong, 1986, 125-6). That one of the 'artifici praestantissimi' was Claude Garamont is well known and firmly established by the 1540 contract (Parent, 1973, 55-67; Vervliet, 2000a, 6-14).

This typeface was regularly used by the Estiennes, both in Paris from 1543 onwards and later in Geneva. After Robert's flight to Geneva in 1551, the type was used in Paris by the subsequent Royal Printers for the Greek, namely Turnebus, the Morels, Bienné, as well as, though more occasionally, by other Paris printers, e.g. M. Fezandat in 1561 and A. Wechel from 1566 onwards. Outside France, it was used in Geneva, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Eton, Oxford, London. Some of the Frankfurt and Heidelberg imprints may have been printed in Geneva (Schreiber, 1982, 233; Reverdin, 1997, 367).

Proctor, Scholderer, Schreiber mistakenly confuse the capitals of the new *Grec du Roy* and the rather primitive Greek capitals which appear in François Estienne's 1543 printing (Proctor, 1905, 100; Scholderer, 1927, 10, fig. 28; Schreiber, 1982, 108, no. 122). In fact François Estienne borrowed them from the 1507 Gourmont Greek. An opposite error, I think, crept into Proctor's account (1905, 115) of the so-called Silver type, used by the British Royal printer John Norton for Eton's 1610 Chrysostomus: Proctor and, in his wake, most commentators consider the Eton type as an imitation of the Royal Great Primer Greek, not as the real thing (Scholderer, 1927, 11, fig. 34; Updike, 2: 95; Reed, 1952, 128-33; Barker, 1978, 10, no. 25). Proctor found it similar to the types used in the 1604 Frankfurt edition of Demosthenes by Wechel's heirs, which he also considered as a copy of the *Grecs du Roy*. However, both the 1604 Demosthenes and the 1610 Eton

Chrysostomus use the Royal Great Primer Greek. The ε ligature which puzzled Proctor is wholly standard; its conspicuous circular ligatures for οι or τοι occur in the printing of Turnebus and Henry II Estienne. The acquaintance of John Norton with Paul Estienne may be the trail to follow up. Paul was the son of Henry II and the last of the family to print in Geneva (Reed, 1952, 129, n.3; Reverdin, 1980, 1: 233-4; Schreiber, 1982, 248). Probably the confusion was induced by Buck's Greek (Cambridge, 1632), that indeed is a different type (dated 1556 and ascribed to Nicolas II de Villiers by Vervliet, 2000a, 45-6).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 118 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1543, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Alphabetum Graecum*; Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale, 313818:h; Mosley, 2002, 93, no. 51).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1548, C. Badius; 1551, Ch. Estienne; 1552, A. Turnebus; 1554, H. II Estienne; G. Morel; 1561, R. II Estienne, M. Fezandat; 1566, J. Bienné, A. Wechel; 1583, D. Du Val, F. Morel; 1584, F. II Morel; 1590, J. II Du Puits, S. Nivelles; 1600, J. Mettayer; Geneva: 1551, J. Crespin; 1554, R. Estienne; 1557, H. II Estienne; Frankfurt: 1577, A. Wechel; 1583, Wechel heirs; Heidelberg: 1590, H. Commelinus; Eton: 1610, J. Norton; Oxford: 1624, L. Lichfield & J. Short; London: 1636, Typographia Regia.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen inc. Basilikè*], Paris, f. 2, 'Gros Romain [grec]' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 2; Mosley, 2002, 81, no. 1); 1691, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire des poinçons et matrices*, 'Gros Romain' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 2511; Mosley, 2002, 94, no. 53); 1787, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire de la typographie grecque*, Paris, 'Moyen Grec dit Gros Romain' (Mosley, 2002, 94, no. 55); 1819, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Spécimen des caractères; 1re partie: ancienne typographie*, Paris, 'Grec de Saint-augustin', 'Grec de Gros romain' (Lyons, Musée de l'imprimerie, inv. 756; Mosley, 2002, 92, no. 16).

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Paris, Imprimerie nationale (boîte 47).

KEY LETTERS Capital M without righthand top serif; duplicate capitals Π and Ψ; smallish lower case γ.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Lettre de Garamond...du grec qui est au corps du gros texte (Contract of Henry II Estienne with the type-caster Gaspar Dehus, dated 26 August 1569 [Geneva, State Archives, not. Aimé Santeur, 6: 104v-105]).

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 100; Scholderer, 1926, 10; Schreiber, 1982, 76, no. 77; Armstrong, 1986, 126; Vervliet, 2000a, 13-14.

FIGURE 15a (opposite, above) Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543) as it appears in Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae historiae lib. x*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1544, p. 118. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15b (opposite, below) A partial exhibit of the sorts of Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543) preserved in the Imprimerie nationale, Paris, as shown in Bernard, 1856, 50.

16. The 'Estienne' Second Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or *Petit-texte* (1545)

A second small-sized Greek appears in the side notes of Estienne's famous 1545 'Bible nompaille'. So far as we can judge from its rare appearances, it followed the new style of the *Greco du Roy* which Garamont had been engraving from 1543 to 1550. However, it seems risky to attribute this small Greek to the great master, as it lacks the fluency and evenness of the *Greco du Roy*. Technically it looks more like the work of a beginner. The c. 1618 Le Bé Inventory mentions Greeks in the Brevier and Nonpareil sizes of Haultin and Picard (Morison, 1957, 22). The latter is known to have been working on Estienne's Hebrews in those years (25–28), but this Greek is certainly not up to his reputation, nor is it identical with two specimens, which are thought to represent his Nonpareil Greek (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, NAF 22434 and 22184,

f. 73). Haultin's Brevier Greek originated in Geneva in 1553 at Crespin's press. It is much better than this one (Vervliet, 2000, 23–24).

This second small Greek was only in use at the presses of Robert I and Henry II Estienne. The latter used it to about 1566, when he switched to Haultin's.

SIZE Brevier Greek (*Petit-texte*); 20 52 x 1 : 1.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1545, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Biblia [Latina in 8°]*; Ghent, University Library, Theo 278; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 151–2, no. 859; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 165).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1556, R. I Estienne; 1560, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; doubly bracketed top serifs of T; lower case λ descending below base line; doubly twisted ξ.

FIGURE 16 The 'Estienne' Second Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or *Petit-texte* (1545) as it appears in the sidenotes of the *Biblia [Latina in 8°]*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1545, p. 102 and 105. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

¶1 αὐτῶν. αἱ, αὐ-
τοῦ.
¶2 γινώσκεις τὸ
μῦ

¶3 εὐρήσῃ.
¶4 κατακλη-
ρονομήσει αὐ-
τὸν
¶5 νε, illius no-
minant.

¶1 τὸ πλῆθος.
αἱ, τόπον. αἱ,
κόπον. ¶2 δύ-
καμος. ¶3 ἀσε-
βῶν. αἱ, ἀνό-
μων ἐν τάχει,
&c.
¶4 τῇ ἰσχύ-
τις ἀφροσύ-
νης αὐτῶν.
¶5 ὡς ἐποίη-
σεν ἡμεῖς.
αἱ, ἐξ ἡμεῖς.
¶6 sexcenta mil-
lia cōferuunt,
liberos scilicet
sexcentorū mil-
lium quae in-
teremit. Num.
1. & Num. 16.
Dominus ergo
in cōferuendis
suis partim ira,
partim miseri-
cordia vltus est.
¶7 διατάχῃς.
¶8 ὑπομονῇ.
¶9 ποιεῖς. αἱ,
ποιήσῃς. ¶10 νε,
beneficentia,
τῶ

¶7 ηῦ
¶8 ὑπομονῇ
αἱ, οἱ πλῆ-
θος.

¶9 αἱφροσύνη

¶10 ἀπάσης.
αἱ, μῦ.

¶11 Scilicet lin-
gue & labio: u.
αἱ, τὰς δὲ
ὑποφύλαξιν ἐν
ἐπαγγελίᾳ
ἀμαρτωλῶν
μη παρῇς.
¶12 τὴν σωτηρί-
αν

¶13 τὸν οὐκ ἐ-
τιμωσῇ
¶14 αἱ, ὡς ἡμα-
ρτωσὶ ἀληθινῶν
¶15 ἐν χεῖρσιν.
αἱ, ἐν τῇ ἀφρο-
σύνῃ

¶16 ἐπαγγελίαν
¶17 ὑπομονῇ
¶18 ἐν ἀμαρ-
τωλῇ
¶19 ἀπαμειν-
ωσιν ἀσυνή-
αἱ, ἀνελεῖς
¶20 ὅρα. ¶21 τῶ
λέγος. αἱ, λόγος
¶22 τῶ
¶23 τῶ

19. The 'Estienne' Greek Titling
on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5,5 mm] or
Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain (1551)

A new Greek titling on Two-line Long Primer appears at Estienne's press from 1551 onwards. It is similar to but not identical with Garamont's face on this size, which starts appearing in Paris at Bogard's press in 1545 (Vervliet, 2000a, 16). Earmarks of the Estienne type are its cupped A, broad Γ, Z with single bracketed top serif, narrow H, one-eared M, long arms of Ω. I do not know who may have cut it. As with its Roman companion face, described above in (9), it occurs too early for an ascription to Charles II Estienne.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5,5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1551, Geneva, R. I Estienne (*Pauli apostoli epistolae*; Amsterdam, University Library Vrije Univ., XC 05532).

EARLY APPEARANCE Geneva: 1561, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Cupped top of A; broad Γ; singly-bracketed top serif of Z; narrow H; one-eared M; long feet of Ω.

FIGURE 19a The 'Estienne' Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5,5 mm] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1551) as appearing on the title-pages of Xenophon, *Omnia opera* and Herodotus, *Historia*, Geneva, Henry II Estienne, 1561 and 1566. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent, and Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 19b The 'Estienne' Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5,5 mm] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1551) as assembled from *Pauli apostoli epistolae*, Geneva, Robert I Estienne, 1551. Courtesy of the University Library of the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣ-
ΔΘΠΣΥΦΩ

20. The First 'Estienne' Square Sephardic
Hebrew on English [Hb 2 mm]
or *Saint-augustin* (1527–28)

Estienne's lifelong obsession to restore the *lectio divina* of the Scriptures explains his great interest in Hebrew, which culminated in the royal decree of 24 June 1539, appointing him as the (first) King's Printer in Hebrew and Latin. His first use of Hebrew type dates from some ten years earlier; it occurs in 1527–28 in three publications, viz. the folio Bible mentioned above (dated 28 November 1527 at the end of its part I and 1528 on its title-pages), the *Alphabetum Graecum et Hebraicum* and the *Psalmi*, both of 1528 (Moreau, 3: nos. 1357, 1373, 1377; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, nos. 24, 26, 27).

When Estienne set up his own press in 1526, he had no proper typecutting facilities and for Roman and Greek he had to rely on what was left over from Colines's stock. At that moment Colines had no proper Hebrew type. Estienne must have considered the Ashkenazi square Hebrews, which could be had (as I suppose) from Basle, inappropriate for a French readership, deeply influenced by Italian culture. In Paris, Ashkenazi types were used quite sparingly, e.g. by Morrhe and Blaubloom, both immigrant printers from the Low Countries.

Sephardic square Hebrews in France were Gourmont's 'Giustiniani'-type (Paris, 1520) and the Du Ry's Hebrew (Lyon, 1526). It would appear that neither of them was available or agreeable to Estienne; at any rate he did not use them. He probably decided instead to have his own type cut and cast. The limited number of Hebrew punches – some fifty including the finals, extenders, daghesh, vowels, and intonations – would have made the investment tolerable for the young entrepreneur.

The 1527–28 Hebrew is not well designed and unevenly engraved, seemingly the work of a beginner, but nevertheless an interesting face. We do not know for certain who designed or engraved it, but I venture the hypothesis

that its maker may have been Robert I Estienne himself. This may be inferred from a passage in the c.1643 Le Bé Memorandum, which after stating that Estienne was trained in the craft of type-casting reports the following: '[Estienne] se mit à faire et faire faire des caracteres hebreux'. One should not overrate the exactness of a witness writing more than one hundred years after the event but equally it seems unreasonable not bear in mind that Guillaume II Le Bé was relying on information provided by his father, once apprenticed to Estienne and later the most distinguished specialist in Hebrew type of his period. During his printing career, Estienne had ten Hebrew types. The Le Bé Memorandum continues that some of them were ugly and unsatisfactory, and were discarded for better ones cut by Picard, a report confirmed by the findings below. The hypothesis therefore that Le Bé's report somehow can be trusted and that the first of the Estienne Hebrews was cut by the young Estienne himself may not be too far-fetched.

During his further career Estienne used four other square Hebrew types on this size, viz.: a second from 1532 to 1539 (21), a third from 1539 to 1542 (22), the fourth and the fifth, from mid 1543 onwards (27–28).

I have not seen this typeface used elsewhere than by Robert I Estienne in the three 1527–28 titles mentioned above.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 88 (vocalized) x 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1527–28, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Biblia [Latina in-folio]*); Ghent, University Library, Theo 364; Moreau, 3: 384, no. 1373; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 143, no. 815; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 26.).

KEY LETTER Short *ayin*.

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 54.

FIGURE 20 (opposite) The First 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 2 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1527–28) as it appears in *Biblia [Latina in-folio]*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1527–28, Part 2, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Leuven.

ALPHABETVM Hebraicum, cuius literarum ordine compositus est psalmus CXVIII, & alij, caput item tricesimum Prouerbiorum Salomonis, & Ieremiæ Lamentationes.

			DVODECIM SIGNA SIVE APICES		
			quibus Hebræi vtuntur pro vocalibus.		
			Nomina apicum	Figura.	Potestas
א a	אֶלֶף	Aleph	Doctrina, siue mille		
ב b	בֵּית	Beth	Domus.		
ג g	גִּמֶל	Gimel	Retributio siue ablactatio.		
ד d	דָּלֶת	Daleth	Ianua siue paupertas.		
ה h	הָא	He	Ecce, vel ista.		
ו v	וָו	Vau	&		
ז z	זַיִן	Zain	Fornicatio		
ח h	חֵית	Heth	Vita.		
ט t	טֵת	Teth	Verrere, scopis mundare		
י i	יּוֹד	Iod	Laudatio, siue confessio, aut manus.		
כ ch	כָּף	Caph	Vola, id est palma manus, aut phiala.		
ל l	לָמֶד	Lamed	Doctrina vel disciplina		
מ m	מֶם	Mem	Aquæ		
נ n	נּוֹן	Nun	Posteritas aut stirps, vel ætern⁹.		
ס f	סָמֶךְ	Samech	Adhæsiō, innexio, aut iunctura		
ע a	עֵין	Ain	Oculus, siue fons		
פ p	פֶּא	Pe	Os oris, aut hæc.		
צ f	צִדִּיק	Sade	Iustus vel iustitia		
ק c	קוֹף	Coph	Circuitus, vel congelatio.		
ר r	רֵישׁ	Res	Caput siue principium, aut paupertas		
ש f	שֵׁן	Sin	Dens, aut ebur.		
ת t	תּוֹ	Tau	Signum		

LITERAE FINALES

ך ch ם m ן n ף p ץ f

21. The Second 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 2.2 mm]
or *Saint-augustin* (1532)

After the introduction in 1530 of the three epoch-making Romans described above (1–3), Estienne introduced no new types in 1531. In 1532–33, however, a whole series of new types appears, namely: the two small-sized Romans (4, 5), further an Italic on Pica (10), a Greek on Brevier (14) and also a new square Hebrew (21). This last was to replace Estienne's first and rather weak Hebrew of 1527–28. It was used throughout the 1532 Latin Bible, for the Hebrew names in the 1537–38 editions of the *Hebraea ... nomina*, as the small text type in the 1539 *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, and (mixed with the third Estienne Hebrew on this size) throughout the *Prologus* of the 1540 Latin Bible. So far as I know, its latest occurrence is in the *Libri Moisi quinque* of 1542. From 1539 to 1542 Estienne apparently used his third square Hebrew on this size (24) concurrently with this face, not, at first sight, an ideal situation for his compositors. But that simply may be a false

impression because Estienne antedated many instalments of his 1539–44 Hebrew Bible in quarto; see below (22).

I do not know who may have been the engraver of this second Hebrew, nor have I seen this typeface used elsewhere than by Robert I Estienne and Simon de Colines in the titles mentioned above.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 92 (vocalized) x 2.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1532, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Biblia [Latina in 2^o]*; Ghent, University Library, Theo 317-317[1]; Moreau, 4: 137, no. 341; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 145, no. 825; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 42.).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1534, S. de Colines (Erasmus, *Familiarium colloquiorum ... opus*; Moreau, 4: no. 986; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 60).

KEY LETTERS Strong top serif of *lamed*; short *pe*; curved right bottom of *samek*; oblique middle stroke of *sin*.

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 54–5.

FIGURE 21 The Second 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 2.2 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1532) as it appears in the margins of *Hebraea, Chaldaea ... nomina* [in 8^o], Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, pp. 36–7 and 260–1. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

ארבי	אַרְבִּי	ששי	שובק
אַרְבִּיָּא		ססמי	שבי
אַרְבִּיָּע	ארונה	סיסרא	שבנה
אַרְבִּיָּט	ארגב		
אַרְבִּיָּטְוִיָּט		שטום	צובנה
אַרְבִּיָּטְוִיָּטְוִיָּט	ארידי		סבבי
ארונו	ארידתא	שוא	שוכו
ארה	אריה	סיון	
הרבה	אריאל	שיזא	
הרקון	אראל	שחם	סכות
ארד	אראלי	צובה	
ארה	אריוך	שובב	סכות-בנות
אראלי	אריס		סדי
אַרְבִּיָּטְוִיָּטְוִיָּט	אַרְבִּיָּטְוִיָּטְוִיָּט	שובך	סדם
אַרְבִּיָּטְוִיָּטְוִיָּט	אַרְבִּיָּטְוִיָּטְוִיָּט	שבי	
		שובל	

22. The First 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm] or *Gros-parangon* (1539)

A royal decree dated 24 June 1539 appointed Robert I Estienne as the King's Printer in Hebrew and Latin. In the same month the first instalment of Estienne's quarto Hebrew Bible appeared. Not inappropriately Renouard (1843, 55) links the two events. The king's librarian and Estienne's protector at the royal court, Pierre Du Chastel, may have been instrumental in his nomination, as he was the following year in arranging the contract for Garamont to cut the *Grecs du Roy* under Estienne's supervision (Vervliet, 2000a, 4–5). It is unclear why Estienne specifically was selected for that honourful position, bypassing other printers in spite of their credentials in Hebrew printing, as there were Christian Wechel, François Gryphius, or Claude Chevallon. But the years to come showed it to be an excellent decision.

Estienne's quarto Hebrew Bible appeared in instalments, possibly intended for use in the lectures of the *Collège des Trois Langues*, which in 1538 had been revived by Du Chastel. Estienne published the Old Testament in twenty-four instalments spread over a period of four years, starting with the Minor Prophets in June 1539 and ending with the Pentateuch and the Chronicles in the summer of 1543. These last two books begin to display different Hebrew types, which are attributable to Jean Picard (see below 25–28).

Some of the earlier instalments the quarto Bible were reissued in or after 1543, possibly even in or after 1549 (Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 232, no. 1350); they were completely recomposed but maintained the original date of publication (Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 232; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, nos. 88–90, 101–3). These antedated reissues are recognizable by their use of the new Picard Hebrews (and also by the use of Estienne's Small Pica Roman (4) in the place and date elements of the imprint, instead of the Colines's one used in the non-antedated issues).

The 1539–42 instalments of the quarto Hebrew Bible display three Hebrews: two square Sephardics (4 and 2 mm) and one Rabbinical of 2 mm. The last occurs also on a anonymous and undated type-specimen, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque de France in one of Guillaume I Le Bé's scrapbooks (Res. X 1665, f. 4). Le Bé, who entered in Estienne's service about 1539–40, made a note on the specimen that he did not know the engraver of this type. But the deduction that the three 1539 Hebrews were cut by the same person may be worth considering.

As a text type, the 4 mm Hebrew was larger than customary for Bible composition and the edition was sought after for that reason (Armstrong, 1986, 32). However, the design of both square Sephardic typefaces was considered unsatisfactory. They were discarded in 1543 when Picard's new Hebrews came into production. The c.1643 Le Bé Memorandum has an echo of this decision, when it relates:

'Neamoins lesdits caracteres [of the quarto Bible] ne se trouverent pas si agreables que lon eseroit, Et cest ce gros vilain hebreu dont sont imprimez quelques liures, comme Ieremie, Esaïe, Iob, et autres prophetes, de sorte quil [Estienne] fit Reffaire lesdits Caracteres hebrieux de la bible in 4° par vn nommé Jehan picard homme le plus adroit a la proportion et grace des Caracteres quil fut en ce templa ...'

[The type proved not to be as agreeable as was hoped: it was the ugly big Hebrew with which some of the Books, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Job, and other prophets were printed; so he [Estienne] had new faces cut for the 4° Bible by a man named Jehan Picard, who was at that time the most skilled in the proportions and grace of printer's letters ... (Translation: Carter, 1967, 29)].

I have seen this 'ugly big Hebrew' only in the 1539–42 instalments of Estienne's quarto Hebrew Bible and in his *Alphabetum Hebraicum* of 1539 (pace Carter, 1967, 40, n.16 and Schreiber, 1982, 63). It was only used by Robert I Estienne. It is tempting to associate the name of Michel Du Boys to this and the following type. Du Boys was a professional punchcutter, arriving from Paris in Geneva in 1538 and moneyed enough to buy there a house for 302 écus (Peter, 1978, 286), that is, the equivalent of the price of some 600 punches. In the 1540s he went to Venice, Lyons and Geneva, where he died in 1561 (Bremme, 1969, 151; Guillo, 1991, 116–20). Le Bé credits him for the engraving of a Hebrew for Justiniani (Omont, 1887, 263). He possibly copied also some of the Estienne Romans. See above (2).

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Gros-parangon*); 20 177 (vocalized) x 4 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN June 1539, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Sophonias*; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 43–3:4; Moreau, 5; no. 1162; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 237, no. 1368; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 88).
KEY LETTERS Curved right bottom of *samech*; oblique middle stroke of *sin*.
LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 55.

FIGURE 22 The First 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm] or *Gros-parangon* (1539) as it appears in *Prophetia Isaiae*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1539, f. A2. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

עֲנוּ אֶת־יְהוָה נִאֲעֹז אֶת־קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל נִזְרוּ
אֲחֹרַי : עַל־מָה תָּבוּ עוֹד תּוֹסִיפוּ סֵרָה בְּרָאִי

23. The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew
on English [Hb 2 mm]
or *Saint-augustin* (1539)

This Rabbinical or 'Rashi' (Le Bé's terms are 'cursive' or 'glose', humanists using 'currens' and palaeographers, 'semi-cursive') was the earliest Hebrew commentary type to appear in France. It was first used in the commentaries of the 1539–42 instalments of the quarto Bible and in Estienne's *Alphabetum Hebraicum* of 1539. Estienne employed it as a commentary type during the whole of his printing career.

In a note on the c.1543 Estienne type-specimen of the Bibliothèque nationale (Res. X 1665, f. 4) Guillaume I Le Bé wrote that he considered it as good-looking and well cut – 'bien jollie et bien achevee', but that, contrary to the square Hebrews, which he ascribes to Picard, he did not know the name of its cutter. It remains an open question whether it was cut by the same engraver as the two 1539 square 'ugly' Hebrews of Estienne (22, 24).

I have not seen this Rabbinical used outside the Estienne family, except for one publication of Martin Le Jeune, the Genebrard of 1559 (Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 263).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 94 x 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN June 1539, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Sophonias*; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 43-3:4; Moreau, 5: no. 1162; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 237, no. 1368; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 88).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1555, Ch. Estienne; 1559, M. Le Jeune; 1563, R. II Estienne.

TYPE-SPECIMEN c.1543, [Estienne's Hebrew type-specimen, Paris] (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 262).

KEY LETTERS Strong top projectors of *aleph* and *sin*; angular top of bowl of *lamed*; tail of *taw* strongly overhanging to the left.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Textes taillez a Paris en lan 1541 par vn nomme Jehan Arnoul dit le Picard le Jeune et la glose taillee par aultre bien jollie et bien achevee sentant sa plume (undated ms. note of Guillaume I Le Bé on the c.1543 Estienne Hebrew type-specimen).

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 55.

FIGURE 23a The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew [Hb 2 mm] on English or *Saint-augustin* (1539) as it appears on the title-page of *Ionas*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

FIGURE 23b The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1539) assembled from *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1543, f. A3. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

ספר יונה

עם פירוש רבי דוד קמחי מונה עם רב הענין על ידי ערנישקוש וואטבלוש
איש נוצרי המלמד במצות המלך ערנישקוש ילד לבני עמו דעת
לשון הקדש ועמם בבית דוברטוש סטלוש ילד בחרש
שבת בשעת ק' ק' ללך טח טאליש העיר
הגדולה והאם בעצת:

Ionas cum commenta-
riis R. David Kimhi, à Francisco Vatablo, Hebra-
icarum literarum professoire Regio, summa cura
& diligentia recognitis.

אברהם דוד וזחע יכך למסנן סעעף צק רש

24. The Third 'Estienne' Square Sephardic
Hebrew on English [Hb 2.4 mm]
or *Saint-augustin* (1539)

In the 1539–42 instalments of the quarto Bible, this third square Hebrew was used as a companion face to the Rabbinical of the same size (23), to distinguish the actual words of the Bible from its commentaries. I guess it was cut by the same punchcutter as the big square Hebrew of (22). Similarly it was abandoned after 1542. So far as I know, it was only used by Robert I Estienne in the years 1539–42 for the earlier printed parts of his quarto Bible.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 92 (vocalized) x 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN June 1539, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Sophonias*; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 43-3:4; Moreau, 5: no. 1162; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 237, no. 1368; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 88).

KEY LETTERS Hooked terminal of *dalet*; strong top serif of *lamed*; straight middle stroke of *sin*.

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 55.

FIGURE 24 The Third 'Estienne' Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 2.4 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1539) as it appears in the quotations in the first lines of f. A2v of *Abdias*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

ד עובריה

עשו דשעל בעממיה . וכן אמר בוזי אתה סאר כלומר שלח יחשו לך
שאר הגוים אם תחבד : נתתיך כמו אתה כי כנכוחות עבד במקום עתה
רכים : ודן לבך השיאך. להגדיל עה ולהדחיק אף לאחריך יעקב :
שוכני בחגיו כלע . כשהיית שוכן בהר שער חשכת שאתה נשגב בו וחי' מי
שיריך ממנו : מרום שבתו . מרום שיבתו היה בחמי סלע והוא הר
שער . וידימיה מרום נכע : שוכני . כמו שוכן וזי' נוספת . וכן חובבי
מרום קברו . היושבי בשמים . וחדומים להם : בחגיו . כמו חוב הארץ.
חגה וחוב עין אחד . כלומר סביב הסלע דל ראש הסלע והוא חמגדל
הבני עליו : אם תגביה כגשר . אם תגביה שבתך כמו הנשר שיעוף
גבוק מכל העוט : שים . כמו תשים . וכן עלה ומות בהר כמו תמות :
אם-נגבים באו-לך אם-שירי לילך איך
נדמיתה הלא יגבוי דים אם-פצרים באו לך
הלא ישאירו עלילות : איך נחפשו עשו
נבעו מפוננו :

25. Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew
on Two-line Great Primer [Hb 6 mm]
or *Petit-canon* (1543)

Large-sized Hebrew types were introduced in Paris in 1532 by François Gryphius, followed a year later by Claude Chevallon (Moreau, 4: nos. 438, 721; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, nos. 41 and 48). Estienne therefore had a certain handicap to make up. When about 1541 he hired a new punchcutter to provide for new Hebrews instead of the earlier 'ugly' ones, he ordered no less than four new sizes, among which this heading type on Two-line Great Primer. A good year later they were ready and they proved to be outstanding. They became the standard Hebrews of the Estienne family. Their engraver was Jean Picard.

Jean Arnoul, *dit le Picard le jeune*, is mainly known from three sources: first, by the autograph notes of Guillaume I Le Bé (c. 1524–98) in his scrapbooks (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665; ms. NAF 4528; Omont, 1887), which attribute five Hebrews to him, four of which appear in the c. 1543 Estienne type-specimen described below; second, by the c. 1618 Inventory of the Le Bé type-foundry, which ascribes two small-sized Greeks to him (Morison, 1959, 22 and 25; Renouard, 1964, 2: 112), and third, by the c. 1643 Memorandum of Guillaume II Le Bé. This last reports that about 1539–40 the elder Le Bé, as a young apprentice, was working at Estienne's premises with Picard on a set of new Hebrews, which were to replace the 'ugly' older ones. The younger Le Bé characterizes Picard as 'at that time the most skilled in the proportions and grace of printer's letters' (Carter, 1967, 29). His father's autograph notes mention yet another Hebrew from his hand, sold by Le Bé to Parenzo in Venice; his design of a Two-line Double Pica Roman, and his death in Lyons at a unspecified date, but probably before the end of the 1540s. His birth date is unknown, as is the reason why Le Bé calls him 'le jeune'. Was his father also a punchcutter? Clearly he was not a relative of his contemporary of the same name, one of the bookbinders working for Jean Grolier (Hobson, 1989, 270). His marriage contract, dated 23 December 1542, is mentioned by Parent (1974, 188). The bride was Marie Hubert, a printer's daughter, the bridegroom was 'Jean Arnoul, maitre tailleur et fondeur de lettres', the witness was 'Robert Estienne, marchand libraire, imprimeur du Roy, en l'hostel duquel J. Arnoul est demeurant' (Paris, Archives nationales, MC 49:18). This and the fact that Le Bé does not attribute any of the earlier Estienne types to him, may lead to the supposition that he was in his early thirties at the time – an age old enough to be 'maitre tailleur' and to engage in marriage at the very end of 1542, when the cutting of the new Hebrews was completed and casting started. Living at Estienne's premises, he apparently acted as instructor to Guillaume I Le Bé. I deduce that both men left Paris soon afterwards and travelled to Lyon, where Picard died. Le

Bé alone then continued his journey to Italy, arriving in Venice before November 1545 (Omont, 1887, 276).

Most important here is the c. 1543 Estienne type-specimen, which is preserved in one of Le Bé's scrapbooks (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 262). Up to now the leaf was not recognised as a type-specimen, nor as originating from Estienne. In fact, the two missing words of Le Bé's handwritten note which Omont failed to read, are 'Robert Estienne'. The type-specimen – which is indeed among the earliest known of both French and Hebrew typography – reproduces in five types the Psalms 34 and 125. It displays four square Hebrews, which a note of Le Bé assigns to Picard, (he calls them 'textes'), and a Rabbinical or 'glose', whose engraver was unknown to Le Bé. The specimen is not titled or dated, but as none of the square Hebrews appear before mid-1543, it may be dated about that time. On f. 5 of Le Bé's scrapbook, following the type-specimen appears the beginning leaf (f. a2–a2v) of the *Liber Paralipomenon*, which was the last part of the Estienne quarto 1539–43 Bible to be published and appeared before end August 1543 (Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 240, no. 1379; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 133). It may be supposed that both the specimen and the leaf were to be shown or circulated as proofs at the Royal court about that time. Estienne's eulogy of Francis I appended to his 1542 edition of Cicero's *Tusculanae quaestiones* relates that the king 'omnium earum linguarum [*videlicet* hebraicorum, graecorum, ac latinorum], quas supra demonstravimus novas & accuratissime imitatas literarum formas per artifices praestantissimos exculpi iussit' ('ordered that new and accurately copied forms of letters should be cut by distinguished craftsmen, in all the languages above mentioned [*i.e.* Hebrew, Greek and Latin]') (Cicero, *Tusculanae quaestiones*, 1542, f. *1 v–2; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 2264, f. *1 v–2; Maillaire, 2: 461; translation: Armstrong, 1986, 125–6). Were Estienne's new Hebrew and Italic types like his new Greeks therefore sponsored or somehow paid for by the king? The question cannot be answered for certain but unlike the *Greco du Roy* they were never claimed as the king's property.

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Petit-canon*); 20 260 (vocalized) x 6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1543, Paris, R. Estienne (*Quinque libri Legis [Pentateuch]*); Brussels, Royal Library, VB 45/1; Renouard, 1843, 54, no. 13; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 232, no. 1350; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 132.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1554, Ch. I Estienne; 1565, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1551, J. Crespin; 1557, R. I Estienne; Lyons: 1575, B. Vincent; 1577, A. Gryphius.

TYPE-SPECIMEN c. 1543, [Estienne's Hebrew type-specimen, Paris] (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 262); 1622, J. Berner, *Specimen characterum*, Frankfurt, 1622 (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3).

KEY LETTERS Angular right bottom of *samek*; straight middle stroke of *sin*.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Textes taillez a Paris en lan 1541 par vn nomme Jehan Arnoul dit le Picard le Jeune (undated ms. note of Guillaume I Le Bé on the c.1543 Estienne Hebrew type-specimen).

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 55.

FIGURE 25 Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Great Primer [Hb 6 mm] or *Petit-canon* (1543) as it appears on the title-page of Santes Pagninus, *Thesaurus*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1548. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

אוֹצֵר לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ
Thesaurus Linguae sanctae
Ex R. David Kimchi סֵפֶר הַשְּׂרָשִׁים, Sancte Pagnino Lucenfi autore.

26. Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew
on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm]
or *Gros-parangon* (1543)

Estienne used this type in his 1543 *Alphabetum Hebraicum* and as a text type for the last published parts of his quarto Bible, i.e. in the Pentateuch and the Chronicles, both dated 1543, as well in the antedated reissues of the some former parts, deceptively dated 1539 or 1540 and described above in (22).

Like the other 1543 square Hebrews, it is attributed to Picard in the c.1543 Estienne Hebrew type-specimen. It became the Estienne's standard Hebrew on this size from 1543 onwards.

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Gros-parangon*); 20 177 (vocalized) x 4 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1543, Paris, R. Estienne (*Quinque libri Legis* [*Pentateuch*]; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 45/1; Renouard, 1843, 54, no. 13; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 232, no. 1350; Schwarzfuchs, 2204, no. 132.

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1554, R. I Estienne; 1560, J. Crespin; Paris: 1555, Ch. I Estienne; 1560, G. I Morel; 1563, R. II Estienne. Lyons: 1575, B. Vincent; 1577, A. Gryphius.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1543, [Estienne's Hebrew type-specimen, Paris] (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 262); 1622, J. Berner, *Specimen characterum*, Frankfurt, 1622 (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3).

KEY LETTERS Angular right bottom of *samek*; straight middle stroke of *sin*.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Textes taillez a Paris en lan 1541 par vn nomme Jehan Arnoul dit le Picard le Jeune (undated ms. note of Guillaume I Le Bé on the c.1543 Estienne Hebrew type-specimen).

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 55.

FIGURE 26a Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm] or *Gros-parangon* (1543) as it appears in *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1543, f. B2v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 26b Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4 mm] or *Gros-parangon* (1543) assembled from *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1543, f. A2v–A3. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

אֶת־הַיָּבֹל קִדְשׁךָ שְׁמוֹ אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַם
לְעַיִים : נִתְּנוּ אֶת־נִבְלַת עֲבָדֶיךָ
מֵאַבְרָם לְעֹזֶף הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּשֵׁר חֲסִידֶיךָ
לְחִיתוֹ־אֶרֶץ : שִׁפְכוּ דָמָם בַּמִּים

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ
נ נ ס ע פ פ צ צ ק ר ש ת

27. Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew
on Great Primer [Hb 2.2 mm]
or *Gros-romain* (1543)

This size was sparsely employed in 1543, occurring only in the *Alphabetum Hebraicum* and as the catchwords of the final printed instalments of the quarto Bible. In 1544, however, it began to be used as the text type for Estienne's sextodecimo Hebrew Bible (1544–46) and from then onwards it became the standard Hebrew text type of the Estiennes. It was used occasionally outside the Estienne family.

It is attributed to Picard in the c.1543 Estienne Hebrew type-specimen.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 115 (vocalized) x 2.2 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1543, Paris, R. Estienne (*Quinque libri Legis* [*Pentateuch*]); Brussels, Royal Library, VB 45/1; Renouard, 1843, 54, no. 13; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 232, no. 1350; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 132.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1554, Ch. I Estienne; 1555: M. Vascosan; 1561: J. Kerver & J. Le Blanc; 1563, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne; 1554, J. Girard; Lyons: 1575, B. Vincent; 1577, A. Gryphius.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1543, [Estienne's Hebrew type-specimen, Paris]; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 262; 1622, J. Berner, *Specimen characterum*, Frankfurt, 1622 (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3).

KEY LETTERS Slightly oblique middle stroke of *sin*.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Textes taillez a Paris en lan 1541 par vn nomme Jehan Arnoul dit le Picard le Jeune (undated ms. note of Guillaume I Le Bé on the c.1543 Estienne Hebrew type-specimen).

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 55.

FIGURE 27a Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Great Primer [Hb 2.2 mm] or *Gros-romain* (1543) as it appears in *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Geneva, Robert I Estienne, 1554, f. B3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 27b Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew on Great Primer [Hb 2.2 mm] or *Gros-romain* (1543) assembled from *Alphabetum Hebraicum*, Geneva, Robert I Estienne, 1554, f. A2–A2v. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

בְּשָׂרִי לְבָטָח וְלִתְמוּךְ בְּיָמִינֶךָ לִבִּי לְמַעַן לֹא
תֵּאָנָה אֵלַי רַעַח וּשְׁטָן וּפָגַע רַע לֹא יִקְרַב בְּאַחֲלִי ;
וְעוֹד כִּי לֹא יֵשְׁרוּ בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר הִחֲלוּ לְהִיטִיב
דְּרָכָם וַיַּחֲדְלוּ רַק בְּמַחְזִיקִים בְּתַמָּתָם חֲשָׁקָתָם
לְאַהֲבָה אוֹתָם לִכֵּן שָׁמַע תְּפִלָּתִי אֱלֹהִי וְתֹאחֲזִנִי
יָמִינֶךָ וּסְעִדֵנִי וּסְמְכֵנִי לֹא יוֹם אַחֵר וְלֹא יוֹמִים כִּי
מִן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַד יוֹם מוֹתִי לְמַעַן אֶתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֶיךָ כָּל
יְמֵי חַיִּי וְהוֹסַף יוֹם יוֹם חֲסִדֶיךָ עָלַי עַד הִבִּיאֹתֶךָ
אוֹתִי אֶל חֲדָרֵי בְּנֶךָ יַחֲדָךְ וְאַדְבָּקָה בִּישׁוּעַ
מְשִׁיחֶךָ אֲשֶׁר אֶהְבֶּתָּ וְאוֹחֲזֶהוּ וְלֹא אֶרְפֶּנוּ כִּי הוּא
שֵׁם שְׂדֻקְתָּנוּ וְאוֹר פְּנֵינוּ לֹא יִדְעֶךָ נֵרוֹ לְעוֹלָם
בְּלִבֵּנוּ : וּבַעֲבוּר כִּי עוֹנֹתֵינוּ מִבְּדִילִים בִּינֵינוּ
לְבֵין אֱלֹהֵינוּ וּמִסְתִּירִים פְּנֵינוּ מִפְּנֵי מִשְׁמוֹעַ אֲנֵנוּ
אֲדוֹנֵי וְאֱלֹהֵי מַחֲהַל פֶּשַׁעֵי לְמַעַן וְעוֹנֹתֵי אֵל
תּוֹכֵנוּ כְּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לְאֲשֶׁר יִקְרָאוּ אֵלֶיךָ בְּאַמָּתָם
עַנֵּנִי אֲדוֹנֵי עַנֵּנִי בַּעֲבוּר כְּבוֹד מְשִׁיחֶךָ אָמֵן :
הַשְׁמִיעֵנִי בְּבוֹקֵר חֲסִדֶּךָ כִּי בָךְ בְּטַחְתִּי הוֹדִיעֵנִי
דְּרָךְ-זוֹ אֵלֶיךָ כִּי אֵלֶיךָ נִשְׁאַתִּי נַפְשִׁי : הַצִּילֵנִי
מֵאוֹיְבֵי יְהוָה אֵלֶיךָ בְּסִיתִי : לְמַדֵּנִי לַעֲשׂוֹת רְצוֹנֶךָ
כִּי אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי רוּחַךְ טוֹבָה תִּנְחֵנִי בְּאַרְץ מִישׁוֹר :

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

28. Picard's First Square Sephardic Hebrew
on English [Hb 1.8 mm]
or *Saint-augustin* (1543)

This small square Hebrew on English was mostly used by Robert Estienne for Hebrew quotations in his octavo Latin biblical editions of 1545, 1546, 1556 and 1557. The best showing I have observed is in the c.1543 Estienne type-specimen, with an autograph note of Guillaume I Le Bé attributing it to Picard. It was used occasionally by Crespin and for Davantes's printers device (Gilmont, 1981, 1: 127–8, no. 60⁴; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 433, no. 2856).

Picard engraved another square Hebrew in the same size; it is similar to but not identical with the type he cut for Estienne; see for example the *sin*'s more oblique middle stroke (*pace* Renouard, 1964, 1: 112. A type-specimen of this second Hebrew is preserved in one of Le Bé's scrapbooks. Guillaume I Le Bé noted that he got a strike, which he sold to Meir Parenzo in Venice (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665, f. 20; with another specimen on f. 14; Omont, 1887, 262, fig. iv).

Another similar square Hebrew on the same size occurs in Paris at the presses of Jean Loys (1546) and Thomas

Richard (1561). Its letter-cutter is unknown but I surmise that it was engraved by François Gryphius.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 94 (vocalized) x 1.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1543, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Alphabetum Hebraicum*, f. B3v; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, C 724:3; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, no. 131).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1553, R. I Estienne; 1560, J. Crespin, P. Davantes.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1543, [Estienne's Hebrew type-specimen, Paris]; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1665, f. 4; Omont, 1887, 262; 1622, J. Berner, *Specimen characterum*, Frankfurt, 1622 (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3).

KEY LETTERS Slightly oblique middle stroke of *sin*.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Textes taillez a Paris en lan 1541 par vn nomme Jehan Arnoul dit le Picard le Jeune (undated ms. note of Guillaume I Le Bé on the c.1543 Estienne Hebrew type-specimen).

LITERATURE Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 55.

FIGURE 28a Picard's First Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 1.8 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1543) as it appears on Estienne's c.1543 Hebrew type-specimen, Paris, Bibl. nation., Rés. X 1665, f. 4.

FIGURE 28b Picard's First Square Sephardic Hebrew on English [Hb 1.8 mm] or *Saint-augustin* (1543) assembled from *Liber psalmorum Davidis*, Geneva, Robert I Estienne, 1556, p. 400–3. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

קָרוֹב יְהוָה לְנִשְׁכָּרֵי לֵב וְאֶת־דַּבְּאֵי־רוּחַ יוֹשִׁיעַ : רַבּוֹת רַעוֹת צָדִיק וּמַפְלִים יַצִּילֵנוּ
יְהוָה : שִׁמְרֵ כָל־עֲצָמָתָיו אַחַת מִהֶנּוּ לֹא נִשְׁבָּרָה : חֲמוּתֵי־רֹשֶׁעַ רַעָה וְשִׁנְאֵי
צָדִיק יִאֲשָׁמוּ : פָּרַח יְהוָה נֶפֶשׁ עֲבָדָיו וְלֹא יִאֲשָׁמוּ כָל־הַחֹסִים בּוֹ :

א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת

29. The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew on Brevier [Hb 1.2] or *Petit-texte* (1556)

A tiny Rabbinical occurs at Estienne's Geneva press in 1557. Seemingly it originated there. Who may have been its engraver, remains an open question. Notwithstanding its flourishing publishing trade, Geneva had not that many punchcutters available. Michel Du Boys stayed there in the years 1537–41 and 1557–61, Guillaume I Le Bé visited Estienne in 1550, Pierre Haultin arrived in 1551 leaving for Lyons about 1558, Robert Granjon (probably) spent a short visit to Henry II Estienne in 1562.

For the Rabbinical, Haultin certainly is a good candidate. In 1553 he was reported doing type-casting for

Estienne (Chaix, 1954, 152) and he may have been responsible for cutting three new Estienne types which appear in 1556, viz. a Roman, an Italic and this Rabbinical, all on Brevier (*pace* Vervliet, 2000, 89). But further research is needed in this area.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 52 x 1.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1557, **Geneva**, R. I Estienne (*Liber Psalmorum Davidis*; **Ghent**, University Library, Theo. 2235; Chaix-Dufour-Moeckli, 1966, 27).

FIGURE 29 The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew on Brevier [Hb 1.2] or *Petit-texte* (1556) at it appears in *Liber psalmorum Davidis*, Geneva, Robert I Estienne, 1556, p. 400. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

I N P S A L M V M C X I .

1 Halelu-Iáh. הלל יהוה. *Hæc inscriptio, quæ significat, Laudate Iáh, ostendit quid contineat Psalmus, nempe exhortationem ad canendas Dei laudes. Digressus est autem ordine alphabetico: ita ut singuli versus contineant duas literas, à quibus hemistichia incipiunt: præterquam in duobus postremis, in quibus sex sunt literæ, & ita impletur totum alphabetum.*

Confitebor Iehouæ יהוה יהוה Celebrabo Iehouam. Eueham laudibus. 2 Explorata omnibus volētibus ea. כל קנינים לך חסדך peruestigabilia omnibus qui optant ea. vel delectantur ipsis. i. quæ inueniri & cognosci possunt ab iis qui suum studium ad ea consideranda applicant. 3 Gloria, כבוד ודוד פלגו. Hebraismus, Quicquid agit Deus, plenum est, magnifica dignitate. Non vult autem Deus tantum specimen extare suæ virtutis, vel imperii in suis operibus, sed vult præcipuè cognosci suam iustitiam quam adhibet in suis tuendis & cōseruādis.

4 Fecit ut memoria celebrentur mirabilia sua: זכר עשה לנפלאותיו. *Ad verbum, Memoria fecit mirabilibus suis. i. Talia sunt quæ fecit ut nunquam possint memoria excidere. vel, ut digna sint perpetua memoria. Alij, Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum.* 5 Elscam ערץ Prædam, eam scilicet quam secum abstulerunt filii Israel quum egredierentur ex Aegypto. Vel potius significat, se liberalē præstitisse erga populum suū. q.d. Memoria fæderis illius fecit ut tot beneficiis assidue prosequutus sit populum suum. Memor fuit יזכור Fut. Heb. pro præter.

6 Fortitudinem operū suorū annunt. כח ופעולתו בגודל Virtutē factorum suorū manifestauit. vel, declarauit. i. facinora summe virtutis. q.d. Patet fecit virtutem operum suorum populo suo quum dedit illis hereditatem Gentium.

Table 1: Estienne's Types by Family and Body Size

Roman Typefaces

5. The 'Estienne' Nonpareil Roman [R 42] (1533)
8. The 'Estienne' Brevier Roman [R 56]
or *Petit-texte* (1545)
4. The 'Estienne' Small Pica Roman [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (1533)
6. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539)
3. The 'Estienne' English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
2. The 'Estienne' Great Primer Roman [R 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1530)
9. The 'Estienne' Roman Titling on Two-line Long
Primer [R 55] or *Lettres de deux points de
Petit-romain* (1553)
7. The 'Estienne' Two-line English Roman [R 195]
or *Petit-canon* (1543)
1. The 'Estienne' Two-line Double Pica Roman
[R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530)

Italic Typefaces

13. The 'Badius' Brevier Italic [It 52] or *Petit-texte* (1554)
12. The 'Estienne' Bourgeois Italic [It 64]
or *Gaillarde* (1544)
10. The First 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1532)
11. The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81]
or *Cicéro* (1542)

Greek Typefaces

14. The 'Estienne' First Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or
Petit-texte (1532)
16. The 'Estienne' Second Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or
Petit-texte (1545)
17. Garamont's Royal Pica Greek [Gk 80]
or *Cicéro* (1546)

15. Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118]
or *Gros-romain* (1543)
18. Garamont's Royal Double Pica Greek [Gk 150]
or *Gros-parangon* (1550)
19. The 'Estienne' Greek Titling on Two-line Long
Primer [Gk 55] or *Lettres de deux points de
Petit-romain* (1551)

Hebrew Square Typefaces

28. Picard's First Square Hebrew on English [Hb 1.8]
or *Saint-augustin* (1551)
20. The First 'Estienne' Square Hebrew on English
[Hb 2] or *Saint-augustin* (1527–28)
21. The Second 'Estienne' Square Hebrew on English
[Hb 2.2] or *Saint-augustin* (1532)
27. Picard's Square Hebrew on Great Primer [Hb 2.2]
or *Gros-romain* (1543)
24. The Third 'Estienne' Square Hebrew on English
[Hb 2.4] or *Saint-augustin* (1539)
22. The First 'Estienne' Square Hebrew on Two-line Pica
[Hb 4] or *Gros-parangon* (1539)
26. Picard's Square Hebrew on Two-line Pica [Hb 4]
or *Gros-parangon* (1543)
25. Picard's Square Hebrew on Two-line Great Primer
[Hb 6] or *Petit-canon* (1543)

Rabbinical Typefaces

29. The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew on Brevier
[Hb 1.2] or *Petit-texte* (1556)
23. The 'Estienne' Rabbinical Hebrew on English
[Hb 2] or *Saint-augustin* (1539)

Garamont's Canons: Roman Type Design in Sixteenth-Century France

Despite its title, the subject of this paper is in no way bellicose: the 'Canon' to be discussed here certainly is no cannon but simply refers to a typeface, or more precisely, a specific body size used in historical typography. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the exact meaning of the term was not clear. As far as I know, 'Canon' was first mentioned by Geoffroy Tory, the well-known engraver, book illustrator and one of the major agents of the renaissance of the book arts in Paris during the 1520s.^a In his *Champfleury, au quel est contenu Lart & Science de la deue & vraye Proportion des Lettres Attiques*,¹ itself one of the earlier French-language works in Roman letter,² the term Canon refers to a formal Gothic type. Palaeographers call it *lettre de forme*, which is the contemporaneous term in French,^b or *textura*, which is the current technical term.³

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century^c liturgical books such as missals demanded three body sizes, namely: the *lettre de canon*, *lettre de messel* and *glose*. The *Missale ad usum Sarum*, printed in Paris by Jean Adam in 1521, provides a perfect illustration of the use of these three sizes of Gothic type.⁴ In fact, both 'lettre de messel' and 'glose' appear in Maheu's 1520 inventory, that was drawn up by Adam.⁵ The three terms show up again, some twenty years later, in the 1558 inventory of the Bruges printer Corijn van Belle (Quirinus Balliolinus),⁶ where they are mentioned as 'canonletteren, misselletteren, mediaenletteren'. In early sixteenth-century Spain the terms 'lettra de glosar' and 'lettra de missal' were current.⁷

Both 'messel' and 'glose' seem to have fallen out of use towards the middle of the sixteenth century, though Garamont in his preface⁸ to Chambellan's *Pia et religiosa meditatio* (1545) still uses the term 'glossa' to mean a small-sized type. Plantin too, in his *Dialogues françois et flamands* of 1567,⁹ spoke of 'lettres de messel, cannon et petit canon de messel, glose de messel'. But in his inventories, which begin in 1556, neither 'glose' nor 'lettre de messel' were used.¹⁰

In principle the three terms *canon*, *messel*, *glose*, applied in former times¹¹ specifically to Gothic types measuring roughly 220, 110 and 90/80 mm for twenty lines.¹² The latter names ('messel' and 'glose') came under strong competition from the corresponding terms for Roman body sizes (*Gros-romain*, *Saint-augustin*, and *Cicéro*).^d The Roman terms finally won out in practice and in typographical terminology; 'Canon' alone resisted this Romanization.^e Even though the word was initially tied to Gothic types, eventually its meaning was extended to any letter family with body sizes measuring broadly between 220 and 280 mm. The reason for the persistence of the term is clear: until the first quarter of the sixteenth century, large-sized Romans or Italics were unused North of the Alps. As opposed to small or middle-sized Romans that had shown up in the first incunabula, large-sized Romans were to appear later in the development of typography. While Gothics up to 200 mm for 20 lines (30

Summary

The merit of having used the first complete set of Old-face Romans belongs to Robert I Estienne. These splendid Romans are generally attributed to Garamont. This paper contends that there exists no identity but merely a strong similitude between the Estienne and Garamont types and that Garamont imitated the Estienne Romans.

Revision of 'Les Canons de Garamont: essai sur la formation du caractère romain en France au seizième siècle', in *Refugium animae bibliotheca: Festschrift für Albert Kolb*, Wiesbaden, 1969, 481–500. Translation William Kemp, Montreal.

1. Reprinted: Paris, 1931, f. 72v; Moreau, 3: 515, no. 1929.

2. Catach, 1968, 12, n. 6 quotes Platina's *Genealogies*, Paris, P. Vidoue for Galliot I du Pré, 1519 (Moreau, 2: 557, no. 2175) as the earliest. See also Martin, 2000, 195.

3. Vervliet, 1968, 36–48.

4. Renouard, 1964, 1: pl. A6.

5. Coyecque, 1894, 204: 'une fonte de lettre de Messel, avec la glose'.

6. Schouteet, 1946, 36, no. 15.

7. Madurell Marimon, 1955, 189; 455; 669, citing documents dated 1494, 1507, 1529.

8. It has been frequently reprinted; see Omont, 1888, 10–14; Johnson-Morison, 1924, 49–51; Chèvre, 1955, 150–3.

9. Reprint Antwerp, 1964, 264.

10. Early inv., 1960.

11. Guillaume I Le Bé, Garamont's younger colleague (Omout, 1887, 273 sqq.) uses that term to designate a Hebrew Sephardic cursive, mostly called Rabbinical in later typographical terminology.

12. On the measurement in mm. of types, see above p. 6–7.

a. Wolf, 1969, 122–3.

b. Blackletter in English.

c. The Roman Church started using Roman from the Council of Trent (1545–63) onwards.

d. Wolf, 1969, 116 and 110.

e. Most Western languages use the term; Reed, 1952, 32.

f. The titling is to be found in all parts of Western Europe, until, from the 1540s onwards, it was gradually superseded by French display letters. Appearing in 1517 it was an immediate success: Matthias Schurer and Johan Prüss the Younger in Strasbourg, Johan Schoeffer in Mainz, Adam Petri in Basle, Dirk Martens in Louvain used it from 1517–18 onwards (Vervliet, 1968, 238). Available in such typefoundries as Stubenvoll (Mori, 1955, pl. 21) in Frankfurt or Lamesle (Johnson, 1965, f. H4v) and Gando in Paris, it is no surprise to find small printing shops using it during later centuries up to the end of the eighteenth century.

g. Vervliet, 2005a.

13. Isaac, 1938, 46, no. 12742.

14. Goldschmidt, 1950, 21;

Proctor, 1903, 75, no. 10645; 203, pl. 1.

15. Isaac, 1937, 6, no. 12074.

16. Isaac, 1937, 18, no. 12298.

17. Isaac, 1937, 19, no. 12307.

18. Morison, 1924, pl. 11.

19. Isaac, 1937, 27, no. 12402.

20. Isaac, 1937, 38, no. 12602.

21. Isaac, 1937, 45, nos.

12713–14.

22. Isaac, 1937, 53, no. 12901.

23. Isaac, 1937, 55, no. 12928.

24. Isaac, 1937, 73, no. 13235.

25. Isaac, 1937, 82, no. 13388; Tinto, 1967, 29.

26. Isaac, 1937, 86, no. 13468.

27. Isaac, 1937, 131, no. 13995, 13997.

28. Isaac, 1937, 224, no. 14160; the date given for Morison, 1924, pl. 283 (1516) is erroneous, the editio princeps of 1516 having been confused with that of the June 1519 edition (Isaac, 1937, no. 14155 and 14214).

29. MA 131a; Vervliet, 1968, R 12.

30. K.F. Bauer, 1958, 16–19.

31. Roth, 1897, 772–89.

32. Vervliet, 1968, 36–43.

33. Vervliet, 2003, no. 1.

34. Moreau, 3: nos. 255, 346 and 470.

35. As in Siliceus, *Arithmetica*, 1526 (Moreau, 3: 305, no. 1053).

36. Morison, 1924, pls. 103–6.

37. Armstrong, 1986.

points) were quite common in the early years of printing, Romans of such a size only appear after 1500.

The use of Roman titlings, i.e. a set restricted to capitals cast on the whole body, seems to start in 1503 in Venice at the press of Bernardus de Vitalibus with a series of 12 mm capitals.¹³ Bernard Ratdolt in Augsburg followed in 1506 with 8 mm Roman capitals, which he engraved or had engraved for a booklet on Roman epigraphy, Peutinger's *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi*.¹⁴ During the following ten years, other Italian printing shops kept up with several series of new capitals: in Rome, at the presses of Joannes Beplin,¹⁵ Gabriele da Bologna¹⁶ and Paulo Incoronato¹⁷; in Venice, those of Gregorio de Gregoriis,¹⁸ Bernardus Vercellensis,¹⁹ Philippus Pincius,²⁰ Joannes Tacuinus,²¹ Aldus Manutius,²² Jacobus Pentius²³ and Guilielmus da Fontaneto²⁴; in Florence, there were the Giunti²⁵ and Bernardo Zuchetta,²⁶ not to forget the famous Hebrew printer, Hieronymus Soncinus²⁷ peregrinating around in Northern Italy. The history of these types and their successors has yet to be written. Up to the present they have hardly been studied nor have they been systematically reproduced.

North of the Alps, Ratdolt's example was taken up a dozen years later in Basle by Johannes Froben, Erasmus's friend and publisher. The earliest known appearance of what would become a very popular 8.3 mm Roman [fig. 1], is dated March 1517.²⁸ A bit later this typeface shows up at the presses of Adam Petri in Basle, Matthias Schurer in Strasbourg and Johan Schoeffer in Mainz. Over the next thirty years, it spread over all of Western Europe, including Italy.^f The Plantin-Moretus Museum still has a set of matrices.²⁹ It was most likely cut by Peter Schoeffer the Younger, the son of the prototypographer and associate of Gutenberg. Konrad Bauer has studied its history and according to his plausible hypothesis,³⁰ it was cut specifically for a work similar to that of Peutinger: Huttinger's *Collectanea antiquitatum in urbe atque agro Moguntino*; it was published in Mainz in 1520 by Peter's brother, Johann Schoeffer, but we know that it had been set by 1517.³¹ Up to this point we have only dealt with titling capitals. Complete sets of large-sized Romans, including lower case, were to be found some ten years later, not in Italy or Basle, but in Paris.

Around 1530 the great period of Parisian typography begins. The Italianate court of Francis I scorned the then current Gothic type, favouring instead the use of Romans. Geoffroy Tory was the champion of this 'new wave'. In fact, this led to the decline and death of Northern France's fine Gothics. An apparent death for sure, since they would survive, with or without adaptation, in England and the Low Countries for some time to come.³²

Parisian printers used Romans as text types from the early years of printing in that city on but like printers elsewhere they used no body sizes bigger than about Great Primer (110–125 mm), apart from titlings.⁸ Larger sizes were to be introduced by Robert I Estienne, Colines's stepson. Colines himself, France's foremost letter-engraver in the 1520s, began in 1518 with a rather clumsy copy of the 1517 Schoeffer capitals.³³ He improved this type design from year to year. His Aristotle, Lefevre and Despauterius editions of 1522 and 1523³⁴ exhibit decent designs,³⁵ albeit influenced by the heaviness of the current Gothic type: an influence that was to live on for decades to come.³⁶

The merit of introducing the first complete set of Old-face Romans worthy of the name belongs to Robert I Estienne, one of the greatest scholar-printers of the sixteenth century.³⁷ The cutting of these splendid Romans is gen-



FIGURE 1 Schoeffer's Roman
Titling on Two-line English
[R 8.3] or *Lettres de deux*

points de Saint-augustin (1517)
as cast from matrices (MA
131a) preserved in the Plantin-

Moretus Museum, Antwerp.
Courtesy of the Plantin-
Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

erally attributed to the famous Parisian punchcutter, Claude Garamont. The fact that the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp still possesses many sets of Garamont matrices today has led us to examine them more carefully. First, we would like to know more about this admirable character, the prototype of all Romans called Old-face,³⁸ which were produced during the next few centuries. Second, we may question the reliability of the attribution to Garamont.

As will be seen, this whole matter is more complicated than has been thought. To begin with, Robert I Estienne was one of the six stepsons of Simon de Colines, who had married Guyonne Viart, the widow of Henry I Estienne (d.1520).³⁹ According to tradition Robert Estienne worked with his stepfather as a foreman and corrector until 1526, when he married and took over the paternal house and business on the Rue St.-Jean-de-Beauvais. Simon de Colines, for his part set up shop in another house on the same street. The separation was clearly commercial in nature. Apparently, the relationship between the two men was not disturbed.^h

The typographic career of Robert Estienne can be divided into two periods: first, from 1526 to 1530; and second, from 1530 to his death in Geneva in 1559.⁴⁰ During the first years he used the old Romans, even Gothics, that were part of the stock of his father, Henry I, and stepfather, Simon de Colines. At the end 1530 and early 1531 there suddenly appeared three splendid Romans:⁴¹ a Canon (280 mm), a Gros-romain (115 mm) and a Saint-augustin (92 mm) [fig. 2–3]. From this point on, Estienne's typography gradually attained the harmonious clarity that most bibliophiles associate with Francis I's most famous printer. The biggest of these types, the Canon, is normally attributed to Garamont.⁴² It is reputed to be the same letter that Plantin's inventories,⁴³ as well as the type-founder Guillaume II Le Bé's type-specimens⁴⁴ and those of the early German typefoundries⁴⁵, specifically attribute to Garamont.

Is this right? I do not think so. In my opinion Estienne's Canon is very similar but not identical to that of Plantin, Le Bé or Berner. Indeed, the similarity is so strong we can safely suppose the second is an imitation of the first.ⁱ But there is no identity. In fact, during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, several Canon Romans surfaced in Paris.^j All are very close one to the other and they have not generally been distinguished, or at least not sufficiently, from one another.

h. See, however, above p. 98–100.

i. Barker (in Schreiber, 1982, 2, n.2) disagrees: 'It seems unlikely that Garamont would copy or adapt others that his own types'.

j. See p. 153 and 174 below.

38. Also called Renaissance Romans or Garaldes.

39. Veyrin-Forrer, 1995.

40. Armstrong, 1986, 215; Vervliet 2003.

41. The three sizes can well be studied in the *Dictionarium seu Latinae linguae thesaurus* of 1531–32 (Moreau, 4: 86, no. 151); all three appeared for the first time in Rutilius Lupus, *De figuris sententiarum* of 28 January 1531 (Moreau, 3: 596, no. 2276).

42. See a.o. Johnson, 1936, 74 and 1939, 198, no. 6; Carter, 1966, 40–1, n.15 and 23.

43. Early inv., 1960, 21 (MA 2–3a).

44. Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 16.

45. Dreyfus, 1960, pls. 2 and 3.

De figuris sententiarum ac verborum.

P. Rutilii Lupi Rhetoris antiquissimi libri duo,
ita nunc restituti, vt & legi & intelligi magno studio-
forum commodo possint.

Aquilæ Romaniliber vnus.

Iulii Rufiniani de iis quæ ab Aquila prætermis-
sæ erant, libellus: & præterea eiusdem libri duo.



FIGURE 2 The *Canon*, *Gros-romain*, and *Saint-augustin* appearing together on the title-page of Rutilius Rufus, *De figuris sententiarum et verborum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 28 January 1531. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

PARISIIS.
EX OFFICINA ROBERTI STEPHANI.
M. D. XXX.

A B C D E F G H I L M
N O P Q R S T V Z
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p
q r s t u v x y æ Æ & ſt

FIGURE 3 The *Canon* assembled from the *Biblia* and the *Hebraea, Chaldaea ... nomina*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532 and 1537. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, and Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

The first is Estienne's (1530),⁴⁶ the second Colines's (1536)⁴⁷ [fig. 4]. The third, Wechel's,⁴⁸ is also the one used by Plantin (1561), Le Bé (1599) and Berner (1592)⁴⁹ [fig. 5–6]. It should be noted that I refer here to these types by the names of the users rather than engravers. The three Romans are very similar but a closer study of them reveals noticeable differences. The most recent version, and the best known,⁵⁰ that of Andreas Wechel and Plantin, occurs from 1549 or 1550 onwards;^k it can be distinguished from the oldest, that of Estienne, by a more open A, with a sharper apex, by a more open, rounder and better balanced C, by a classic M instead of Estienne's Bembo-M; by a lower case a whose bowl closes higher up the stem; by a g that is a bit shorter; and by the ligatures ct and & that are a little narrower. The resemblances are no less evident. It is clear Garamont, who cut the Wechel-Plantin version, was copying Estienne's version, it being unlikely that he made only a few rectifications or refurbished the old punches. There are too many differences, hardly perceptible at the first sight and to the naked eye, but unmistakable nevertheless. Estienne's engraver is clearly an accomplished master: it is he who during the years 1528–30 cut, not only the Canon discussed but also the two other smaller sizes Estienne started using in 1530: a Gros-romain (115 mm) and a Saint-augustin (92 mm). The three types were clearly designed by the same hand. They inaugurate a new era of Romans in an elegant, light, Italianate style as advocated by Geoffroy Tory. Several candidates exist for this work, Garamont among them – a subject to which I will return.

k. Vervliet, 2008, no. 151.

46. Cicero's *Oratoriae partitiones* of 6 September 1530 (Moreau, 3: no. 2027) probably is its first occurrence; see Carter, 1966, 40, n.23, Tyler, 1949, 64–8 and Barker, 1974, 12, n.31.

47. As far as I know, its first appearance is in Finé, *Euclidis demonstrationes* and Sallustius, both of 1536 (Moreau, 5: no. 163 and 301).

48. A. Foclin (Foucquelin), *Rhetorique*, 1555.

49. See above, notes 43–5.

50. Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 110–11; 1987, 6–7.

C H I R V R G I A.
 è Græco in Latinum conuerſa,
 Vido Vidio Florentino in-
 terprete, cum nonnullis
 eiufdem Vidij cõ-
 mentarijs.

FIGURE 4 The Canon first used on the title-page of Vidus
 by Colines (1536) as it appears Vidius, *Chirurgia*, Paris,

Pierre Gautier, 1544.

tú^ˆdine miserationũ
 tu^ˆarum sperantibus,
 partem aliquã & so-
 cietatem donare di-
 gnêris, cum tuis factis
 apóstolis & martyri-
 bus: cum Ioá^ˆanne, Sté-
 phano, Mathía, Bár-
 S iiii

*Lettre ditte Gros Canon de la taille de Garamond
 de laquelle on a imprimé le grand Breviaire du Roy*

FIGURE 5 Garamont's *Canon* as shown in the Le Bé-Moretus specimen of 1598 (Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 153, f. 20d), with Le Bé's note: 'Lettre ditte Gros Canon de la taille de Garamond, de laquelle on a Imprime Le grand Breviaire du Roy'. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Colines's later version of the Canon, appearing in 1536,⁵¹ is even lighter. Its distinctive characters are a narrow H, an a with a flattened bowl and a g with a very small upper counter. Those differences may seem to us less elegant and less accomplished than Estienne's version, still they are not so great that the two may not have originated at the same workshop. These two earlier versions¹ of Estienne and Colines, have a distinctive M that type historians call a Bembo-M, that is without an right upper serif. The Garamont M of 1550 is doubly-seriffed and has wing-like serifs, a form that became classical. It should be noted that the Bembo-M was current, even inevitable, in Paris between 1530 and 1550. Simon de Colines avoided such a M in the typefaces that generally are attributed to him. As for Garamont, the Bembo-M must have seemed normal to him in his early work, which Guillaume I Le Bé described as 'de la premiere taille' (in his first style).⁵² Moreover, even in the case of the Wechel-Plantin face, the engraver provided two M, one in the Bembo, the other in the Old-face fashion. But a minute comparison of the Bembo-M of Estienne and the Wechel-Plantin one reveals that the two did not come from the same punch.

Let us follow the further evolution of Roman in Paris in this Canon size. Clearly it became very successful, coming along at just the right time to eliminate the late-medieval aspects of French typography, which used to combine small-sized Roman as text types with large round Gothics ('lettres de somme' or 'Rotunda') as display letters. In 1533 an anonymous punchcutter^m provided Chevallon with a set of titling capitals that were no great success⁵³ [fig. 7]. A generation later, Pierre Haultin too cut a Canon Roman. I do not know when it was engraved,ⁿ but it appears from 1571 onwards.⁵⁴ In 1546–47, Guillaume I Le Bé,⁵⁵ then dwelling in Venice, cut a Canon, much like Estienne's [fig. 8], after a design by Jean Arnoul *dit* Picard. Not used North of the Alps, this typeface had an archaic e, that is with an oblique crossbar. Later Italian printers changed it for a normal e, thus making it very similar to the Estienne Canon.

1. Another early version appearing in 1531 and sometimes ascribed to Augereau but rather attributable to François Gryphius, may be added here; see p. 176 below.

m. Probably Gryphius; see p. 177 below.

n. Vervliet, 2008, no. 152.

51. See above, note 47.

52. Carter, 1967, 17.

53. Ludovicus de Saxonia, *Vita Iesu Christi*, 1534 (Moreau, 4: no. 1067).

54. Rawles-Screech, 1987, no. 141.

55. Omont, 1987, 282; Vervliet, 1967, 31; Amert, 2005, 258–9.



FIGURE 7 The Chevallon Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Lettres de deux*

points Gros-romain (1533) assembled from Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi*,

Paris, Claude Chevallon, 1534. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

D. HIERONIMVS
 in ix. Hieremiæ.
 Nec parentum nec, maiorum
 error, sequendus est: sed autho-
 ritas scripturarum, & Dei do-
 centis imperium.

FIGURE 8 The Canon of
 Guillaume I Le Bé as shown
 in Le Bé's scrapbook (Paris,
 Bibliothèque nationale, ms.
 NAF 4528, f. 20; Omont,
 1887, 282).

In the Low Countries, François Guyot,⁵⁶ a Parisian punchcutter and type-founder in Antwerp and London, cut a Canon Roman in the Estienne fashion but its peculiarities make it easily distinguishable. Prior to 1622, an unknown German engraver provided the Berner type-foundry at Frankfort with yet another version,⁵⁷ a close copy of the 1549 Garamont that has been used in its 1592 type-specimen.

To conclude this survey: in 1621, Jean Jannon in Sedan cut his famous copy of Garamont's types, Canon included.⁵⁸ Famous not so much for the quality of the design but as for the long-term confusion it created concerning the origin of the punches. Known under the name 'Romains de l'Université' and preserved at the Imprimerie nationale in Paris, they were attributed to Garamont. It was Beatrice Warde who, in 1927,⁵⁹ finally got to the bottom of this legend. But her discovery came too late: almost all modern Garamont revivals ('Garamonds') had already been modeled on Jannon's: thus, because of the great renown accorded to Garamont, people attributed to him types that were made nearly a century after his time.

The question now is whether the same process of mythmaking did not play out in the opposing direction, resulting in the attribution to Garamont of types that were cut before his time. In other words, are we sure that Garamont was really the engraver of Estienne's magnificent Romans, and in particular of the 1530 Canon, as serious studies of sixteenth-century typography repeat?

o. Relying, no doubt, on Paillard, 1914.

56. Vervliet, 1968, R 7.

57. Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3.

58. Beaujon, 1927.

59. Beaujon, 1926.

60. Carter, 1967, 16–17.
61. Veyrin-Forrer, 1956 and 1987.
62. Desgraves, 1960; Carter, 1967, 42–3.
63. Beaujon, 1926; Carter, 1967, 40–2.
64. Renouard, 1964, 1: 114–18; 275–7.
65. See n. 42 above.
66. Parent, 1973; Bernard, 1856, 15–16; Duprat, 1861, 526–7.
67. Renouard, 1964, 3: nos. 39b, 41, 42, 44, 46–8, 50, 51, 53b, 57, 61.
68. Coyecque, 1905, 1: no. 3137.
69. Coyecque, 1905, 2: no. 5439.
70. Greffe-Brousselle, 1997, 154, no. 540; Guillemot, 1997.
71. Omont, 1887, 278; Carter, 1967, 18.
72. Renouard, 1901, 105.
73. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 22117; late as a testimony but seemingly reliable, a passage in the *Lettre de M. Fournier l'ainé ... à l'auteur du Mercure* (1756a, p. 121–6), refers to the original Inventory drawn up by Le Bé and Le Sueur after Garamont's death in 1561. The letter of the elder Fournier bears on the controversy with his younger brother about Garamont's and Le Bé's punches sold to Plantin. The elder Fournier underpins his thesis with the following citation: 'ce qui se justifie notamment par l'inventaire, la prise et la vente que Guillaume Le Bé et Jean Le Sueur, autre fondeur de caractères, firent de la fonderie de Garamont après son décès le 18 9bre 1561 à la requeste de dame Isabeau Le Fèvre, veuve du sieur Claude Garamond en son vivant graveur de lettres et maître fondeur à Paris et sieur André Wechel, marchand libraire juré audit lieu, exécuteurs du testament du dit défunt. J'ay entre les mains cet inventaire en original et l'on y voit que ce ne fut point Plantin mais Guillaume Le Bé qui achète les poinçons et presque toute la fonderie de Garamont'. See also Renouard, 1901, 105; Beaujon, 1926, 142; Omont, 1887, 278; Carter, 1967, 3–4.
74. Carter, 1967.
75. Carter, 1967, 17–18.
76. Carter, 1967, 8.
77. Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 136.
78. See n. 54 and n. 64 above. The earliest archival date is 1546. See below, p. 243.
79. Renouard, 1965, 82–3.

Posing the question is one thing, answering it is another. Let us see first who the possible candidates are in Paris for such work. First, there is Simon de Colines, who was active as a printer from 1520 to 1546. Then, there is Robert I Estienne, whom Guillaume II Le Bé states as being trained cutting type.⁶⁰ There are also Antoine Augereau (d. 1534),⁶¹ Pierre Haultin (d. 1589)⁶² and Claude Garamont (d. 1561).⁶³

As for the last two, it is far from proven that they were active before 1530. However that may be, the engraving of Attaignant's music types (1528) has often been attributed to Haultin,⁶⁴ just as Estienne's Romans have been to Garamont.⁶⁵ But let us put aside Haultin and see what we know for sure about Garamont's professional life.

Contemporary archival sources yield the following solid information on Garamont's professional career:

1. In 1540 Garamont contracts to cut the Grecs du Roy under the supervision of Angelos Vergikios and Robert Estienne; in 1541 the Court provides an advance to the last.⁶⁶
2. In 1545 Garamont links with Jean de Gagny, chancellor of the University of Paris and later a political and religious adversary of Estienne. As a result, Garamont ventured into the world of publishing. A dozen publications are known to bear his name, most in association with his brother-in-law Pierre Gaultier, a printer, or with Jean Barbé, another Parisian publisher.⁶⁷
3. In 1545, a contract mentions a Petit-romain by Garamont to be cast by Jacques Parmentier.⁶⁸
4. In his 1549 testament Jean de Gagny describes Garamont as the best letter-engraver in Paris.⁶⁹
5. In 1551, Garamont marries a second time to Isabeau Lefevre.⁷⁰
6. In 1551, the young engraver Guillaume I Le Bé (1523–98), back from a long stay in Venice and Rome (1545–50), comes to work with Garamont.⁷¹
7. In 1554, a dispute between Garamont and the widow of Chrétien Wechel is resolved.⁷²
8. In 1561, Garamont dies. Most of his typographical material is bought by Guillaume I Le Bé; the remainder by Christopher Plantin and André Wechel.⁷³

All of this information bears on the period from 1541 until 1561. Other sources, which are later, give some further details though they should be read with caution. The most important is a Memorandum on letter-engravers left by Guillaume II Le Bé, that Carter has published and commented upon.⁷⁴ He situates it around 1643.

The Memorandum gives us the following information concerning the first period of Garamont's life: he was apprenticed to Augereau in about 1510; he worked with Haultin, then with Chevallon and then with his widow. At that time he cut his Saint-Augustin and Cicéro Romans, called 'de la première taille'; finally he became an independent master working in the Rue des Carmes.⁷⁵ Generally, the bits of information provided by Guillaume II Le Bé are correct, except with respect to the dates.⁷⁶ Le Bé tended quite markedly to push back the dates back in time. Indeed, we know that Augereau was executed in 1534,⁷⁷ that Haultin began his career as an engraver in 1528 at the earliest,⁷⁸ and that Chevallon died in 1537.⁷⁹

For all these reasons, I propose to interpret the passage in the Memorandum in the following way:

1. Garamont was apprenticed to Augereau until the death of the latter, who was executed and burned as a heretic in 1534.
2. He may have perfected his trade under Pierre Haultin.
3. About 1535 or 1536, he began to work for himself, first at Chevallon's, then with the latter's widow, Charlotte Guillard.
4. It is likely that Estienne found him there in about 1540 and proposed to Francis I that he engrave the punches for the royal Greeks.

This hypothetical outline fits quite well with the little that we know about Garamont's private life. Writing in 1689, the historian of French typography, La Caille,⁸⁰ noted that Garamont had married a Guillemette Gaultier, that more recent authors have identified with the daughter of Pierre Gaultier,⁸¹ a typesetter and printer, who formed a publishing association with Garamont in 1545, as mentioned above.⁸²

The career of this Pierre Gaultier seems to run parallel to Garamont's during the years 1534 and 1562,⁸³ the year of his death. Gaultier married Richarde Nicolas in 1537.⁸⁴ Garamont's first wife, Guillemette Gaultier, may not have been Pierre's daughter, but rather his sister. This may explain that, in 1543, Garamont was the god-father to a son of Pierre Gaultier.⁸⁵

There is also a Clère Garamont,⁸⁶ who married in 1554 and might have been born about 1534. We do not know whether she was Garamont's daughter.^p If she was, the date of Garamont's marriage would roughly coincide with the beginning of his career as an independent engraver. The approximate date of 1535 fits in well with the series of printers that Garamont worked for: Augereau (d.1534), Haultin, Chevallon (d.1537). There is, therefore, no reason to have Garamont's career begin in 1510,⁸⁷ as the Le Bé Memorandum proposes;⁸⁸ nor in 1528, if we were to accept the idea that Garamont cut the Estienne Romans.

All the above argumentation, albeit, I concede, partially founded on hypotheses, tends nevertheless to show that Garamont was not the creator of Estienne's Canon,⁸⁹ as according to my view, Garamont was not yet working independently. So then, in the end, who did cut the Estienne Canon? In truth, we simply do not know.^q

At first sight, there were only two masters⁹⁰ who were capable in 1528–30 of making such a well-designed type as the Estienne Canon: Colines or Augereau. In favour of the first, there is the Estienne Saint-augustin, that stylistically is very similar to the Canon and ascribed to Colines in the Le Bé Inventory.⁹¹ This inventory was made or updated in 1618 but its attributions are generally exact. Unfortunately, the peculiar, bolder and heavier, style of the known Colines types contrasts with the lightness of Estienne's. Should we go a step further and suppose that Colines changed styles when he worked for his stepson, Estienne?

The other candidate is Antoine Augereau, Garamont's master. His Roman Saint-augustin is excellent work and gives a good idea of his talents: he may be considered capable of cutting as accomplished a type as the Estienne Canon. It remains to be seen whether he did it or not. Can we solve the problem? Yes, I think so. But we must begin with a strict chronology of all Roman types that first appeared between 1530 and 1540 publications of Colines, Augereau, Estienne and Chevallon. In this way, I believe we can identify the creator of both Estienne's and Colines's Canons with some assurance.^r

p. She probably was not: in his testament Garamont did not name any kinship, except his mother and niece (Guilleminot, 1997, 137–8).

q. Maître Constantin has been suggested. See p. 166–7 below.

r. See p. 164–7 below.

80. Beaujon, 1926, 135; Renouard, 1965, 162; Chèvre, 1955, 150, n.5 citing an archival document: Paris, Archives nationales, LL 757, 86v.

81. Wolf, 1940, 140; Chèvre, 1955, 150; Johnson, 1959, 47.

82. See notes 8 and 67 above.

83. Renouard, 1965, 163.

84. Renouard, 1905, 106.

85. Beaujon, 1926, 135.

86. Renouard, 1905, 105.

87. That may be his birth year; he then would be a contemporary of Robert Granjon (1513–90) and older than Guillaume Le Bé (1523–98).

88. Carter, 1967, 17.

89. We should note that some specialized studies such as Beaujon, 1926, or Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, likewise hesitate to attribute the Estienne canon to Garamont. Johnson (1959, 47) writes: 'Either then Garamont cut the Estienne fount or accepted it as his model'. The second hypothesis probably is the better one.

90. Robert Estienne's candidacy may be ruled out. He was not a very good engraver (Carter, 1967, 16) and we cannot well imagine how he would have found the time to engrave a whole series of new types, immersed as he was in so many scholarly works.

91. Morison, 1957, 18.

For the time being, let us begin by accepting the hypothesis that the engraver was not Claude Garamont. The Canon that he cut about 1550 and is found in certain contemporary imprints, such as Wechel's or Plantin's is a faithful, even more refined, copy of those two earlier Canons [fig. 9]. Garamont's fame has led to his being assigned, incorrectly, I believe, the two first Canon Romans, those of Estienne and Colines. As a result, we have made his career begin too early. The erroneous attribution to him of the 'Romains de l'Université' (Jannon, 1621) prolonged it unduly.

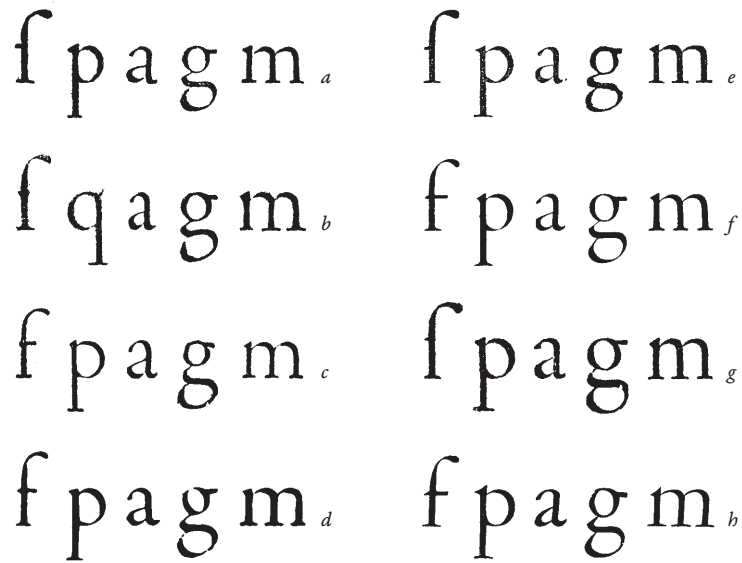


FIGURE 9 Some lower case sorts of eight Canons compared, namely (a) Estienne's of 1530, (b) Gryphius's of 1531,

(c) Colines's 'Finé' of 1536 possibly by Garamont, (d) Guyot's of 1546, (e) Le Bé's of 1547,

(f) Garamont's of 1549, (g) Haultin's of 1571, and (h) Jannon's of 1621.

The Young Garamont: Roman Types Made in Paris in the 1530s

Old-face Roman printing types¹ were introduced in Paris about 1530, where they rapidly met success. It is accepted that this form of type design persisted over the following centuries, that it spread all over Europe, and that it withered away in the eighteenth century but was revived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The design derived from a fount based on the best of late fifteenth-century humanist lettering, and originating at the end of the 1490s at the press of Italy's foremost learned printer, Aldus Manutius Pius.

Between 1530 and 1560, Paris punchcutters enhanced this type design with a comprehensive range of typefaces of outstanding quality. These Paris faces helped forge modern type design. From the second half of sixteenth century onwards, the earliest independent large-scale typefoundries commercialized them, ensuring their permanence and global expansion.

The name of Claude Garamont (d.1561) is firmly attached to France's ascent to leadership in type design in the sixteenth-century. While this is certainly correct for the later Romans by this master, one may question whether he was involved from the very beginning of this typographical revolution, which in Paris has been traced back to the press of Robert I Estienne in the autumn of 1530.² Garamont's mythic status has led to the misattribution to him of many later typefaces.³ A critical appraisal of his beginnings is therefore needed. This paper attempts to do that and to define more exactly Garamont's role as a type designer in that crucial period before 1540, the year he was contracted to cut the famous Royal Greeks.⁴ As no contemporary archival documents are known which would shed some light on the question, the major source of this enquiry will be the 3,500 or so books printed in Paris between 1530 and 1540.

Unlike later times, punchcutters were not then a scarce resource.⁵ In Paris at least, there were many of them. No doubt, the interest of Francis I and his court in the New Learning movement and in the related fields of bibliophily and typography, was important.⁶ For the period under consideration here and as far as letter engraving is concerned, one may refer to the Estienne Master (as yet anonymous), Colines, Augereau, Gryphius, Garamont, Picard and a number of unknown engravers, some excellent, others less than remarkable. At the end of the decade, the plethora caused some of these craftsmen to emigrate. That was the case for Michel Du Boys, Calvin's typographer in Geneva, or François Guyot, who went to work for Christopher Plantin and John Day, in Antwerp and London, respectively. Presumably it was also one of the reasons for Garamont's short-lived excursion into the publishing field in 1545 and the travels of Jean Picard, Guillaume I Le Bé and Robert Granjon around Europe.

The following study lists forty-seven Roman typefaces *made* in Paris between 1530 and 1540. It does not cover the Paris typefaces belonging to a previous period though still used in the 1530s⁶ nor the rare typefaces imported from abroad. Thirteen typefaces, mainly by Colines or the Estienne Master, were described recently⁷ and are reproduced here in their context, albeit with a somewhat abridged description. While most information on the Colines, Estienne,

Summary

This study investigates the early career of Claude Garamont as a designer of the new form of Roman type that appeared in Paris during the 1530s and came to dominate Western typography for the following two centuries. The materials for the enquiry are, principally, the 3,500 or so books printed and published in Paris in the 1530s. The paper first discusses the available sources, the actors on the scene, such as Colines, Constantin, Augereau, Gryphius and Garamont, and the role of Paris as a centre of type design. It attempts to account for the origins of the Paris types, attributing half of them to named letter engravers. It highlights especially the young Garamont's work – starting in the mid 1530s – and corrects some earlier misattributions. It identifies the anonymous 'Estienne Master' as Maitre Constantin. In a second part, the paper describes the typefaces in order of size and date. Two summary tables, arranged respectively by date and punchcutter, conclude the study.

Revision of a paper that appeared in *Typography papers*, 7 (2007), 5–60.

a. See the list of typefaces below, pp. 475–82.

1. Also known as Renaissance Romans and Garaldes.

2. Beaujon, 1926, 135; Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 106; Carter, 1969, 79–86; Barker, 1974.

3. Paillard, 1914; Beaujon, 1926; Mosley, 2006.

4. Vervliet, 2000a.

5. Brooker, 1997, 60.

6. Vervliet, 2005a.

7. Vervliet, 2003a; 2004.

Augereau types has been published earlier and is only summarized here, the paper attempts to circumscribe more precisely the origins of the types, attributing half of them to named punchcutters. It highlights the role of François Gryphius as a provider of types and the first products of the young Garamont. I propose to identify the Estienne Master as Maître Constantin.

Sources

The sources for this enquiry are twofold. First, the books printed in that period, some 3,500 titles, listed in Moreau's *Inventaire chronologique*, vol. 4 (1992) and 5 (2004). By inspecting – non-selectively and without preconceived assumptions – as many of them as feasible and thereby trying to distinguish new or unusual typefaces, some hypotheses can be ventured. First occurrences of typefaces are, if properly grounded, facts and facts deserve respect. I am aware that this method implies an argument *a silentio* and therefore should be used with some restraint. But as there are no contemporary archival documents available, the evidence gathered from the books, however circumstantial, may be included.

Second, the archival sources. Contemporary archival records about the making of and trading in types abound from 1540 onwards, after the major reorganization of judicial and notarial procedures by the Royal Edict of Villers-Cotterets (30 August 1539).⁸ For Garamont alone, they amount to more than forty, all dating between 1540 and 1564. However, for the period before 1540 notarial or parochial acts are much rarer and the scarce ones (as far as they bear on printing and known to me) are not relevant for the subject of this paper.

Two later documents mention the making of types in the period considered here. The first was written by Guillaume Postel (1510–81), an excellent but somewhat eccentric Orientalist.⁹ Upon his return from his first journey to the East and Venice, he published in 1538 a *Linguarum duodecim characteribus ... alphabetum*,¹⁰ which contained short introductions to and alphabets of Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, Ethiopic (called *Indica*), Greek, Georgian, Serbian, Albanian (*Illyrica*), Armenian, and Latin. All alphabets were woodcut except for the Hebrew, Greek and Latin¹¹ ones. For his next publication, the c.1538 *Grammatica Arabica*¹² had a (nondescript) Arabic cut, the first to be engraved North of Alps. Both of Postel's works became standard introductions for contemporary students of Oriental languages. His work was valued at the court: in 1539 he was appointed royal lecturer in mathematics and 'peregrine' languages. About 1543 he left Paris anew for a wandering life around the East and Europe, returning to Paris for a short stop in 1552/3 and for good in 1562. His mysticism and ecumenism (he found some truths in the Koran and Kabbala) made him suspect to both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. For many years he was jailed in Venice, Rome and Lyons. Upon his return in Paris in 1562, he was declared insane and kept secluded in a cloister for the later part of his life. In the 1560s he wrote an hagiography of King Francis I.¹³ A passage (f. 45) dwells on Robert I Estienne, the *Grecs du Roy* and the roles of Garamont and the calligrapher Angelus Cres (Vergikios). He also mentions Estienne's Hebrew ('as good as Bomberg's') and the Estienne Romans which he attributes to Garamont (see the account of Garamont below).

A later but more explicit source is a Memorandum, usually attributed to Guillaume II Le Bé, typesetter in Paris (d.1645). The manuscript, written

8. Moreau, 5: no. 1333.

9. Menager, 1997.

10. Moreau, 5: no. 1037.

11. The latter is described below, (7).

12. Moreau, 5: no. 1036; the date is questionable, see Secret, 1961.

13. London, British Library, ms. Sloane 1413; Secret, 1958; Postel, 1989.

in a mid-seventeenth-century hand, is preserved in a private collection but has been edited, translated and commented on by Harry Carter (1967). The manuscript, which lacks a title and colophon, contains a dozen short biographies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Parisian typographers. It has two parts, readily distinguishable by their handwriting. The second part starts with notices on Jacques I de Sanlecque, Jean Jannon, Antoine Augereau and Nicolas Du Chemin, the two first named living in the seventeenth, the other ones in the sixteenth century. The writer of this part is thought to be Jean-Pierre Fournier *l'ainé* (1706–83). He was the less well-known elder brother of Pierre-Simon Fournier *le Jeune*. He succeeded his father, Jean-Claude Fournier, as director of the Le Bé typefoundry in the early eighteenth century and bought the foundry in 1730.¹⁴ This second part of the Memorandum, being based on an earlier manuscript of the typefounder Pierre Cot (d.1708),¹⁵ has no particular value for the topic of this paper.

The Memorandum's first part is of greater interest. It begins with a short introduction mentioning the roles of Gutenberg and Aldus, then sketches the activities of Simon de Colines, Henry I and Robert I Estienne, Garamont, Haultin, Granjon, Guillaume I Le Bé and Jean Le Sueur, a typefounder whose death is placed in 1595. Briefly it mentions the names of the letter-engravers Maître Constantin (unidentified up to now), Augereau and Jean Arnoul *dit* Picard.

As to the date and author of this first part, two indications are to be found: first, where the paragraph on Colines notes that his Italics were in use 'in Paris even now, in 1643' and second, when Guillaume I Le Bé is described as 'mon père'.¹⁶ This has been interpreted as pointing to Guillaume II Le Bé (c.1565–45) as its author, but as Guillaume's younger brother André (d.1650), likewise a professional letter-engraver and writing-master, was still living, this interpretation is possible though not obligatory. On the other hand it is for our subject sufficient to admit that the author was an informed typographer and had a direct connection with Guillaume I Le Bé, who, in 1551, had worked at Garamont's premises and after the latter's death in 1561, had made the inventory of his estate and purchased some of his typefaces.

How far can one trust a report written more than a century after the events? Let us accept that its author was Guillaume II Le Bé, the eldest and most prominent of Le Bé's three children. Let us also accept that, being in his seventies and coming to the end of his active life, he intended to leave to posterity an account of professional history. Apart from what he remembered from the conversations with his father (who had died nearly half a century earlier, in 1598), he had access to documents of great reliability.

Some of them, such as the letters of recommendation in favour of Guillaume I Le Bé that Robert I Estienne addressed to Garamont in 1550 were discarded by Guillaume II Le Bé¹⁷ but two other ones have been preserved and published.

The first is a scrapbook compiled by Guillaume I Le Bé containing autographic annotations, smoke proofs and printed type-specimens broadly arranged in chronological order.¹⁸ The date of the specimens varies: the earliest displays a typeface dating from the very end of the fifteenth century (a Soncino Hebrew), the latest is dated 1592. The handwritten annotations, ostensibly written at different dates, occasionally mention contemporary events, the latest of which is the siege of Paris by Henry IV in 1591. Clearly the scrapbook was finalized between 1592 and 1598, year of the author's death. It was, no doubt, preserved in the archives of the Le Bé foundry as it is cited by P.-S. Fournier

14. Audin, 1964, 8; Morison, 1957, 28; Fournier, 1995, 3: *43–4.

15. Guérin, 1999, 53–4.

16. Carter, 1967, 28 and 21.

17. Carter, 1967, 33.

18. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Res. X 1665; ms. NAF 4528.

le Jeune,¹⁹ while his elder brother hinted that it was taken away from him 'by someone he trusted'.²⁰

It is difficult to overestimate the worth of this document. Relating concrete facts without detours and hypotheses, it is a trustworthy primary source for any historian of Parisian sixteenth-century typography. Omont (1887) has published its texts with fragments of some, though not all, of the specimens. An updated and complete edition would benefit scholarship. Alas, concerning Garamont's youth or early career, the scrapbook is silent.

The other source for the 1643 Memorandum is an Inventory of the Le Bé typefoundry, most probably written by the author of the Memorandum, as it describes the typefaces of Guillaume I Le Bé as being cut by 'mon père'. The Inventory mentions some hundred fifty sets of matrices and punches owned by the typefoundry in the beginning of the seventeenth century. It reports the body size of the sets as well as the numbers of pieces. It mentions the name of their engraver – or, if unknown, their regular user – though these indications must be considered as the personal opinion of the younger Le Bé. At any event, they were not repeated by Philippe Cottin when, after Guillaume III Le Bé's death in 1685, he drew up a second inventory of the typefoundry.²¹

The redaction of the earlier Inventory was dated variously to 1598 (the year of Guillaume I Le Bé's death), 1608 (the year affixed to the entry of a music type²²) or 1618 (the year of acquisition of the Du Chemin heritage²³). Probably it was drawn up in 1598 at Guillaume I's death (the 1599 Arabic ascribed to the younger Le Bé is missing) and updated in the following years. The original of this Inventory is not preserved though Jean-Pierre Fournier *l'ainé* (1706–83), the author of the second part of the Memorandum described above, says it was in his hands.²⁴ Judging from Fournier's citations it seems that it was annotated by Guillaume II Le Bé. However, there exists a copy or synopsis (dated 1730 and without Le Bé's notes) in the hand of the elder Fournier, that was published by Morison.²⁵ It mentions one type by Augereau, three by Colines, and twenty-seven sets of matrices or punches of a dozen Garamont types.

The Punchcutters

Simon de Colines, the Renowned (c. 1490–1546)

Colines is, with Garamont, the best-known of the punchcutters reviewed here. He started working about 1518 and his main production falls before the start date of this article. For his Romans, he was, as a designer, influenced mainly by the Venetian style of the fifteenth-century Jenson Romans. In the 1530s he hesitantly adapted some of his types to the new Aldine trend. Colines's life and works have received ample attention and the reader may be referred to Renouard (1894), Amert (1991), Veyrin-Forrer (1995), Schreiber (1995) and Vervliet (2003a).

'Maitre Constantin', the Mysterious 'Estienne Master' (c. 1500–c. 1533)

A paragraph in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum cites, next to Augereau and Simon de Colines, a 'maitre Constantin', as one of the initiators of the new style in Paris.²⁶ The context implies that Le Bé considered Constantin as a contemporary of Colines and Augereau and thought him famous enough for an explicit reference.

Up to now type historians have tried in vain to pin down his production.

19. Fournier, 1756, 586.

20. Fournier, 1759, 91.

21. Paris, Archives nationales, MC 70: 182.

22. Morison, 1957, 25.

23. Carter, 1967, II, n. 6.

24. Fournier, 1756a, 123.

25. Morison, 1957.

26. Carter, 1967, 15.

A survey of Paris type making from the early sixteenth century to the 1540s yields no indication whatsoever of a gifted punchcutter active in Paris in the 1520s beside Colines. Moreover, the thesis of this paper – that Garamont did not start before the mid-1530s – allows us to speculate that nobody other than Maître Constantin can have been the cutter of five splendid Aldine Romans (1, 9, 21, 31, and 44), that appeared at Estienne's press from 1530 to 1533.

Therefore I hypothesize the following. First, that the new talent so suddenly arising in 1530 was Constantin. Second, that as a young craftsman, he was recruited by Robert I Estienne about 1528 or 1529, in the wake of the latter's propensity for religious, intellectual and aesthetic innovation. Third, that he died prematurely some five years later. An early disappearance of Constantin might explain the mediocrity of the later Estienne Romans²⁷ and the fact that in 1536 Estienne was not able to procure a decent capital Z to be added to Constantin's Two-line Double Pica in the title-line of Du Baif's *Annotationes*. If these hypotheses prove right, Constantin left no literary record of his excellence other than in that single phrase of Le Bé's Memorandum. That he is not mentioned in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory, does not weaken our thesis: Le Bé never owned any Estienne types.

It is assumed that the model lying before Estienne's engraver was a Great Primer Roman in an Aldus book of 1495, the *De Aetna* of Pietro Bembo.²⁸ In a few years Constantin rendered its design in five sizes from Two-line Double Pica to Nonpareil. He made it into the first Roman in typographic history designed and engraved as a coherent type family.

It may appear iconoclastic to shift the paternity of those paramount Estienne Romans from Garamont to Constantin and to imply that the latter was more a perfecter than an innovator.^b However, one should be aware that Renaissance aesthetics emphasized excellence over individuality and fully approved of skilful or superior imitations.

Antoine Augereau, the Teacher of Garamont (c.1500–1534)

The name of Antonius Augerellus first occurs in March 1532 in an *Opera Aristotelis Latina*, published by Jean I Petit. Its colophon names André Bocard and Augereau as its printers. Augereau is described as Bocard's 'gener', a Latin term meaning either brother-in-law or son-in-law. The *Aristoteles* was Bocard's last publication and the colophon was probably intended to publicize the succession. However, as one of its types occurs already in three Bocard impressions of 1531,²⁹ it seems likely that Augereau had mastered punchcutting about 1530. That also explains why he imitated the new fashion of the lighter Romans introduced by Estienne in the autumn of 1530, rather than the earlier, darker Romans of Colines. The known activity of Augereau lies between 1531 (the year of the earliest occurrence of his Pica Roman) and Christmas Eve 1534 (the day that he was strangled and burned at the stake for heresy). Some forty titles, all published in the years 1532 to 1534 is the known output of his press.³⁰

Carter³¹ and Renouard³² date his birth c.1485, but that seems too early. Augereau was, I suggest, the son-in-law of André Bocard (fl.1491–1532), rather than his brother-in-law as suggested by Renouard³³ and Veyrin-Forrer.³⁴ At his trial Augereau was described as a 'clerc',³⁵ but that does not preclude marriage, if he took only the minor orders, or the competence of the civil judge in such cases.³⁶ He was reportedly introduced to the book trade by Pierre d'Angicourt, his mother's brother and a relative of the Bouchets and Marnefs of Poitiers.

b. An earlier hint such as this (Vervliet, 1969) was largely ignored if not coldly received (Barker in Schreiber, 1982, 2–3, n.2; Armstrong, 1986, 275–6) but it was accepted by Veyrin-Forrer (2005).

27. Vervliet, 2004, 133–5.

28. Johnson, 1959, 41; Barker, 1974, 11.

29. Renouard, 1964, 5: nos. 72, 73, 78.

30. Veyrin-Forrer, 1957; 1987, 3–50; Renouard, 1964, 1: 203–4.

31. Carter, 1967, 38, n.3.

32. Renouard, 1964, 1: 203.

33. Renouard, 1964, 1: 203.

34. Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 8, n.20.

35. Weiss, 1893.

36. Lot-Fawtier, 1957, 3: 267.

Angicourt was a publisher in Fontenay-le-Comte (Vendée) from 1515 to c.1550³⁷ and that too suggests a birth-date of Augereau, later than 1485.

How, where and when Augereau learned the craft of punchcutting is matter for conjecture. Apart from the passage quoted above in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum, the 1563 Plantin and the 1618 Le Bé inventories ascribe two Roman typefaces to him, an English and a Pica. Therefore and on the basis of occurrences of new typefaces in his own printing, one may attribute three Romans (11, 25, and 29) and one Greek³⁸ to him.

Augereau never used a typeface attributable to Garamont. But there are some indications that he had connections with Colines. First, Eusebius's *De evangelica praeparatione* of 1534³⁹ is a joint publication of the two, printed by Augereau. Second, the Colines 1534 Greek Testament⁴⁰ was entirely set in Augereau's Greek but its signatures are set in Roman, very unlike Colines's practice when setting Greek; and that Roman is Augereau's Pica. As Colines never used either typefaces elsewhere, there is little doubt this edition too was composed at Augereau's press. Third, the main text of the 1535 Nyverd-Colines-Du Pré edition of Foresti's *Supplementum*⁴¹ is composed from Augereau's typecases. Fourth, as early as 1531 Augereau had access to Colines's Sophocles Greek⁴² for the Bocard 1531 Vergilius, an edition which is known only from a 1582 reissue of and is described more amply by Kemp (2007) and below (2). As suggested by Barker,⁴³ Colines may have been Augereau's instructor. There may also be a connection with Gryphius, as both used the 1531 Pica Roman, which, however, is usually attributed to Augereau (29).

François Gryphius, the Unexpected (fl. 1531–1545)

One of the unforeseen (and admittedly speculative) results of this inquiry is the prominent role of François Gryphius as a punchcutter. François, the younger brother of the well-known Lyons printer, Sebastian Gryphius, was known hitherto as a modest Parisian printer. Moreau enumerates some one hundred titles of Gryphius's press over the period 1531–40. They are mostly unremarkable booklets of only a few quires. They were intended mainly for the students of Barthelémy Latomus, who first was a lecturer at the Collège de Sainte Barbe and later the royal lecturer for Latin. Gryphius was his regular publisher.

In his New Testaments of 1537 and 1539,⁴⁴ Gryphius is named as the engraver of the illustrations, a claim which Johnson⁴⁵ thought overstated. However, there are, however, slight indications that he may have been some kind of a graphic artist. In 1545, Robert Granjon's Paris address was: 'In taberna Gryphiana'⁴⁶ and there is the reference to a Gryphius (no forename given) as a most excellent punchcutter and printer in the well-known epigram Jean Visagier wrote in 1537 to honour Colines, Estienne and Gryphius.⁴⁷ The praise is commonly considered as intended for Sebastian Gryphius, who is cited further on in Visagier's poetry with his forename, though Sebastian seems not to have cut any of the types in use at his press.

A more convincing argument for the craftsmanship of François Gryphius is to be found by surveying the new Parisian typefaces of the 1530s. Such an analysis reveals that François Gryphius used only typefaces which, as a rule, no other printer used before him. They seem to imitate the style of other known punchcutters such as Colines or the Estienne Master, but add personal features in a consistent and recognizable way.

Gryphius may have had ties with Augereau, for in 1531–32 they used the same

37. Fillon, 1888, 7–8; 23.

38. Vervliet, 2002, 23–4.

39. Moreau, 4: no. 996.

40. Moreau, 4: no. 880.

41. Moreau, 4: no. 1306.

42. Vervliet, 2003a, 165, no. 28.

43. Barker, 1974, 17.

44. Moreau, 5: nos. 372 and 1169.

45. Johnson, 1935, 190.

46. Renouard, 1965, 182.

47. Baudrier, 8: 20.

Pica Roman, which is usually attributed to Augereau and described below (29). Gryphius's main customers were Christian Wechel and Claude Chevallon in the first half of the decade and thereafter the Marnefs at Poitiers.

In the following paragraphs I attribute fifteen Romans to him. Moreover, he may be responsible for yet another Roman, three Italics, four Greeks, and four Hebrews, all appearing from 1531 onwards. Only two of his Italics have been described up to now.⁴⁸ His Romans were well received. In the 1530s and 1540s they were adopted by important Paris printers, such as Chevallon, Guillard, Loys and Bogard, though not by Colines or Estienne. Outside Paris, they found customers in Poitiers, Lyon and Geneva. In the course of the 1540s they were superseded by the Garamont Romans. Gryphius's Hebrews were used by Wechel, Chevallon, Guillard, Bogard and Le Jeune. They even appear in a book with a Garamont imprint, the 1545 Cassianus.⁴⁹

François Gryphius, who is not mentioned in Le Bé's c.1618 Inventory or 1643 Memorandum, is reported to be the son of the Reutlingen printer Michael Greif (fl.1478–1514). Baudrier suggests that his brother Sebastian started working in Lyons in 1522 or 1523.⁵⁰ As to Francis, there is no sign that he was active in Paris before the end of 1520s, his first imprints dating from 1531. His type designs exhibit two styles; one imitates rather crudely the earlier Colines Romans,⁵¹ the other those of the Estienne Master described below (1, 9, 21, 31, and 44). Though both styles appear simultaneously from 1531 onwards, I am tempted to believe that the cutting of those in the first style antedate September 1530, the date of the appearance of Estienne's earliest 'Aldine' Romans.

Claude Garamont, the Coming Man (c.1510–1561)

From 1540 onwards, Garamont's life is reasonably well documented: on 2 November of that year Pierre Du Chastel, the King's librarian, contracted him to engrave the Grecs du Roy. The document, now in the Archives nationales at Paris⁵² has been published by Parent.⁵³ More than forty other archival documents on Garamont have been published. They are spread over the following twenty years up to 1564 when his widow married her third husband, and they allow us to sketch the later part of his life with some confidence.

The career of the younger Garamont, however, is much less well known. Apart from the books printed in the years before 1540, the only sources available are two later witnesses. The first is Guillaume Postel, the extravagant Orientalist (1510–81), who ended his life in seclusion being considered insane.

In the 1560s he wrote a biography or rather hagiography (as the story relates several fictitious events) of King Francis I.⁵⁴ The manuscript is described as autograph and has been dated c.1560,⁵⁵ but the paragraph on Garamont implies that it was written or finished some time after his death in November 1561.

A passage (f. 45) about Francis I's involvement with learning and typography dwells on Robert I Estienne, the *Grecs du Roy*, and the roles of Garamont and Angelus Cres (Vergikios). Concerning the latter's role Postel is somewhat confused naming him first a calligrapher (*literarum peritus*) and a few lines further down a Greek engraver (*graecus sculptor*). He mentions also the Hebrew of Estienne, which is 'as good as Bomberg's'; and then says of Estienne's Romans:

Of the Romans I say nothing because R. Stephanus earlier [before he was Royal typographer] took care to acquire the most elegant ones made by the engraver Garamont, worthy indeed to be remembered, as he excelled in every kind of engraving as much as the Greek engraver, named Angelus Cres.⁵⁶

48. Vervliet, 1998, 52, no. 28; 2005, nos. 16 and 20.

49. Renouard, 1964, 3: 36, no. 39b.

50. Baudrier, 8: 14–28.

51. Vervliet, 2003a.

52. MC 8: 60.

53. Parent, 1973, 57–8.

54. London, British Library, ms. Sloane 1413, f. 23–53; Secret, 1958; Postel, 1989.

55. Postel, 1989, xiv.

56. De Latinis nil dico quia R. Stephanus antea opera Garamontii sculptoris (dignus re vera Memoria est qui in omni sculpturae genere ita excelluit, uti et graecus sculptor qui Angelus Cres vocabatur) sibi elegantissimos parari antequam esset regius typographus curaverat (f. 45).

As far as I know, this statement is the earliest attribution of the 1530 Estienne Romans to Garamont. It is written some time after Garamont's death and some (though not all) details are correct. Nevertheless, I am tempted to discard the account of Garamont as the engraver of Estienne's Roman types, because it seems incompatible with the intelligence gathered from the books themselves,⁵⁷ and also with the opinions expressed by the other witness, which follows below.

The other statement is a passage in the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum. Of the three Le Bé sources, described above in section 1, only the Memorandum of 1643 speaks about Garamont's youth. As noted above, it is the most verbose and the least reliable. I see two reasons for its lesser value: first, because it is not an autograph of Guillaume II Le Bé as surmised by Morison,⁵⁸ nor can we be sure it is a contemporary copy, as Carter suggested.⁵⁹ Even accepting that Le Bé may have written or checked the copy, one has to admit that it contains no testimony of a direct witness, but the opinions of a chronicler writing more than one hundred years after the facts. He should probably not be trusted on his word, especially when he adventures hypotheses or cites dates (except for those he may have borrowed from his father's scrapbook).

Therefore some critical reading of the following passage relevant to the period studied here is in order (Italics are mine):

Claude Garamond ayant fait son *apprentissage chez Augereau vers lan 1510* quil acheua, et se mit à travailler pour compaignon ça et la chez les maistres dalors mesme trauailla *chez Pierre Haultin*, par apres se mit à trauailler pour luy, et fut chez ... *Chevallon* ou il commença, Et y graua vn Sainct Augustin et vn Cicero, que nous appellons de la *premiere taille* dudit garamond, cest adire qui nest pas encor si parfait en la proportion comme il se fassona depuis nous en voyons encor des poinçons, et trauailla encor audit lieu depuis le deceds dudit Chevallon, ruë St. Iaques au soleil d'or chez sa veufue, et par apres se mit à trauailler chez Soy Ruë des Carmes en la maison de la boulle, auquel lieu il tailla et graua les poinçons de Cicero, Ital. Cicero, Ital. Cicero, Gros Rom. Petit Texte. et les dernieres lettres furent le Sainct Augustin et le Petit Paragon, et en ces entretemps il graua les poinçons des trois sortes de Grec quil fit pour le Roy durant les années de 1540 jusques en 1548 ...⁶⁰

The main information in this paragraph is clear: after his apprenticeship to Augereau, Garamont established himself as 'compaignon' or journeyman working for different masters, such as Haultin and the Chevallons. The typefaces produced in this period are called 'de la premiere taille', being not as perfect as his later ones. In 1540 he also began cutting the Grecs du Roy.

Checking this information against the facts as known from other sources, one has to conclude that on the whole this account is correct. No doubt, the author had his information from his father, who must have known Garamont either as an independent punchcutter when the latter worked on the Grecs du Roy for Robert I Estienne while the elder Le Bé himself was apprenticed to Estienne in the early 1540s, or when working at Garamont's house ten years later.

There are two points of doubt. The date 1510 affixed to Garamont's apprenticeship with Augereau, as well as his work for Haultin, is questionable. Le Bé's assertions have been a fruitful source for later misconstructions of the age of both Garamont and Haultin. I submit that both were much younger than in their forties or fifties (as is often assumed) when they started to cut their types in the new fashion.

57. Vervliet, 2004, 116.

58. Morison, 1957, 15.

59. Carter 1967, 7.

60. Carter, 1967, 17–18. His translation (1967, 30) is: 'Claude Garamont served his apprenticeship to Augereau, and finished it about 1510. Then he went out to work as a journeyman here or there for masters of that day: he even worked for Pierre Haultin. After that he set up for himself and was in the house of ... Chevallon, where he began by cutting an English and a Pica which we call 'de la premiere taille' [of the earlier style] of Garamond, meaning that they are not so satisfying in their proportions as those that he cut later. The punches are still to be seen. He was still working in that place, the Golden Sun in the Rue St. Jacques, after Chevallon's death, when the widow was in charge of it. After that he took to working in his own house in the Rue des Carmes at the sign of the Ball, and there he cut the punches for the Pica, Pica Italic, Great Primer, Great Primer Italic, Long Primer, and Brevier; and his last types were the English and the Paragon. During that time, also, he cut the punches for the three typefaces of Greek which he made for the king in the years 1540 to 1548.'

Garamont briefly alluded to his training in the preface to his 1545 Chambellan edition,⁶¹ where he mentions that he was trained in type-casting and punch-cutting as a youth ('a puero'). Probably he went through the customary stages as apprentice, journeyman and master but the exact duration and dates are unknown. In the 1540 contract on the *Greys du Roy*⁶² he is called simply: 'tailleur et fondeur de lettres', in distinction to the titles appended to Du Chastel ('seigneur'), Vergikios ('messire') and Estienne ('maistre imprimeur du Roy'). In the 1541 Du Puys deal he is described as a 'marchant fondeur de lettres' and the 1543 Mesvière contract returns to 'tailleur et fondeur de lettres'. But in 1543 he had an apprentice, implying that he was acting as a master.⁶³

The Memorandum relates that Garamont completed his apprenticeship in 1510, leading people to date Garamont's birth date around 1485–90. So early a date is almost certainly erroneous: the known printing activity of Augereau, to whom he was apprenticed, lies between 1531 and 1534. It seems likely that 1510 is either an error by the author or a misreading by the copyist. That Garamont's mother, Isabeau Barbier, although old and incapacitated, was still living in 1564 (when his second wife married for third time), strengthens my point.⁶⁴ I therefore suggest that Garamont was born c.1510 and was approximately the same age as Granjon (1513–90) and Haultin (c.1510–87).

As to Garamont's working for Haultin (who is not mentioned in Le Bé's scrapbooks), we find no support elsewhere – Haultin's documented activities dating from 1546 onwards.⁶⁵ If ever there was a connection between them, the reverse would be less surprising.

The Memorandum also errs in Garamont's addresses. In the early 1540s he lived in the rue Saint-Jacques and the rue des Augustins, later moving to the rue des Carmes, the address Le Bé cites.

The Memorandum goes on to suggest that by examining Parisian imprints, especially those of Chevallon, his widow, and 'other masters', one may uncover Garamont's types 'de la premiere taille'. It may seem that Le Bé treads here on safer grounds. The passage quoted above mentions two Garamont typefaces 'de la premiere taille' cut in Chevallon's house, a Pica and English, but I failed to find either of them at the Chevallon press.

As for the first, Chevallon did discard his antiquated 1478 Gering Pica⁶⁶ for a new, fashionable, Roman in 1533 and Barker⁶⁷ was beguiled into ascribing it to Garamont. I propose to attribute it to Gryphius, who used it in his own imprints and was Chevallon's regular supplier of types in the early 1530s. This typeface is described below (30). Contrarily, Garamont's first Pica occurs, I think, from 1536 onwards at the presses of Loys, Neobar, and Mesvière, and in Garamont's own imprints of 1545. See below (34).

Likewise I had no success tracing a Garamont English-Bodied Roman in Chevallon's printing. Barker⁶⁸ attributes the rather substandard 1531 Chevallon English to Garamont but here again I suggest that typeface was cut by Gryphius (22). On the other hand, a 1538 Chevallon Bourgeois (40) and a 1537 Long Primer (39) may be attributed to Garamont on stylistic grounds. Probably Le Bé mixed up different sizes and presses in his attributions.

It must be thought implausible that in the 1530s Garamont cut just these few typefaces. That would hardly be an acceptable basis for his selection in 1540 to cut the Greys du Roy. Therefore some of the unattributed typefaces, such as the 1536 Finé Two-line Double Pica Roman (5), the 1536 Vascosan Great Primer (18), the 1538 Wechel titling (8), and 1539 Loys Great Primer (20) may be his, as

61. Omont, 1888.

62. Parent, 1973, 57.

63. Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 87–8.

64. Guilleminot, 1997, 136, n.20; 138.

65. Vervliet, 2000, 88.

66. Vervliet, 2005a, no. 2.

67. Barker, 1974, 19; pls. 7 (inaccurate caption) and 13.

68. Barker, 1974, 18 and pl. 12.

well as the 1540 Neobar Greek,⁶⁹ bypassing at the moment the 1535 Loys Great Primer (16) and the 1537 Chevallon titling (8). On the other hand, as noted above, I failed to find an English or Great Primer Roman in a recognizable early Garamont style before the 1540s.

As the Le Bé Memorandum singles out the Chevallon press for Garamont's early career, an investigation of the type assortment used by Claude Chevallon (d.1537) and his widow Charlotte Guillard (d.1557) needs investigation. Chevallon started as a modest publisher in 1506 with a Burry edition,⁷⁰ his sole publication surviving from before 1511. In his early years he was primarily a publisher, contracting with major printers, such as Badius, Gourmont, Desprez and increasing his average rate to five titles a year during the 1510s. That number was doubled after 1520 when he married Charlotte Guillard, the widow of Bertold Rembolt (d.1519). She kept up that rate after Chevallon's death in 1537 for the next twenty years she was in sole charge of the press.

In 1502 she had married Bertold Rembolt, a Sorbonne graduate who worked with the printer Ulrich Gering (d.1510) from 1494 to 1508 when Gering retired. I suppose that Rembolt was much older than his bride and that she was in her thirties when Rembolt died in 1519 and she ran the business for a year or two on her own until she married Chevallon in 1520 or 1521. There is no formal proof but there can be little doubt that she was quite an energetic person and largely responsible for the continuing prosperity of the Chevallon press after 1537 when she was widowed for a second time.⁷¹ A group of young and excellent printers gathered around her: her brother-in-law, Guillaume Desbois, her niece's husband Sebastien Nivelles, and her nephew, Jacques Bogard.

The typography of the Chevallon press went through several phases. One may disregard the period before Claude Chevallon's association and marriage with Charlotte Guillard. He probably owned no press then, earning his livelihood primarily as a publisher and bookseller. The marriage of 1520 brought him access to a press, the most ancient in Paris. In first instance the new firm continued to use Rembolt's old founts, for the most part the common Parisian texturas, rotundas, and uncials. As Roman types, Gering, and, from 1520 onwards, the Chevallons used four incunabular typefaces, namely two Gering-Rembolt types⁷² and the two most used Paris typefaces, the 'Bergmann' Great Primer and the Tholoze Pica.⁷³ In 1523 the 8.5 mm Paris titling was added, in 1526 a 5 mm titling, and a Bourgeois eponymously named after Calvarin.⁷⁴ In 1529, an English-Bodied Greek appears, viz. the Greek Badius imported in 1520 from Germany⁷⁵ and in 1531, the common 8 mm Basle titling. Except for the Greek and the Basle titling, that was the antiquated assortment the press owned when it launched two impressive multivolume series, the *Opera omnia* of Saint Ambrosius and Saint Augustinus, in 1529 and 1531.

In the 1531 Augustinus, however, a few passages are set in a new English-Bodied Roman. As noted above, Barker⁷⁶ attributed it to Garamont and suggested that it was the typeface Le Bé called the 'Augustin de la premiere taille'. That attribution seems problematic. The typeface is stylistically very similar to two Great-Primer founts which appear, also in 1531, at the presses of François Gryphius (Cicero, *Pro Plancio*⁷⁷) and Christian Wechel (Persius⁷⁸). My candidate for the cutter of this typeface is Gryphius (22).

In the next year, 1532, Chevallon introduced two new typefaces: an English-Bodied Hebrew typeface (aleph/2.5 mm) and a small-sized Brevier Roman (52 mm/20 lines). The Hebrew differs from the contemporary Hebrews of

69. Vervliet, 2002, 25.

70. Moreau, 1: 187, no. 1.

71. Parent, 1999.

72. Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 1, 2.

73. Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 5, 8.

74. Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 16, 36, 38.

75. Vervliet, 2002, 10–12.

76. Barker, 1974, 18–19 and pl.

12.

77. Kemp, 1991, 31, fig. 4.

78. Barker, 1974, 14 and pl. 6b.

the same size that Estienne and Vidoue owned. In 1533, Chevallou adds a big Hebrew of 6 mm that surfaces in Wechel and Gryphius imprints in 1535. The Brevier Roman seems proprietary to Chevallou; in my description below (42) I suggest an attribution to Gryphius.

In Saint Jerome's *Opera omnia* of 1534, two new Romans appear: a titling of 9 mm, and a Pica. The titling is a set of heavy capitals (3), differing much from the design of the Estienne Romans. The Pica (30) is very similar to but not identical with the 1531 Augereau Pica; Gryphius had it too. Finally in the 1536 John Chrysostomus, a new English-Bodied Roman (28) appears, which gradually replaces the 1531 Roman of that size. In the descriptions below, I am tempted to ascribe all these typefaces to Gryphius, rather than to Garamont.

In the light of the archival records available and the occurrences of new typefaces in Paris from the 1530s onwards, I suggest the following chronology of Garamont's life:⁷⁹

born: *c.1510

apprenticeship (type-casting, mouldmaking, justifying, punchcutting):
*c.1525–34

journeyman: c.1535–38

marries Guillemette Gaultier (probably the sister of Pierre, later Garamont's publishing partner): c.1537⁸⁰

master: c.1538–61

Romans 'premiere taille', early Italics: 1536–48

the royal Greeks: 1540–49⁸¹

publishing venture: 1545–46⁸²

Romans 'seconde taille', late Italics: 1548–61

marries Ysabeau Le Fevre, widow of François Prieur: c.1551⁸³

death: between 23 September and 18 November 1561⁸⁴

third marriage of his widow, Ysabeau Le Fevre: 18 June 1564⁸⁵

Paris's Place in the Evolution of Roman Letterforms

Up to the middle of the 1520s Paris Roman types belong to the Venetian or Jenson class.⁸⁶ The model, dating from 1470, was an excellent design and the first good Roman to appear in typographic history. The Paris typefaces are based on this model and thus rather dark of colour and characterized by plain capitals, an oblique cross-stroke in the e, a slab-serifed (or 'Jenson') M, a stroked i, and lozenge-shaped punctuation signs.⁸⁷

Letterforms closer to the newer designs, fashionable in Italy and Germany, beginning in the late 1490s and the mid 1510s respectively, were introduced in Paris early in the 1520s, years before Tory's treatise on the Roman capital (*Champfleury*, 1529), by two Paris engravers, Colines and the relatively unknown Jean Vatel. From 1524 onwards Colines's types feature the old-face, outwards singly-serifed, wing-like M, but throughout the 1520s he retains the tilt-barred e and the lozenge-shaped punctuation.

The year 1530 brought the 'Aldine revolution' to Paris, aptly described by Beaujon (1926) and Barker (1974). That year three new Estienne Romans appeared; they all followed the model of a novel fount, only used by Aldus from 1495/6 to 1499, for the first time in Theocritus' *Idyllia* and in Cardinal Bembo's *De Aetna*.⁸⁸ The new style retains the general characteristics of the Jenson Romans, viz. the bracketed serifs and the diagonal stress but has a number of

79. Unreferenced entries refer to the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum but the dates are mine; starred dates are undocumented.

80. Paris, Archives nationales, LL 757: 86v; Chèvre, 1955, 150, n.5.

81. Parent, 1973; Vervliet, 2000a.

82. Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 81.

83. Greffe-Brousselle, 1997, 154; Guilleminot, 1997.

84. Renouard, 1901, 105; Guilleminot, 1997, 136.

85. Guilleminot, 1997, 134, n.10.

86. Johnson, 1959, 38.

87. Vervliet, 2005a.

88. Catalogue BM, 5: 554.



M: top serifs details.

(a) Jenson: M with bracketed top serifs extending outward and inward

(b) Bembo: one-eared M with no right-hand top serif

(c) Old-face: single serifs extending outward on M
Courtesy Fernando Mello.

new features: the design is lighter in colour, the contrast between thin and thick strokes is more pronounced, its capital line is slightly below the ascender line, the bar of the e is horizontal, the dot of the i and the punctuation signs are round, all features retained in later type designs. The M is one-eared with no right-hand top serif, differing both from the earlier 'slab-serifed' Jenson M (with bracketed top serifs extending outward and inward), and the normal old-face 'winged' M (with topserifs extending on both sides. see the figure in margin).

At Aldus's press, the 'Bembo' Roman was a short-lived affair, used only in a dozen books printed between 1496 and 1499. But in Paris it became the norm for Romans cut between 1530 and, say, 1550. Afterwards it was popularized in Antwerp by letter-engravers, such as Guyot and Tavernier. One of their customers was John Day in London.

Except for Badius, Wechel and Morthy who kept their Basle Jenson-style Romans and more conservative printers like Buffet, Vidoue, Gromors and Chevallon (the latter at least in his earlier period), most Paris typographers were eager to emulate Estienne's example. Augereau, François Gryphius, Colines, Loys and Chevallon cut or used imitations in the following years. Most of these typefaces are quite similar to the Estienne model and it calls for some careful examination to distinguish them.

During the 1530s more than forty new Roman typefaces appeared in Paris – an amazing yearly average of four new type designs for the Romans alone. If one adds the new Italics, Greeks, Hebrews, and Arabic, the Parisian punchcutters of the 1530s produced some six new typefaces a year. That is on the order of three full-time jobs and double the average of the preceding decade, matching the recovery of Parisian publishing from the relative dip in the 1520s. Most punchcutters worked only as part-time punchcutters (Colines, Gryphius, Augereau, for instance, were all active as printers and publishers as well), with only a minority specializing in type-casting and letter engraving. One of the latter was Garamont, until in 1545 he stepped falteringly into the publishing trade.

Conspectus of Types

Two tables at the end of this paper list the types by date and punchcutter.

Display Sizes

1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1530)
2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1531)
3. Gryphius's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1533)
4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290]
or *Gros-canon* (1535)
5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1536)
6. The 'Chevallon' Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9]
or *Lettres de deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537)
7. The 'Vidoué' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1538)
8. The 'Wechel' Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6]
or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1538)

Large English and Great Primer (R 104/120)

9. Constantin's Great Primer [R 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1530)
10. Colines's Second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119]
or *Gros-romain* (1531)
11. Augereau's Great Primer [R 112]
or *Gros-romain* (1531-32)
12. The 'Wechel-Gryphius' Great Primer [R 112]
or *Gros-romain* (1531-32)
13. Gryphius's Second Great Primer [R 113]
or *Gros-romain* (1531)
14. Colines's Third Great Primer [R 116]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)
15. Gryphius's Third Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)
16. The First 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)
17. The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)
18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)
19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104]
or *Gros-texte* (1536)
20. The Second 'Loys' Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1539)

English-Bodied size (R 89/100)

21. Constantin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
22. The First 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-Bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531-32)

23. Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
24. Gryphius's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
25. Augereau's English-Bodied Roman [R 96]
or *Saint-augustin* (1534)
26. The 'Loys' English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
27. The 'Girault' English-Bodied Roman [R 95]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
28. The Third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-Bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536)

Pica and Small Pica (R 70/85)

29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1531)
30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1533)
31. Constantin's Small Pica [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (1533)
32. The 'Janot' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)
33. The 'Girault' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1535)
34. Garamont's First Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)
35. Colines's Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)
36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79]
or *Cicéro* (1539)

Long Primer and Bourgeois (R 62/68)

37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536)
38. The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1536)
39. Garamont's First Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1537)
40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
or *Gaillarde* (1538)
41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68]
or *Petit-romain* (1539)

Brevier, Minion and Nonpareil (R 40/55)

42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1532)
43. Gryphius's Second Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1533)
44. Constantin's Nonpareil [R 42] (1533)
45. Colines's Nonpareil [R 43] (1533)
46. Gryphius's Third Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1537)
47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44]
or *Mignonne* (1537)

1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530)

In his earliest years (1526-mid 1530), Robert I Estienne used mainly Colines typefaces (Vervliet, 2003). Beginning in the autumn 1530 his books display a totally new typographic style. This involved three new Romans in the sizes Two-line Double Pica, Great Primer and English. Their design has been heralded as a revolution, introducing to transalpine Europe a new 'fashion for lightness and delicacy' (Carter, 1969, 81). Uncommon too is the size of the biggest Roman: it is the first Roman in typographic history with upper and lower case letters on so large a body.

During the sixteenth century, Romans of this size remained relatively scarce. They were largely a Paris speciality. Here follows a list of the Two-line Double Pica Roman founts (excluding the titlings which were more common) appearing in the 1530s:

- 1530 Constantin, Paris (1)
- 1531 François Gryphius, Paris (2)
- 1535 'Budé', Paris (4)
- 1536 'Finé', Paris (5)
- 1536 'Juste', Lyons (Veyrin-Forrer, 1995a, 154)
- 1537 'Boulle' Lyons (Vervliet, 2008, no. 148)
- 1538 'Vidoué', Paris (7)

All except two, originated in Paris. Some of these typefaces were improperly associated with the Estienne typeface, which some authorities attribute to Garamont, though only for stylistic reasons. They differ in details, however, albeit minute ones, and clearly derive from different sets of punches. My interpretation of the occur-

rences of new typefaces in Paris during the 1530s leads me to conclude that Maître Constantin cut the Estienne Two-line Double Pica Roman.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica Roman (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 4.5 : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 September 1530, Paris, Robert I Estienne (Cicero, *Oratoriae partitiones*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale et interuniversitaire, i-639; Moreau, 3: 539, no. 2027 and Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in elegantiarum libros L. Vallae*; Cambridge, University Library, Aa* 6.15(1)F; Moreau, 3: 552, no. 2084).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, Haer. Badius & J. Loys {Quintilianus}, J. Roigny & J. Loys {Cicero}; 1538, R. Chaudière & R. I Estienne {Imbert}; 1546, C. Badius {Cicero}; 1548, C. Badius & J. Roigny {Guilliaud}; 1551, C. I Estienne {Appianus}; 1563, R. II Estienne {Biblia}; 1580, R. III Estienne {Alphabetum Graecum}; Geneva: 1552, R. I Estienne {Calvin/Quatre sermons}, J. Girard {Calvin/Opuscula}; 1557, C. Badius {Satyres}; 1561, H. II Estienne {Xenophon}; 1562, E. Anastase {Bible}; 1563, F. II Estienne {Calvin/Moise}; 1568, J. Bourgeois & L. Cloquemin {Biblia}.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top; one-eared M; long-tailed Q; S slanting to the right; asymmetrical top serifs of T; large rounded counter of lower case a; i with dot to the right; s slanting to the right; extended base of v; floating accents {Cordier/De corrupti sermonis emendatione, 1530}.

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 155, fig. 21; Johnson, 1959, 46-7, fig. 14; Carter, 1969, 85, fig. 63; Vervliet, 1969, 483-7, fig. 2-4; Barker, 1974, 11, pl. 4; Armstrong, 275-6; Kemp, 1991, 28; Vervliet, 2004, 121-4, no. 1; Amert, 2005, 241-3, fig. 1-2.

FIGURE 1a (opposite) Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530) as it appears in the *Biblia [Latina]*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532, Index rerum, f. gggthini ov. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 1b Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1530) assembled from the *Biblia [Latina]*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532 and the *Hebraea, Chaldaea...nomina* [in 2°], ibid., 1537. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

A B C D E F G H I L M
N O P Q R S T V Z
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p
q r s t u v x y æ & ft

IL EST DEFEND V PAR
lettres patētes du Roy nostre sire, a tous
Imprimeurs, Libraires, & Marchans, de
non imprimer en ce Royaulme, ou expo
ser en vente ce present liure dedans fix
ans a venir. Sur les peines contenues au
priuilege sur ce depesche. Si ce nest par
conge & permission de celuy qui a eu la
charge de le faire imprimer de par ledit
Seigneur.

2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1531)

At the end of 1531, about one year after the new epochal Estienne Romans, François Gryphius had a new Pica and a Two-line Double Pica Roman available. The latter has been attributed to Augereau (Kemp, 1991, 33; corrected in Kemp, 2006; Amert, 2005, 255–7) but to my eyes it is unquestionably Gryphius's, occurring as it is at his own press and that of his known customers in Poitiers and Lyons. Its design has characteristics (see the sloping S and e) common to a number of contemporaneous Romans, which can be linked to Gryphius (2, 12, 13, 15, 19, 22, 24, 28, 30, 41, 43, 46, 47).

Were there any ties between Augereau and Gryphius? Was Gryphius Augereau's teacher, rather than Colines as surmised above in p. 166. There is not much to support such a conjecture. One of Gryphius's typefaces, his Two-line Double Pica Roman, appears in some copies of a rejuvenated Vergilius edition that has been linked to Augereau. In fact, apart from the cancel title-page and first quire, Jean Macé's 1582 reissue contains two different Vergilius editions, neither of which is known to survive with its original title-page or first quire. One (preserved in London) has a colophon dated 1531 of Augereau's father-in-law, Antoine Bocard, while the other (at Oxford and Cambridge) has no colophon but appears on typographical grounds to be attributable to Gryphius in the years 1533 to 1538.

Gryphius's typeface does not appear in the London copy of the Macé Vergilius, the only one with the Bocard colophon (*pace* Renouard, 1964, 5: 73, no. 78). There are more differences. The Oxford and Cambridge copies display the Two-line Double Pica Roman but with a different text type, viz. the 1533 Chevallon-Gryphius Pica (30) while the London copy uses the 1531 Augereau Pica (29). The side-notes in the London copy display an old 55 mm Rotunda, presumably Bocard's, and Colines's Sophocles Greek (Vervliet, 2003a, 165), neither typeface being present in the Oxford and Cambridge copies (Kemp, 2006). Their side-notes exhibit the Brevier Roman (43), that Gryphius used between 1533 and 1538. The Oxford

and Cambridge copies must therefore be another edition attributable to Gryphius and datable between 1533 and 1538 when Gryphius ceased to use that Brevier. Thus this trail seems irrelevant for the relation between Augereau and Gryphius.

There are other indications, however feeble. Augereau regularly used the common Basle 8 mm Roman titling capitals introduced in Paris at the very end of the 1520s. He never used Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica Roman except perhaps for a foul capital S in the title-line of the 1534 Eusebius which was a joint edition by Colines and Augereau. A more substantial indication of a contact between Gryphius and Augereau is the use by Gryphius in three 1531 books of a Pica Roman commonly attributed to Augereau and described below (29). But that hardly supports a hypothesis of a steady collaboration or contact.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 5 : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1531, **Paris**, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio ... pro Cn. Plancio*; Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, I 802; Moreau, 4: 71, no. 87).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Paris**: 1534, A. Augereau & S. de Colines {Eusebius [first S of title-line only]}, A. Girault & J. I Savetier {Ponté}, J. de Gourmont [& F. Gryphius] {Paradisi}; 1537, J. Loys {Ulmeus}; 1542, N. Buffet {Stella}; 1544, J. de Roigny {Dionysius Carthusiensis}; 1546, A. Jurien {Vivaldi}, G. Merlin {Breviarium}; 1582, J. Macé {Vergilius [Cambridge and Oxford copies]}; **Poitiers**: 1536, J. II & E. II de Marnef {Musius}; **Lyons**: 1538, E. Dolet {Dolet}; 1541, S. Gryphius {Histoire de Leander}; 1543, S. Sabon & A. Constantin {Seneca}; 1544, S. Sabon {Ariosto}; 1545, A. Constantin & G. Rouillé {Gigas}; 1546, J. I de Tournes {Saint-Gelais}; 1553, P. de Portonariis & J. Pidie {Stile}; 1587, A. Harsy {Plutarchus}; **Geneva**: 1563, F. Perrin {Calvin}; 1566, J. Pinereul {Calvin}; 1567, T. Courteau {Calvin}; 1609, J. Stoer {Calvin}.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capital H; one-eared M; long-tailed R; slightly sloping S and lower case e; big top bowl of g.

LITERATURE Kemp, 1991, 33; Amert, 2005, 255–7, fig. 6; Kemp, 2006.

FIGURE 2a (below) Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1531) as it appears in J. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, Poitiers, Marnefii, 1545, f. 1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 2b (opposite, above) Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1531) assembled from J. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, Poitiers, Marnefii, 1545. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Description des Gaules,

Et premierement de la Gaule Belgique.

Chapitre premier.

A B C D E F G H I L
M N P Q R S T V
a b c d e g i l m n
o q r f s u y & ſt

3. Gryphius's Roman Titling
on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or
Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain (1533)

A new Roman titling, intended to replace the 8 mm Basle Roman capitals and its awkward Parisian imitation (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 16), can be seen in Chevallon's printing from 1533 onwards. Like other contemporaneous Parisian Roman titlings it ignores the prescriptions for correct Roman letter-forms, as enounced by Tory (1529) or Durer (Nuremberg, 1525; Paris, Wechel, 1532). Nor is its design in the style of Augereau or the Estienne Master, though it occurs in a (spurious) Estienne imprint, dated 1537 (Moreau, 5: 183, no. 506) whose types rather point to Bogard after 1541. I tentatively attribute this titling to Gryphius.

SIZE Two-line English (*Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*); : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1533, Paris, C. Chevallon (Hieronymus (s.), *Opera*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, F 3436; Moreau, 4: nos. 721–6; 1031–2).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1537, J. Loys {Tagault}; 1541, J. Bogard {Xenophon}; 1546, J. Barbé & J. Gazeau {Galenus}; 1550, M. Le Jeune {Clenardus}; 1552, Ch. Guillard & G. Desboys {Bible}; 1571, S. Nivelle {Contarini}.

KEY LETTERS Broad lower counter of capital B; extended lower terminal of C, wide H and N; outwards singly-seriffed M; two Q's; slightly inclined S. Includes Greek sorts, used by J. Bogard (1541), Ch. Guillard (1542), J. Loys (1543), J. Barbé (1546), G. Gourbin & P. Ramier (1587).

LITERATURE Vervliet, 1969, 491–2, fig. 8.

FIGURE 3 (below) Gryphius's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1533) assembled from Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Christi*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1534 and *Biblia sacra*, Paris, heirs of Ch. Guillard, 1558. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek and Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

A B C D E F G H I
K L M N O P Q
Q R S T V X Z

4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 290] or *Gros-canon* (1535)

An unashamedly close imitation of Constantin's Double Pica Roman (1) occurs in 1535 and 1536 on the title-pages of two Budé books by an unknown press working for the main Parisian publishers, Maurice de La Porte, Ambroise Girault, Jean Macé, Jean II Petit, Claude Chevallon. The simultaneous occurrence of a new English-Bodied Roman, described below in (27) leads Moreau (5: 72, no. 56) to suggest a link with Pierre Gromors, but I have not yet seen this Two-line Double Pica Roman in the latter's imprints.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica (*Gros-canon*); 20 290 x 5.5 : 9.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1535, Paris, J. II Petit & M. de La Porte (G. Budé, *Annotationes ... in Pandectarum libros*; Glasgow, University Library, P.41239295.JPG; Moreau, 4: 368, no. 1224).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1536, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault & J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}.

KEY LETTERS Very like Constantin's Double Pica Roman (1) but with hypertrophied serifs; it is also a bit bigger and the capital M is slab-serifed.

FIGURE 4 The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290] or *Gros-canon* (1535) as it appears in G. Budé, *Annotationes ... in Pandectarum libros*, Paris, J. II Petit & C. Chevallon & A. Girault & J. Macé, 1536. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, Brussels.

ANNOTATIONES
Gulielmi Budæi Parificēsis, Se-
cretarii Regii, in quatuor & vi-
ginti Pandectarum libros, ad Io-
annem Deganaium Cancell-
arium Franciæ.

5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1536)

The fourth *Gros-canon* Roman to appear in Paris in the early 1530s was introduced by Colines in 1536. Though used by him, I doubt whether this *Gros-canon* was cut by Colines. Its style differs noticeably from his other typefaces and its later wide distribution does not fit in with Colines's restrictive policy in trading type material.

It has been attributed to Garamont, mainly because it occurs in the 1540s at the presses of known Garamont customers such as Gaultier, Barbé, Mesvière (Johnson, 1936, 74, s.v. Berthelet; Renouard, 1964, 3: 33; 5: 140; Carter, 1969, 86, n.4; Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82; Veyrin-Forrer, 1978, 68, n.16).

It is a much weaker design than the Estienne 1530 Two-line Double Pica Roman (1) which some also attribute to Garamont. It seems implausible to ascribe both typefaces to the same designer. But if my above hypothesis that Constantin cut the Estienne Romans is accepted, there is indeed room for thinking that the present typeface was an early work by a young and still inexperienced Garamont. As noted above, Colines had good relations with Augereau and he must have met Garamont as his apprentice. Amert (2005, 253) suggested that Colines recut the punches of Estienne's 1530 Two-line Double Pica Roman (1). But it seems unlikely that Estienne would have parted from his punches or that Colines would have refurbished them to an inferior level.

This typeface seems to occur as early as 1535 in Lyons at the press of Denis de Harsy, e.g. in the preliminaries of his 1535 *Tractatus universi iuris* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: nos. 72–82). It is uncertain what calendar style Harsy uses, but in Lyons the Easter style was customary. At any event, an early use seems quite probable, as e.g. in Clichtove's 1535 *Introductiones* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: no. 69), Erasmus's 1536 *De conscribendis epistolis* (Gültlingen, 1992, 4: no. 86; DeReuck, 1993, 57, no. 120) or Rabelais's 1537–38 *Pantagruel* (Rawles, 1988; Rawles-Screch, 1989, nos. 10 and 21). More research is here needed.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica Roman (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 5 : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, S. de Colines (O. Finé, *In sex priores libros geometricorum elementorum Euclidis*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. V 119; Renouard, 1894, 262–4).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Lyons**: 1535, D. de Harsy {Clichtove}; 1542, B. Arnoullet {Nouveau Testament}; 1544, J. Ausoult & E. Rufin {Fulgosius}; 1548, J. Frellon {Suetonius}; 1549, G. Rouillé {Scève}; 1555, J. Frellon & M. Du Boys {Biblia}; 1574, A. Blanc {Decretum Gratiani}; **Paris**: 1537, P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & [N. Higman] {Thomas Aquinas}; 1538, D. Janot {Capella}, J. André & D. Janot {Sagon}, Widow C. Chevallon {Pachymeres}, A. Girault {Pontanus}, A. Girault & Widow C. Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Loys & J. de Roigny {Eck}, Fr. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}, J. Loys & Fr. Gryphius {Clenardus}, O. Mallard {Gillot}, [J. Loys &] D. Lescuyer {Postel/quire A}; 1539, Collegium Italarum {Alphabetum Hebraicum}, G. Corrozet & [D. Janot] {Corrozet}, Widow Ch. Chevallon & Fr. Gryphius {Agricola}, D. Janot {Ovidius}, D. Janot & G. I Du Pré {Cicero}, D. Janot & C. Langelier {Longueval}, D. Janot & V. Sertenas {San Pedro}, J. Loys & A. Girault {Dionysius Carthusianus}, C. Neobar {De

typographia}, M. de Vascosan {Florus}, P. Vidoue {Postel}, C. Wechel {Noviomagus}; 1541, N. Barbou {Marinario}, J. Bogard {Aristoteles}; 1542, P. Attaingnant & H. Juliet {Claudin}, M. de La Porte {Alphabetum Graecum}, F. Gryphius & J. Loys & G. Richard {Agricola}, J. Gazeau {Sylvius}; 1543, Fr. I Estienne {Clenardus}, M. Fezandat {Varennius}, J. de Roigny {Aristoteles}; 1544, J. André {Sagon}, P. Gaultier {Vidius}; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé & C. Garamont {Terentius}, Jeanne de Marnef {Amadis}, E. Mesvière & A. & C. Langelier {Constantin}; 1546, R. Avril {Gomes}, L. Blaubloom {Colonna}, J. Barbé & J. Gazeau {Galenus}; 1548, E. Groulleau {Amadis}; 1550, M. Le Jeune {Mercier}; 1551, J. Du Puys {Fernel}, M. Fezandat & R. Granjon {Seymour}; 1552, Ch. Guillard & G. Desboys {Bible}, B. Prévost & J. de Roigny {Terentius}, T. Richard {Clenardus}; 1553, Jer. de Gourmont {Postel}; 1555, B. Prévost & G. Corrozet {Belon}; 1558, Heirs of M. de La Porte {Thevet}; 1559, R. II Estienne {Laborde}; 1568, J. de Marnef & G. Cavellat {Bullant}; **London**: 1542, R. Wolfe {Leland}; **Basle**: 1545, J. Oporin {Postel}; 1547, H. Petri {Glareanus}; 1559, P. Perna {Plotinus}; 1582, E. Episcopius {Aristoteles}; **Rouen**: 1545, R. & J. Dugort {Rabelais}; **Valence**: 1547, C. La Ville {Rabelais}; **Geneva**: 1550, J. Crespin {Calvin/Scandales}; 1563, J. Bonnefoy {Nouveau Testament}; **Avignon**: 1552, J. Daniel & J. Crespin {Bible}.

KEY LETTERS Distinguishable from Constantin's Two-line Double Pica (1) mainly by its capitals A (sheared vs. cupped top) and R (steeply tailed), its lower case a (shallow and angular vs. rounded counter), rather uncouth g (small vs. large upper bowl).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1939, 198, no. 6; Renouard, 1964, 3: 33; 4: 93; 5: 140; Carter, 1969, 86, n.4; Vervliet, 1969, 488, fig. 5; Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82; Veyrin-Forrer, 1978, 68, n.16; Vervliet, 2003a, 152–3, no. 20; Amert, 2005, 252–5, fig. 3–4.

FIGURE 5 The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1536) as it appears on the title-page of V. Vidius, *Chirurgia*, Paris, P. Gaultier, 1544. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon.

C H I R V R G I A.
 è Græco in Latinum conuerfa,
 Vido Vidio Florentino in-
 terprete, cum nonnullis
 eiusdem Vidiij cõ-
 mentarijs.

6. The 'Chevallon' Roman Titling
on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] or
Lettres de deux lignes de Petit-texte (1537)

This new titling appears at Chevallon's press in the years that he reportedly employed Garamont. Moreover it is not in the style of François Gryphius, an earlier provider of new types to Chevallon. Nevertheless one hesitates to attribute this titling to Garamont because it differs in style notably from other typefaces perhaps ascribable to him (5, 8, 18, 20). It seems more in the line of the master of Loys's first Great Primer (16).

SIZE Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] (*Lettres de deux lignes de Petit-texte*); : 3.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1537, Paris, C. Chevallon (Justinianus, *Codicis ... libri novem priores*; Brussels, Royal Library, LP 7080 A; Moreau, 5: 170, no. 456).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1538, O. Mallard & G. I Du Pré & J. de Roigny {Clichtove}.

KEY LETTERS Longer bottom arm of E; outwards singly-seriffed M; wide S; oblique parallel top serifs of T.

FIGURE 6 The 'Chevallon' Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.7] or *Lettres de deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537) assembled from Justinianus, *Codicis libri novem priores*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1537. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q S T V

7. The 'Vidoué' Two-line Double Pica
Roman [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1538)

An inept copy of the 1536 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica Roman (5), occurs at the end of the 1530s at a few Parisian presses, such as of Vidoue, Gromors and Buffet.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 5 : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1538, Paris, P. Vidoue (G. Postel, *Lingvarum duodecim ... alphabetum*; Oxford, All Souls, SR 17.d.4; Moreau, 5: 312, no. 1037) and 1538, Paris, P. Vidoue & D. Lescuyer (G. Postel, *De originibus*; quires B–G; Brussels, Royal Library, VH 10.089 A2; Moreau, 5: 311, no. 1035) and 1538, Paris, N. Buffet for

Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel (Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiarum Libri IIII*; Cambridge, Trinity Hall, E*6.5; Moreau, 5: 307, no. 1019)

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: c.1538, P. Gromors {Postel}; 1540, G. Le Bret {Erasmus}; 1541, A. Langelier {Suetone}; 1542, J. Bignon & A. Girault & G. Le Bret & P. Sergent {Marot}, F. I Estienne {Donatus}.

KEY LETTERS Long bottom arm of capital E; one-eared M; obliquely tailed lower case g.

FIGURE 7 The 'Vidoué' Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1538) assembled from G. Postel, *Lingvarum duodecim characteribus ... alphabetum*, Paris, D. Lescuyer & P. Vidoue, 1538, f. 12v–13v. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

A B C D E F G H I K L M
N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i l m n
o p q r s t u x y z &

8. The 'Wechel' Roman Titling
on Two-line Small Pica [R 6] or
Lettres de deux points de Philosophie (1538)

A new Roman and Greek titling appears from 1538 onwards in Wechel's press and later at those of Fezandat and Loys. In style it is quite different from the titling on Two-line Nonpareil [R 3.7] in use at the Chevallon press from 1537 onwards (6) and unlikely to originate from the same source. Possibly it is an early Garamont typeface. In the early 1540s, Jean Loys and François Gryphius used two similar, though distinct titlings, of 5.8 and 7 mm respectively, probably engraved by Gryphius; but from the mid-1540s onwards Loys had the Wechel typeface too.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); 6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1538, Paris, C. Wechel (Nicomachus Gerasinus, *Arithmetica*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, G 4802; Moreau, 5: 302, no. 998).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1541, M. Fezandat {Eusebius}; 1544–46, F. II Regnault [& J. Loys] {Bible en françois}; 1545–46, J. Loys {Morel}.

KEY LETTERS Low middle arm of capital E; one-eared M; low-ranging N (5.6 mm; probably wrong sort); long-tailed R; with Greek sorts.

FIGURE 8 The 'Wechel' Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1538) assembled from J. Noviomagus [Bronkhorst], *De numeris*, Paris, C. Wechel, 1539 and A. Alciati, *Emblemata*, ibid., 1542. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp and Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V

9. Constantin's Great Primer Roman [R 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1530)

This Great Primer is a reduction of the Two-line Double Pica Roman, introduced by Robert I Estienne in September 1530 in the same two titles as mentioned above. Its outstanding design set the standard for Roman type in the two centuries to follow. It was quickly imitated, the immediate successors appearing from 1531 onwards. Like the Two-line Double Pica, it has been frequently attributed to Garamont, but looking into the occurrences of new typefaces in Paris during the 1530s, I conjecture that Maître Constantin was its cutter.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 115 x 2.1 : 3.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 September 1530, Paris, Robert I Estienne (Cicero, *Oratoriae partitiones*; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale et interuniversitaire, i–639; Moreau, 3: 539, no. 2027 and

Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in elegantiarum libros L. Vallae*; Cambridge University Library, Aa* 6.15(1)F; Moreau, 3: 552, no. 2084).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1538, R. Chaudière & R. I Estienne {Imbert}; 1551, C. I Estienne {Appianus}; 1563, R. II Estienne {Biblia/Ruth}; Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne {Pauli epistolae}; 1554, C. Badius {Nouveau Testament}; 1557, H. II Estienne {Aeschylus}; 1562, E. Anastase {Bible}.

KEY LETTERS Capital line below ascender line; narrow capitals F and L; one-eared M; slightly oblique top serifs of T; shallow counter of a; i with dot to the right.

VARIANT LETTERS Narrow capital T (1543); some lower case variants (1552); broad ampersand (1553).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, fig. 20; Johnson, 1959, 46, fig. 14; Carter, 1969, fig. 63; Barker, 1974, pl. 5a; Vervliet, 2004, 124–6, no. 2.

FIGURE 9a Constantin's Great Primer [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530) as it appears in Lucianus, *Dialogi*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1530, p. 43. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 9b Constantin's Great Primer [R 115] or *Gros-romain* (1530) assembled from *Alphabetum Graecum*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1548, f. A2–A8. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Videlicet eo scōmate pedes meos notans. Verum quoties senex ille Hercules recurrit animo, ad quiduis adducor vt faciam: neque me pudet hāc audere, quum sim ipsi æqualis imagini. Itaque robur, celeritas, forma, & si qua sunt alia corporis bona, valeant, cūmque his tuus ô Teie vates, cupido, vbi me mento subcano viderit auro rutilā tibus alis, si videbitur, vel aquilas præ-

A B C D E F G H I L M
N O P R S T V X Z
a b c d e g i l m n o
p q r f s t u v x y z
æ Æ & fl ft

10. Colines's Second Great Primer 'Terentianus'
Roman [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531)

This is the famous Roman of Colines, eponymously known as the Terentianus Roman after the Terentianus Maurus, *De literis* (Moreau, 4: no. 292; Schreiber, 1995, 72), published by Colines in 1531 and one of his earliest imprints to show this typeface. With the new Estienne Romans (which preceded it by a few months) it has been heralded as the best expression of a true Renaissance Roman. It is very like Colines's first Roman on this size (Vervliet, 2003a, 139, no. 12), but without the latter's most obvious archaisms as the tilt-barred e or the lozenge-shaped period and colon. The capitals of both typefaces seem to be identical, but the long letters of the lower case are a bit longer. The earliest dated occurrence in Colines's printing is in his Basilius edition of 27 May 1531, but it has been noted that the typeface occurs already in March and May 1531, in two leaflets by Guillaume Bochetel on the Entry and Coronation of Queen Eleonora (Moreau, 4: nos. 54–5), both published by Geoffroy Tory but quite certainly printed by Colines (Johnson, 1928, 64–5; Barker, 1974, 13).

In 1533 Colines revised this typeface again, mainly by outfitting it with a new and lighter set of capitals. For the sake of convenience, this state is reviewed separately, below (14).

SIZE Great Primer (Gros-romain); 20 119 x 2.1 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 27 May 1531, Paris, S. de Colines (Basilius Magnus, *Epistolae*; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, Th. 80 2081; Moreau, 4: 59, no. 37.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1531, L. Blaubloom & S. de Colines {Constitutiones Belvacenses}, G. Tory {Bochetel}.

KEY LETTERS Capital line below ascender line; broad E; downwards beaking G; outwards seriffed M; broad R; alternative forms of Q (short/long-tailed); downwards flared T; narrow lower case c; level-barred e; broad upper and lower counters of g; dotted i (undotted ligatures); alternative forms of z (short/descending); round period and colon.

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 150–1, fig. 17; Carter, 1969, 84; Barker, 1974, 13, pl. 6a; Amert, 1991, 29–30, fig. 9; Vervliet, 2003a, 142–3, no. 14.

FIGURE 10a Colines's Second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531) as it appears in Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1531, f. a2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 10b Colines's Second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119] or *Gros-romain* (1531) assembled from Terentianus, *De literis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1531. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

DE SYLLABIS.

27

Vtitur longis, & isdem breuibus æque fungitur:
Nec breuem semper requirit, semper aut quæ longa sit
Omnibus, sed quinq; semper vtitur ceu dichronis:
Inde multa syllabarum nascitur diuersitas:
Quia nec illæ διχρονίαι tres, græca quas vox nuncupat,
Litteris nostris eisdem semper exhibent sonos:
Αλφα, nos A nominamus, ιωτα sic I dicimus:
Tertiam Romana lingua (quam vocant Y) non habet:
Huius in locum videtur V latina subdita,
Quæ vicem nobis rependit interim vacantis Y:
Quando communem latino reddit, & græco sonum.
Interim vocalem, & ipsum sumpta propter quod tamen
Non tuendo, syllabarum sæpe mutat regulam:
Scilicet non consonantem quando vocalis ligat

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q Q R S T V X Y

a b c d e f g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

æ ct & ff ft

11. Augereau's Great Primer Roman [R 112]
or *Gros-romain* (1531–32)

One year after the first appearance of the epochal 1530 Constantin Great Primer (9) Augereau had a close copy available. It is the best designed of the three Romans attributed to Augereau and hardly inferior to its predecessor. It occurs from 1531 onwards, first in André Bocard's editions and from 1532 on in Augereau's. It is attributed to the latter because it was used at his press. It has not been found elsewhere, except at Janot's press in the years 1537 and 1538 and in the main part of the 1535 Nyverd-Colines-Du Pré edition of Foresti, perhaps printed by Augereau; see also below (25).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 112 x 2 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1531, Paris, A. Bocard (Vergilius, *Opera* [quires b sqq.]; capitals only; London, British Library, 687.e.6; Moreau, 4:

127, no. 309; Renouard, 1964, 5: 73, no. 78) and 15 March/19 April 1532, Paris, A. Bocard & A. Augereau for J. II Petit (Aristoteles, *Opera Latina*; Paris, Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Res. 16e II LEF 13:3; Moreau, 4: 135, no. 331; Renouard, 1: 205–6, no. 541; 5: 74).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1532, A. Augereau {Sepulveda}, A. Augereau & G. I Du Pré {Plinius}, G. Fiscus [pseud. of Augereau] {Erasmus}; 1534, A. Augereau & S. de Colines {Eusebius}; 1535, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti}; 1537, D. Janot {Cicero}.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; downwards-beaking G; one-eared M with slab-serifed top; narrow N and S; wide T; small-bowled lower case g; slightly sloping s.

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 157, fig. 22, 23; Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 139, fig. 11; Renouard, 1964, 1: 204, pl. A37; Barker, 1974, 14–15, pl. 8; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 31, fig. 1 and 11; Kemp, 2006.

FIGURE 11a Augereau's Great Primer [R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531–32) as it appears in *Nouus orbis regionum*, Paris, A. Augereau, 1532, f. 507. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon.

FIGURE 11b Augereau's Great Primer [R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531–32) as it appears in *Nouus orbis regionum*, Paris, A. Augereau, 1532, f. 508. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon.

Diuitias Federice tuas hic collige princeps,
Quas habet Arctoi Bruffica terra poli,
Scilicet Heliadum lachrymas Phaethonta querentum,
Audax quod patrios flectere tentat equos,
Par nec erat loris, placuit tamen ire sub axe
Aetherea, atque genus testificare deum,
Nescius ipse uix perdit conamine uires,
Mox ruit è curru lapsus in alta freti.
Hunc iuuat æternis lachrymis fleuisse sorores,
Sed pius in lenta succina fletus abit.
Has fert undisonis Tethys tibi fluctibus, illum
Testantes caelum, ruptaque lora ducis.
Munera clara deum uariis quæ uultibus ornat
Mille gerens formas Proteus ille senex.
Hinc quædam radiant auròque simillima fuluo,
Et lunæ niueam sunt imitata bigam.
Lacteus est aliis candor, croceo igne coruscus,
Hyblæi retinent mellis & illa decus.
Indiæ opes superant hæc, & Gangetica dona,
Et quod mollis Arabs, Scythis habetue rapax.
Terra nutrit syluas, sunt hæc stabula alta ferarum,

α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω
A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V
Omnes sunt terniones præter V, qui est quaternio

12. The 'Wechel-Gryphius' Great Primer Roman
[R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531)

Up to the end of 1530 Wechel (or his contract printer) used the common 'Bergmann' Great Primer Roman (Vervliet, 2003a, no. 5) as a large text type. For his own new printing office he had this new Great Primer Roman ready by 1531. In this body size, All Wechel's imprints of 1531, in which I have seen a Great Primer, display the new ypeface, excepting Zagarus's 1531 *Lex* (Moreau, 4: no. 316) which appears from its type assortment to have been printed by Blaubloom.

Gryphius, on the other hand, began to use a very similar Great Primer at the end of 1531. This typeface differs only in a few sorts and may be considered a second and modernized state of the Wechel type (13). In Poitiers, Gryphius's regular customers, the Marnefs, used the accented letters of the Wechel typeface in their usual Gryphius Great Primer (13). On these grounds the Wechel type may be attributed to Gryphius. Both typefaces imitate (rather poorly) the 1528 Colines Great Primer (Vervliet, 2003a, 139).

The Wechel version may have been cut before the first new-style Estienne Romans appeared in Paris at the end of 1530. Its archaisms betray it as one of Gryphius's earliest typefaces. I have not seen it used outside the Wechel press, where it was the usual Great Primer Roman up to 1543. Thereafter the press started using Garamont's first Great Primer.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 112 x 2.1 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN p.17 January 1531, Paris, C. I Wechel (Galenus, *De plenitudine*; Ghent, University Library, Med. 280; Moreau, 4: 90, no. 163).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1533, Jer. de Gourmont & C. Wechel {Restauld}; 1537, Collegium Itolorum [& C. Wechel] {Guidacerio}.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capital H; outwards singly-seriffed M; wide lead-in stroke of lower case a; protruding link of g; high lead-in stroke of ampersand. Very like Gryphius's Great Primer (13), but with differing lower case a, e, g and ampersand.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 14, pl. 6b; Kemp, 1991, 39.

FIGURE 12 The 'Wechel-Gryphius' Great Primer [R 112] or *Gros-romain* (1531) as it appears in Vegetius, *De re militari*, Paris, C. Wechel, 1532, f. A1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

VIRI ILLVSTRIS, AD VALENTINIANUM Augustum Epitoma institutorum rei militaris, ex Commentariis Catonis, Celsi, Traiani, Hadriani, & Frontini.
Libri primi
PROLOGVS.



Ntiquis temporibus mos fuit, bonarum artium studia mandare literis, atque in libros redacta offerre principibus. Quia neque recte aliquid inchoatur, nisi post deum fauerit imperator: neque quēquam magis † decet vel meliora scire, vel plura quā principem, cuius doctrina omnibus potest prodesse subiectis. Quod Octauium Augustū, ac bonos dehinc principes libenter habuisse, frequentibus declaratur exemplis. Sic regnantium testimoniis creuit eloquentia, dum non culpatur audacia. Hac ego imitatione compulsum, dum considero clementiam vestram, ausibus literarum magis ignoscere posse, quā ceteros, tanto inferiorem me antiquis scriptoribus esse vix sensi, licet in hoc opusculo, nec verborum concinnitas sit necessaria, nec acumen ingenii, sed labor diligens ac fidelis: vt ea quę apud diuersos historicos, vel armorū disciplinam docentes, dispersa & inuoluta celantur, pro vtilitate Romana proferantur in medium. De delectu igitur atq; exercitatione tyronum, per quo sdā gradus & titulos antiquam consuetudinem conamur ostendere. Non quo tibi imperator inuicte, ista videantur incognita, sed vt quę sponte pro reip. salute disponis, agnoscas olim custodisse Romani imperii conditores: & in hoc paruo libello, quicquid de maximis rebus, sempq; necessariis requirēdū credis, inuenias.

13. Gryphius's Second Great Primer Roman
[R 113] or *Gros-romain* (1531)

Clearly a modernized state of Wechel's Great Primer, only used by Gryphius in the years 1531–32 and later by the Marnefs at Poitiers. Its one-eared M, mentioned by Kemp (1991, 31) is the result of foul casting. Gryphius started using a new Great Primer Roman (15) from 1533 onwards.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 113 x 2.1 : 3.5 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1531, Paris, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio ... pro Cn. Plancio*; Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, I 802; Moreau, 4: 71, no. 87)
EARLY APPEARANCE Poitiers: 1543, J. II & E. II de Marnef {Cailliau}.
KEY LETTERS Very like the Wechel Great Primer (12) but with updated lower case a, e, g, and ampersand.
LITERATURE Kemp, 1991, 31.

FIGURE 13 Gryphius's Second Great Primer [R 113] or *Gros-romain* (1531) as it appears in Cicero, *Pro Plancio*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1531, f. a3. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Blois.

luntatē honestā sapē in magnis laudatā fuisse,
præsertim apud æquos iudices: & huiusmodi,
quāuis leuioribus, tamen rudimētis quibusdam,
iis qui ad maiora nondū apti sunt, ad ea ipsa ta-
men aditum parari. Vale, ex Gymnasio Pari-
sienfi. xiii. calendas Decemb. M. D. XXXI.

14. Colines's Third Great Primer Roman [R 119]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)

It is unclear whether Colines completely recut his second Great Primer Roman (10), or merely changed some characters, bringing them more in line with the lighter fashion displayed in the new Estienne Romans (1530). Anyhow the change occurs gradually from 1533 on. Spot letters are the narrow capital E, the non-beaking G, the steep R, the smaller lower case g and the bulbous tail of the y. Barker (1974, 17) suggests (mainly on stylistic grounds) that Antoine Augereau was involved in its cutting.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 116 x 2.1 : 3.7 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1533, Paris, S. de Colines (Aristotle, *De historia animalium*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, G 5445; Moreau, 4: 200, no. 570).
EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1535, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti; prelims only}; 1536, G. I Du Pré [& L. Blaubloom] {Bouchet}, F. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}; 1549, R. Chaudière {Horae}.
KEY LETTERS Narrow capital E; non-beaking G; outwards singly-serifed M; steep R; narrow lower case g; y with bulbous tail.
LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 17–18, pl. 10; Amert, 1991, 30, fig. 10; Vervliet, 2003a, 147–8, no. 17.

FIGURE 14a Colines's Third Great Primer [R 116] or *Gros-romain* (1533) as it occurs in J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, p. 15. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.
FIGURE 14b Colines's Third Great Primer [R 116] or *Gros-romain* (1533) assembled from Aristoteles, *De natura animalium*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, f. Aa2–Aa4v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

pa non est. Sic oleæ, vites, magis fracturæ quàm fissuræ patent. At cōtrā, totum
à carne corpus fico. Tota ossa ilex, cornus, robur, cytisus, morus, ebenus, lotus,
& quæ medulla carent. Fulua cornus in venabulis nitet, incifuris nodata propter
decorem. Cæteris nigricans colos. Cedrus, & larix, iuniperusq; rubent. Qui fru-

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q Q R S T V Y
a b c d e f g g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ Æ & ff fi ſ ſ̃ ꝑ ꝑ

15. Gryphius's Third Great Primer Roman [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1533)

In 1533 Gryphius reorganized his type cases completely. He replace his old Great Primer with this one and added a new English-Bodied Roman described below (24). The new Great Primer remained his usual type in this size for the rest of his activity. It was adopted by Gryphius's regular customers, such as the Chevallons and, at Poitiers, the Marnefs.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 114 x 2.2 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1533, Paris, F. Gryphius & P. Gaudoul (Erasmus, *Familiarium colloquiorum ... opus*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 33489; Moreau, 4: 227, no. 673) and 1533/34, Paris, F. Gryphius & Jer. de Gourmont (*Sanctum ... Evangelium*; Liège, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire; Moreau, 4: 282, no. 881).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1534, F. Gryphius {Terentius}; 1537/40, N. Buffet {Haymo}; 1538, Ch. Guillard & F. Gryphius {Agricola};

1540, P. II Regnault {Biblia}; 1541, J. Bogard {Xenophon}; 1543, J. Bogard & J. Gazeau & J. de Roigny {Theophylactus}, C. Langelier {Blasons anatomiques}; 1545, F. I Estienne {Donatus}, E. Mesvière {Constantin}; 1546, A. Juriani {Vivaldi}; 1550, V. Gaultherot {Pantheus}; 1552, Ch. Guillard & G. Desboys {Bible}; 1553, Jer. de Gourmont {Postel}; 1556, G. Julien {Roillet}; 1564, G. I Merlin {Biblia}; Poitiers: 1545, J. II & E. II de Marnef {Bouchet}; 1554, E. II de Marnef {Solinus}; Lyons: 1547, Th. Payen {Cicero}; 1549, G. Rouillé {Magnificence}.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; one-eared M with double left top serif; oversized Q; big-bowled R; narrow S; slightly sloped lower case e; wide z; normal and swash tailed ampersand (1554, Marnef {Solinus}).

FIGURE 15a Gryphius's Third Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1533) as it appears in J. Ringelberg, *Dialectica*, Paris, Fr. Gryphius, 1538, f. Arv. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15b Gryphius's Third Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1533) as it appears in Augustinus (s.), *Opera*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1541, tomus 8, p. 382. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

IOACHIMVS RIN-
gelbergius Antuerpianus
Lectori.

Ialecticæ præceptiones in
D particulas quatuor distri-
buemus. In quarú prima
tradentur quæ ad uoces simplices
pertinent: in secunda, axiomata: in
tertia, fyllogismi, enthymemata,
inductiones, exempla: in quarta, lo-
corú ratio. Vale. Antuerpiæ quin-
to Idus Maii. An. M. D. XXIX.

INDEX QVATERNIONVM.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r f t v x y z

ABCDEF GHIKLMNOPQRSTVXYZ Aa. Bb.

Omnes quaterniones præter vltimum ternionem.

16. The First 'Loys' Great Primer Roman [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)

Loys used this rather bold Roman from 1535, when he started his own press, to 1539 when he changed over to the typeface described below (20). This earlier type is competently cut though somewhat old-fashioned in style. The appearance at Chevallon's press is peculiar: Chevallon reportedly was Garamont's employer in the 1530s. But I have seen it only in one of his books (Justinianus, *Codicis libri novem priores*, 1537; Moreau, 5: no. 456). The 1537 Chevallon titling (6) is similar in style.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 110 x 2 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN December 1535, Paris, Heirs of Badius [& J. Loys] (Petrus Lombardus, *In omnes D. Pauli ... epistolas*, prelims quires a–b only; Ghent, University Library, G. 9637[1]; Moreau, 4: 413, no. 1403; Renouard, 1964, 2: 297, no. 776).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, J. Loys & J. de Roigny {Cicero}; 1537, C. Chevallon {Justinianus}; 1538, [J. Loys] & D. Lesculier {Postel/quire A}.

KEY LETTERS high-barred capital A; outwards singly-seriffed M; undersized Q; bold-tailed R; oblique parallel top serifs of T; tilt-barred lower case e; small-bowled g; z with thin diagonal; lozenge-shaped colon and period.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, S4: 19 (s.v. Gros texte; the reference to an appearance in 1545 is suspect); 46–7 and pl. 4.

FIGURE 16 The First 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110] or *Gros-romain* (1535) as it appears in Cicero, *Orationes*, Paris, J. de Roigny & J. Loys, 1536, f. E3v. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Audio præterea, non hanc fuspitionem nunc primum in Capitonem conferri, multas esse infameis palmas, hanc primã esse tamen lemniscatam, quæ Romæ deferatur. nullum modum esse hominis occidiendi, quo ille non aliquot occiderit: multos ferro, multos veneno. Habeo etiam dicere quem contra morem maiorum, minorem annis LX de ponte in Tyberim deiecerit: qui si prodierit, atque adeo cum prodierit, scio enim proditurum esse, audiet. veniat modo, explicet suum volumen illud, quod ei planũ facere possum Erucium cõscripsisse, quod aiunt illum Sex. Roscio intentasse, & meditatũ esse, se omnia illa pro te testimonio esse dicturum. O præclarum testem, Iudices. O grauitatẽ dignam expectatione. O vitam honestam, atque eiusmodi, vt libentibus animis ad eius testimonium vestrum iusiurandum accommodetis. Profectò non tam perspicue istorum maleficia videremus, nisi ipsos cæcos redderet cupiditas, & auaritia, & audacia. Alter ex ipsa cæde volucrum nuncium Ameriam ad socium atque ad magistrum suum misit: vt si dissimulare omnes cuperet, se scire ad quem maleficio pertineret, tamen ipse apertum suum scelus ante omnium oculos poneret. Alter (si diis immortalibus placet) testimonium etiam in Sextum Rosciũ dicturus est. quasi vero id nunc agatur, vtrum id quod dixerit, credendum: an quod fecit, vindicandum sit. Itaque more maiorum comparatum est, vt in minimis rebus homines amplissimi testimonium de sua re non dicerent. Aphricanus, qui suo cognomine declarat, tertiam partem orbis terrarum se subegisse, tamen si sua res ageretur, testimonium non diceret. nam illud in talem virum non audeo dicere: si diceret, non crederetur.

17. The 'Girault' Great Primer Roman [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)

A rather uneven Roman appearing in 1535 is attributed by Moreau (4: nos. 1348 and 1444) variously to Buffet or Gromors. But it is named here after one of its first users, Ambroise Girault, though he is mainly known as a publisher. It may have been engraved by his brother, Julien. The typeface occurs also in Marguerite de Navarre's c. 1535 *Miroir* (s.l, s.n.), attributed to N. Buffet's press by Moreau (4: no. 1367). Other Roman types, originating at the same source, are described below (27, 33).


SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 110 x 2.3 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1535, Paris, A. Girault & J. Kerver & J. Macé & J. II Petit (F. Josephus, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri xx*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 32452; Moreau, 4: 400, no. 1348) and 1535, Paris, A. Girault & P. Gaudoul & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit (Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum ... collectanea*; Ghent, University Library, Cl. 258; Moreau, 4: 422, no. 1444) and 1535, Paris, J. II Petit & P. Le Preux (R. Goullet, *Tetramonon*; Bibliothèque Mazarine, 23194; Moreau, 4: 395, no. 1328).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: c. 1535, [N. Buffet?] {Marguerite}; 1537, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault {Petrus Lombardus}; 1538, N. Buffet for Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel {Petrus Lombardus}.

KEY LETTERS Sloping capital C; one-eared M; wide N; smallish Q; small-bowled lower case g.

FIGURE 17 The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110] or *Gros-romain* (1535) as it appears in Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum ... collectanea*, Paris, A. Girault & P. Gaudoul & P. Le Preux & Jean II Petit, 1535, f. ai. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

RBIS ROMAE EX TER AR VM:
que gentium facta simul ac dicta
memoratu digna: quæ apud alios la-
tius diffusa sunt: quàm vt breuiter co-
gnosci possint ab illustribus electa auctoribus
deligere constitui: vt documenta sumere volen-
tibus longæ inquisitionis labor absit. Nec mi-
hi cuncta complectendi cupido incescit. Quis
enim omnis æui gesta modico voluminũ nu-
mero comprehenderit: aut quis compos men-
tis domesticæ peregrinæque historiæ seriẽ fœ-
lici superiorũ stilo cõdita: vel attẽtiore cura, vel
præstãtiori facundia traditurum se sperauerit:

18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer Roman [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)

In his earlier years Michel de Vascosan used the 'Capsaca' Great Primer Roman his father-in-law Badius had introduced in Paris in 1503 (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 3). He used this new typeface from 1536 to 1549. The Vascosan typeface has attracted the attention of type historians: Beatrice Warde (Beaujon, 1926, 156, fig. 24) considered it as one of the better copies of Estienne's epochal 1530 Great-Primer (Vervliet, 2004, 124–6). Carter (1976, 69, no. B 53) suggested that it was engraved by Garamont. The type certainly shows a good understanding of Roman letterforms but the uneven height of some capitals points to the work of a beginner. If it is Garamont's, it must be one of his earliest types, cut between the death of Augereau (Christmas Eve, 1534), to whom Le Bé reports he was apprenticed and his employment by the Chevallons (Carter, 1967,

30) probably from 1537 onwards. The differences in style with the typefaces attributable to Garamont on more sure grounds and described below (34, 39, 40) throw some doubts on the ascription, however.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 114 x 2.2 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, M. de Vascosan (G. Budé, *De studio literarum*; Ghent, University Library, G. 9641; Moreau, 5: 73, no. 59).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1549, J. Dallier [& M. de Vascosan] {C'est lordre}.

KEY LETTERS Small capital L; one-eared M; narrow N; long-tailed R; slightly sloping S; oblique parallel top serifs of T.

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 156, fig. 24; Carter, 1976, 69, no. B 53.

FIGURE 18a The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1536) as it appears in Lucianus, *Opera*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1546, f. F2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 18b The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1536) assembled from Lucianus, *Opera*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1546, f. 41v, 42, 179. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.


MORTVORVM DIALOGI.

42

A peliendum me conuenient. M E R. Fortis es, Menippe. Sed quia iam transfretauimus, abite uos rectà per hanc uiam ad forum iudiciale: ego uerò & nauta alios transfuectabimus. M E N. Feliciter nauigate ô Mercuri, nos quoque progrediemur. Verùm quid præterea de uobis futurum est? Iudicium de uobis ferre oportebit, & quidē aiunt pœnas esse graues, rotas, aquilas, & lapides. Vniufcuiusque autem uita examinabitur.

CRATETIS ET DIOGENIS, Erasmo Roterod. interprete.

CRATES.

B  Oerichum diuitem nouerás ne Diogenes? illum inquã supra mo- *sola*
dum diuitem, illum Corintho profectū, cui tot erant naues onu- *fun-*
stæ mercibus, cuius consobrinus Aristeas quum ipse quoque di- *mes.*
ues esset, Homericum illud in ore solebat habere:

Aut me confice tu, aut ego tete. DIOG. Cuius rei gratia sese captabāt inuicem, Crates? C R A T. Hæreditatis causa, quum essent æquales, uterq; alterū captabant. Iamq; testamenta publicauerant ambo, in quibus Mœrichus, si prior moreretur, Aristeā omnium rerum suarū dominum relinquebat: Mœrichum uicissim Aristeas, si quidē ipse prior è uita decederet. Hæc igitur quū ef-

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ

abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

æ & Æ Æ

19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English
Roman [R 104] or *Gros-texte* (1536)

Up to the mid 1530s Chevallon used either the Gering Large English or the 'Bergmann' Great Primer (Vervliet, 2005a, nos. 2 and 5). In 1536 he introduced this new Roman which has all characteristics of a Gryphius Roman. This typeface has not been seen outside Chevallon's press and seems to be proprietary to him.

Its use ends sometime after 1538 when the press changed to the third Gryphius Great Primer described above (15).

SIZE Large English (*Gros-texte*); 20 104 x 2.1 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, C. Chevallon (Johannes Chrysostomus (s.), *Opera*; Valognes, Bibliothèque municipale, A 410; Moreau, 5: 109, no. 209).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1539, Ch. Guillard & J. de Roigny {Alessandri}.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; one-eared M; sloped shortish S; small upper bowl of lower case g; sloped s.

FIGURE 19 The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104] or *Gros-texte* (1536) as it appears in G. Pachymeres, *Paraphrasis in decem epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, p. 54v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Dionysius Areopagita,
 Qui igitur dei ordinatione alijs præsunt: inferioribus
 B atque subiectis, quæ cuiusq; merito congruū, tribuant.
 Demophilus autem ratione moderetur iræ & concupiscentiæ, eisque secundum merita tribuat: neque suū violent ordinē, sed regat subdita supereminēs ratio. Nā si cū fortē in foro aspicimus famulū domino, seniori adolescentulū, siue etiā filiū patri maledicere, simulq; impetu facto plagas inferre: pietatem violare videmur, nisi accurrentes, præstātoribus opem ferre studeamus, quantalibet illi fortasse prius perpeffi iniuriā sint. Cur, quæso, non erubescimus, qui rationem ab ira & concupiscentia violari, & a tradito sibi diuinitus principatu deiici videmus atque negligimus: & inter nos ipsos impiam & iniustā temeritatem, seditionē, cōfusionēq; excitam⁹?

20. The Second 'Loys' Great Primer Roman [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1539)

In 1539 Loys replaced his 1535 Great Primer Roman, described above (16) with the present new Great Primer. The new typeface appears also in the same year at some other Parisian presses such as those of C. Neobar, the Collegium Italarum, and Denys Janot. It is an excellently designed Roman, one of the best to appear in the 1530s and clearly the work of a master with a full understanding of Roman letterforms.

Renouard (1964, 5: 92, n.49; S4: 19, n.64) attributes it to Claude Garamont with a reference to a Great Primer Roman ascribed by Guillaume II Le Bé to Garamont in the c.1598 Le Bé-Moretus specimen (Vervliet-Carter, 1572, 14, no. 15). The reference to Le Bé is unquestionably erroneous but an attribution to Garamont, albeit on the grounds of style and distribution only, certainly makes sense. It is similar though not identical to Garamont's first documented Great Primer (the R, g and c are useful spot letters), which first appears at Gazeau's press in 1542 {Sylvius} and, in the following years, at those of Bogard, Wechel, Gaultier, and Mesvière. Pierre Gaultier was Garamont's relative and Etienne Mesvière, one of his customers (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, n.15, fig. 3; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 68, n.15, fig. 15).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 114 x 2 : 3.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1539, Paris, J. Loys & J. de Roigny (Cicero, *De officiis*; Ghent, University Library, G. 9207; Moreau, 5: 360, no. 1218; Renouard, 1964, S4: 71-2, no. 55) and 1539, Paris, C. Neobar [& J. Loys] (Francis I, *De typographia graeca*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Rés. 16029-9; Moreau, 5: 387, no. 1327; Renouard, 1964, 5: 103, no. 82) and 1539, Paris, Collegium Italarum (A. Guidacerio, *Grammatica*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 20008-2; Moreau, 5: 398, no. 1372; Schwarzfuchs, 2004, 97, no. 95) and December 1539, Paris, D. Janot & A. & Ch. Langelier (J. de Longueval, *Nova et facilis declaratio*; The Hague, Royal Library, 226 F 31; Moreau, 5: 409; no. 1421).

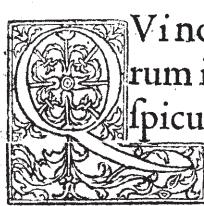
EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1539, D. Janot {Ovidius}; A. Girault & Ch. Guillard & J. II Petit & J. de Roigny & J. Loys {Dionysius Carthusiensis}; J. Loys & P. Le Preux {Du Moulin}; D. Janot & G. I Du Pré {Cicero}; c.1539, D. Janot & V. Sertenas {San Pedro}; 1541, M. Fezandat {Eusebius}; E. Toussain {Alexander Aphrodisaeus}; 1542, J. Bogard {Grynaeus}; 1545, Jeanne de Marnef {Petrarca}; 1548, E. Groulleau {Amadis}.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; low middle arm of E; one-eared M with a right diagonal ending low; long-tailed R; narrow S; wide T with outwards sloped top serifs; shallow-bowled lower case a; straight ear of g; i with dot to the right; two ampersands (short/swash).

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 5: 92, n.49; 140; S4: 19, n.64.

FIGURE 20 The Second 'Loys' Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1539) as it appears in J. de Longueval, *Nova et facilis declaratio*, Paris, D. Janot, 1539, f. 42. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

MO POYETO GALLIARVM CAN-
cellario dignissimo, Ioannes Longovallius S.

 Vi nostra hac tempestate in legibus imperato-
rum iurisq[ue] prudentum responsis clarè & per-
spicuè elucidandis, accuratam nauant operam,
vir ampliff. ii bifariam impendere labo-
rem ab omnibus existimantur, Nò pauci
etenim atque hi frequentiores glossemata commenta-
riofq[ue] antiquorum ad legum vicem obseruantes, au-
ctioribus eos informant rapsodiis & declarationibus,
verbosofq[ue] centones euulgant, in quibus nouas mo-
dò rationes moliuntur, modò ex aliis locis ad id quod
adeft multa transferentes, nihil nisi vñitatum, atque
aliubi disputatum proferunt, ita ex vepretis syluas &
ex fonticulis riuos ac prægrandia flumina sæpenume-
ro conficientes. Alii verò non contenti, per antiquo-
rum tramites ambulare, legum mendosas plerunque
interpretationes repurgant, vitiosafq[ue] veterum opi-

21. Constantin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1530)

Less than two months after the appearance of his Two-line Double Pica and Great Primer, Estienne introduced the smallest of his three newly-styled Romans. That implied the end of his use the 'Bergmann' Great Primer and the second Colines English Romans. Both typefaces came from Colines's stock. On the other hand Estienne continued using the smaller Colines typefaces on Small Pica and Bourgeois (Vervliet, 2003a, nos. 6 and 9).

In January 1531, the new English found a splendid showing in Jacques Dubois's, *Isagoge* (Moreau, 4: no. 135). Dubois or Sylvius, a young physician with a Montpellier degree, while waiting for an accreditation with the Paris faculty, as a pastime wrote a grammar of the French language (in Latin). He had it printed by Robert Estienne and addressed it to Eleonore of Austria, sister of Emperor Charles I and the new bride of Francis I. She was to be crowned and enjoy a royal entry in Paris in March and April 1531.

The typography of the *Isagoge* was not simple. A great many new phonetic signs (only the apostrophe, diaeresis, circumflex lived on) had to be engraved and the text type was to be available in split body sizes to allow the numerous diacritics to be set as floating suprascripts: two features pointing to substantial type-casting facilities at Estienne's press.

The type was perhaps mentioned in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory as 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline' (Morison, 1957, 18). It is commonly thought that this entry refers to this 1530 English Roman of Robert I Estienne (21). The attribution to Colines is puzzling and the word-

ing of this entry must be an error, one of the very few in the Inventory (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 107–12; 1987, 6–7).

Colines never used the Sylvius English nor any other of the new Estienne typefaces. Conversely, Le Bé owned none of the Estienne types but he had acquired three sets of Colines types. Presumably the entry refers to the latest version of Colines's 1533 English (14), which is a close copy of Estienne's.

This English-Bodied Roman has not been seen outside the presses of the Estienne family. On the ground of the occurrences of new typefaces in Paris during the 1530s, I think that Maître Constantin was the cutter of this Estienne type.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 92 x 1.8 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1 December 1530, Paris, R. I Estienne (Cicero, *Orator*; Copenhagen, Royal Library, 74-II-187-4°; Moreau, 3: 537, no. 2018.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1552, C. I Estienne {Flamininus}; 1566, R. II Estienne {Alphabetum graecum}; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne {Bucer}; 1557, H. II Estienne {Aeschylus}.

KEY LETTERS Capital line below ascender line; narrow capital L; one-eared M with double left top serif; asymmetrical top serifs of T; shallow counter of a; i with dot to the right; short stem of p.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION The c.1618 Le Bé Inventory refers (mootly) to a 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline' (Morison, 1957, 18).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 150; Johnson, 1959, 46; Barker, 1974, 12, pl. 5b; Vervliet, 2004, 126–9, no. 3.

FIGURE 21a Constantin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1530) as it occurs in Vergilius, *Opera*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1532, f. *3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 21b Constantin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1530) assembled from *Biblia [Latina in 2°]*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1546, f. 4 and ar. Courtesy of the University Library, Leuven.

Siquidem virga populea more regionis in puerperiis eodem statim loco depacta ita breui coaluit, vt multo antè fatas populos adæquarit: quæ arbor Virgiliti ex eo dicta, atque consecrata est summa grauidarū & foetarum religione suscipientiū ibi & foluentium vota. Initia ætatis, id est vsque ad septimum annum, Cremonæ egit, & XVII anno virilem togā cepit illis consulibus iterū quibus natus erat. Euenitque vt eo ipso die Lucretius poeta decederet. Sed Virgilius à Cremona Mediolanū, & inde paulo post Neapolim transiit: vbi cū literis & Græcis & Latinis vehemētissimam operam dedisset, tandem omni cura, omnique studio indulgit medicinæ & mathematicis. Quibus rebus cū ante alios eruditior peritiórque esset, se in urbē cōtulit: statimque magistri stabuli equorum Augusti amicitia nactus, multos variōsque morbos incidētes equis curauit. At ille in mercedē singulis diebus panes Virgilio, vt vni ex

ABCDEF GHI LMNOPQRST V
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ ð & ff fi œ ſ ſt

22. The First 'Gryphius-Chevallon'
English-Bodied Roman [R 89]
or *Saint-augustin* (1531–32)

A few lines in Part I and the Index volume of the nine-part Augustinus of 1531–32 exhibit this typeface, wherein the old Gering Great Primer and Pica are used as text types. Idem for the 1533 Gregorius, but in the Hieronymus of the same year the old Gering types are absent. The new typeface was used frequently by Chevallon up to 1536, when Chevallon starts using a new Roman on English (19). I have not seen it outside Chevallon's press.

Barker (1974, 18 and pl. 12) considers this an early Garamont typeface, but its archaism seems more in the

style of the other early Gryphius Romans. I am tempted to believe that it was cut by Gryphius as a proprietary typeface for Chevallon.

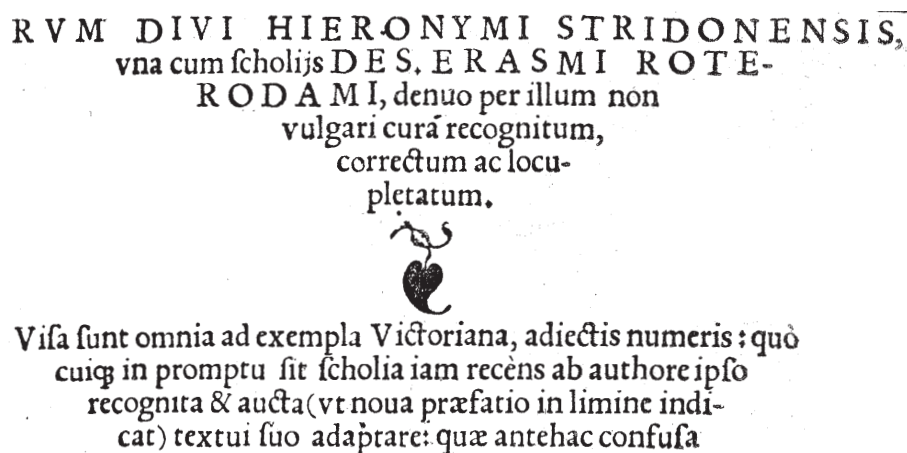
SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 89 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1531–32, Paris, C. Chevallon (Augustinus (s.), *Opera*; Ghent, University Library, Her. 3617; Moreau, 4: 58, no. 32).

KEY LETTERS Wide capital E; narrow H; outwards singly-seriffed M; tilt-barred lower case e; lozenge-shaped period and colon.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 18, pl. 12; Kemp, 1991, 46.

FIGURE 22 The First 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-Bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531–32) as it appears on the title-page of Hieronymus (s.), *Opus epistolarum*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1533. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



23. Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533)

Most Paris typographers were eager to emulate Estienne's example. Colines was one of them. In Colines's typeface some letterforms of his earlier *Saint-augustin*, described by Vervliet (2003a, 137, no. 11), reappear along side the new forms, for example, the outwards singly-seriffed M and the narrow lower case g. It is not clear whether these were foul sorts or intended by Colines as alternative forms.

The c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 18) refers to a 'Saint Augustin Sylvius de Coline'. It is commonly thought that this entry refers to the 1530 *Saint-augustin* Roman of Robert I Estienne (21) rather than to this typeface. The reference to Sylvius is puzzling and must be an error – one of the very few in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 107–12; 1987, 6–7). In fact, neither the Sylvius *Saint-augustin* Roman nor any other of the new Estienne typefaces occurs in Colines's printing. Nor did the Le Bé typefoundry own an Estienne typeface.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.9 : 2.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 9 June 1533, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Clichtove, *Improbatio quorundam articulorum Martini Lutheri*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 12861; Moreau, 4: 217, no. 636).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1533, C. Chevallon [& L. Blaubloom] {Enchiridion psalmorum}; 1535, J. Nyverd & S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti; prelims only}, L. Blaubloom & G. I Du Pré & P. Le Preux {Tiraqueau}; F. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capitals E and F; G beaking downwards; two forms of Q; one-eared M; R with large bowl; lower case e with horizontal bar; two forms of g (narrow/broad-looped); y with bulbous tail; thin diagonal of z.

VARIANT LETTER Non-beaking G from 1543 onwards.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 18, pl. 11 ('Cicero'); Amert, 1991, 30–1, fig. 7 ('Cicero'); Vervliet, 2003a, 145, no. 16.

FIGURE 23a Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533) as it appears on f. 46 of the Index in Galenus, *De causis respirationis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1533. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 23b Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1533) assembled from f. 42v–6 of the Index in Galenus, *De causis respirationis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1533. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

DE VSV RESPIRATIONIS, ET DE SPIRANDI DIFFI-
CVLTATE: DVPLICI NVMERO COMPOSITVS, PAGINARVM VIDELICET
ET LINEARVM.

Prior numerus paginam, alter, eiusdem lineam significat.

ABCDEFGHIILMMNOPQRSTV
a b c d e f g g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ Æ & ff fi œ si ff ft ꝥ

24. Gryphius's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1533)

This is the first English-Bodied Roman to appear with a Gryphius imprint. It is wholly in the new 'Aldine' style, introduced by Estienne at the end of 1530 (Barker, 1974). It occurs at Gryphius's press and that of the Marnefs in Poitiers, which apparently became his steadfast customers. I therefore attribute it to Gryphius rather than to Augereau, as proposed by Kemp (1991, 43). At Loys's press it replaced the earlier English-Bodied Roman (26) from 1540 onwards, *pace* Renouard (1964, S4: 19). It is the unidentified Roman mentioned by Moreau (5: no. 680) in the notice of the 1537 Petrus Lombardus. Chevallon had a slightly reduced copy of this typeface from 1536 onwards. See below (28).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 92 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN October 1533 (colophon date; title-page dated 1534), Paris, F. Gryphius (L. Valla, *De linguae latinae elegantia*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, A 10843; Moreau, 4: 351, no. 1163).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Poitiers**: 1536, J. II & E. II de Marnef {Fabritius}; **Paris**: 1537, P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit {Thomas Aquinas}; 1540, J. Loys & S. de Colines {Plato}, C. Neobar {Canones}, P. II Regnault {Biblia}.

KEY LETTERS Low-barred capital A; one-eared M with center above base-line; closed-bowl P; big-bowled R; sloping S and X; slightly sloping lower case c and e; small-bowled g.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, S4: 19 (s.v. *Saint-augustin* 95/100); Kemp, 1991, 43, pl. 8.

FIGURE 24 Gryphius's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1533) as it appears in B. Latomus, *Epitome*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1535, f. biv. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

TOTVM ET PARTES.

· Otius & partis nomine genus & species plerunq; significantur: quia simile quiddam inter se obtinent. Nam sicut genus species suas omnes complectitur, ita & totum partes. Sed in re permultum interest: quia genus in singularum specierum substantia inest, & de una qualibet earum uere predicatur. Vt animal inest substantiae hominis, & de eodem, ite de leone, boue, asino ceterisque animalibus uere predicatur. At totum non item. Nam neque totum corpus singulis inest membris, nec de iis uere dici potest. Itaque de finiendo ista recte discernuntur à Fabio, ut fit diuisio, plurium rerum in singulas: partitio, singularum in partes, discretio. ¶ Ceterum ut partium, ita & totius non una est ratio: sed aliae quantitatatis sunt partes, aliae uirtutis, aliae substantiae. Quantitatis, ut in iis, quae magnitudine & multitudine constāt. Vt pedale, bipedale: binarius, ternarius. Virtutis, quae admodum plus roboris Achilli, quam Aiaci fuisse dicimus: plus luminis soli, quam lunae. Ite quemadmodum physici animam in uitam, sensum

25. Augereau's English-Bodied Roman [R 96]
or *Saint-augustin* (1534)

This typeface is attributable to Augereau on the grounds of its appearance at his own press and a reference of punches of this size attributed to him in Plantin's inventory of 1563. The punches were lost or discarded during Plantin's lifetime. He no doubt acquired it at Garamont's executors' sale in 1562 or 1563, together with a group of unfinished Garamont punches. Plantin's reference is the earliest documentation of a relation between Augereau and Garamont (Early inv., 1960, 17 and 21 [LST 5]). It supports the younger Le Bé's statement that Garamont was apprenticed to Augereau (Carter, 1967, 30).

The typeface has not been seen outside Augereau's press, except in the main text part (sign. a–z⁸, A–Gg⁸, Hh¹⁰) of the 1535 Nyverd-Colines-Du Pré edition of Foresti (Moreau, 4: no. 1306), where the preliminaries were wholly set in Colines's types. Probably Nyverd served as a contract printer to Colines and somehow had Augereau's

typesets at his disposal. William Kemp's assertion (1991, 43) that Augereau's English-Bodied Roman was also used by Gryphius as early as 1533 may need correction.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 96 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1534, Paris, A. Augereau (Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 11990; Moreau, 4: 309, no. 996; Renouard, 1964, 1: 224, no. 577).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1535, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti}.

KEY LETTERS Outwards singly-serifed capital M with center above base-line; undersized Q; splayed top serifs of T; tail of lower case g extending to the right.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Vieux poinçons imparfaits de l'Augustin d'Augereau (Plantin, 1563).

LITERATURE Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 140, fig. 5; Renouard, 1964, 1: 204, pl. A40; Barker, 1974, 16–17, pl. 9; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 31, fig. 5; Kemp, 1991, 43.

FIGURE 25 Augereau's English-Bodied Roman [R 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1534) as it appears in Eusebius, *De evangelica praeparatione*, A. Augereau & S. de Colines, 1534, f. a3. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyons.

EVSEBII PAMPHILI DE PRAE-
PARATIONE EVANGE-
LICA LIBER
PRIMVS.

De Euāgelii diffinitione, & intentione sua. C A P. I



VM Quid sit Christianismus nescientibus aperire statuerim, hunc librum, quo Euangelicæ doctrinæ ueritatem approbamus, ut orationibus tuis adiutus, ad optatum finem perueniam, tuo nomini Episcoporum ornamentum Theodore dedicauī. Ac in primis quid nobis hoc Euangelii nomine significetur, & quānam huius uerbi potestas sit, declarandum esse arbitror. Euangelium igitur dicimus, quod æternorum atque incorruptibilium bonorum, quæ certe summa & maxima sunt, & ex antiquissimis prædicta temporibus, nuper uero splendore sui orbem illustrantia, cunctis hominibus annunciat, quod non cæcas caducæque huius sæculi diuitias, nec breuem hanc, calamitosamque uitam, nec instabilia corporis commoda, sed animarum quæ intellectualis substantiæ sunt, à quibus etiam corporum bona, quasi umbra consequentia dependent, summam, propriamque nobis affert foelicitatem, cuius quasi caput religio est, nō illa gentilis quæ falsa & ficta, errorisque plena, nomen eumentita est, sed hæc nostra, quæ ipsarum rerum ueritate appellationem adinuenit, quam animi ad unū solum & uerum deum firmam, stabilem-

26. The 'Loys' English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)

A new and passably well designed Roman on English occurs from late 1535 onwards at the presses of the heirs of Badius (e.g. in the first quires of the 1535 Petrus Lombardus preliminaries), later at those of his corrector Loys and son-in-law Vascosan. I do not know who may have cut it, though it has some features, such as the straight-tailed R, in common with the first Loys Great Primer Roman (16) and the Janot Pica (32). The reference in Renouard (1964, S4: 19) to its occurrence in Neobar's printing as well as the attribution to Garamont (Johnson, 1936, 74; Carter, 1969, 86, n. 4) are dubious.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN December 1535, Paris, Heirs of Badius [& J. Loys]
(Petrus Lombardus, *In omnes D. Pauli ... epistolas ... collectanea*;

prelims quires a–b only; Ghent, University Library, G. 9637[1]; Moreau, 4: 413, no. 1403; Renouard, 1964, 2: 297, no. 776).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, J. Loys for J. de Roigny & J. II Petit & M. de Vascosan {Asconius Pedianus}; 1537, G. de Bossozel {Libri Salomonis}; 1538, D. Janot {Marot}, [J. Loys &] D. Lescuier {Postel/quire A}, O. Mallard & G. I Du Pré & J. de Roigny {Clichtove}, M. de Vascosan {Appianus}; 1539, G. de Bossozel & G. Le Bret & J. II Petit & Y. Bonhomme {Grant Therence}; 1540, Collegium Italarum {Qimhi}; 1544, P. II Regnault {Bible}; 1549, M. Fezandat {Habert}, J. de Roigny {Thomas a Kempis}; London: 1538, T. Petyt {Longland}.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; narrow L; one-eared M; wide N; straight-tailed R; T with outwards sloped left top serif; X leaning to the left; shallow-bowled lower case a; ampersand leaning to the left.

FIGURE 26 The 'Loys' English-Bodied Roman [R 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1535) as it appears on the title-page of Petrus Lombardus, *In omnes ... Pauli ... epistolas collectanea*, Paris, Haereditas Badii, 1535. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

PETRI LONGOBARDI, Magistri Sententiarum, Parisiens. quondam Episcopi, in omnes D. Pauli Apost. Epistolas COLLECTANEA, ex DD. Augustino, Ambrosio, Hieronymo, aliisque nonnullis S. scripturæ primariis Interpretibus, summa arte diligentiaq; contexta. Opus eximium, & anno MCXL conscriptum, nunc primum in lucem editum.



27. The 'Girault' English-Bodied Roman [R 95]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)

This old fashioned letter is somewhat reminiscent of the first Gryphius-Chevallon English-Bodied Roman (22). Moreau (4: nos. 1288, 1348, 1444; 5: nos. 56–7, 135–7, 680, 1036) links this typeface to Gromors, whose address occurs on some title-pages. It occurs mostly accompanied by Girault's Great Primer (17) and Pica (33). See also Janot's Long Primer, below (38).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 95 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1535, Paris, A. Girault & P. Gaudoul & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit (Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum ac factorum ... memorabilia*; Ghent, University Library, Moreau, 4: 423, no. 1444) and 1535, Paris, A. Girault & J. Kerver & J. Macé & J. II Petit (F. Josephus, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri xx*; Ghent, University

Library, Acc. 32452; Moreau, 4: 400, no. 1348) and 1535, Paris, J. II Petit & M. de La Porte (G. Budé, *Annotationes ... in Pandectorum libros*; Glasgow, University Library, P.41239295. JPG; Moreau, 4: 368, no. 1224) and April 1535, Paris, O. Mallard (Diodorus Siculus, *Les troys premiers livres*; after Mortimer, 1: 212, no. 173; Moreau, 4: 383, no. 1288).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault & J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}; 1537, C. Chevallon & J. Macé & A. Girault {Petrus Lombardus}; N. Higman & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit {Thomas Aquinas}; c.1538, P. Gromors {Postel}.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; overhanging top terminal of G; one-eared M; big-bowled R; outwards sloping top serifs of T; right leaning X; tilt-barred lower case e; thin diagonal of z; high lead-in stroke of ampersand.

FIGURE 27 The 'Girault' English-Bodied Roman [R 95] or *Saint-augustin* (1535) as it appears in Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum libri xx*, Paris, A. Girault & J. Kerver & Jean Macé & Jean II Petit, 1535, f. ai. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

FLAVII IOSEPHI
RELIGIONE IVDÆI, HISTORIOGRAPHI GRAECI
Viri clariss.in.XX. libros antiquitatum iudaicarum, è Græ-
cò in Latinum traductos Ruffino Aquileien-
interprete, præfatio:



I S T O R I A M conscribere disponentibus, non vnam nec eandem video eiusdem studii causam, sed multas existere, & ab alterutro plurimum differentes. Nam quidam eorum sui sermonis pandere volentes ornatum, & ex hoc gloriam aucupantes, ad partem huius disciplinæ accedunt: Alij vero illis gratiâ referentes, de quibus ipsam descriptionem esse contigerit, in eodem opere vltra virtutem coacti sunt laborare. Quidam autem ipsa rerû necessitate vim passi sunt, vt ea, quibus interfuerunt cum agerentur, scripturæ declaratione colligerent. Multos autem magnitudo rerum vtilium, in occulto iacentium, inuitauit, vt historiam ex his adutilitatem deberent proferre cõmunem. Harum itaq; quas prædixi, causarum duæ nouissimæ mihi etiam prouenerunt. Bellum nanq; quod inter Romanos & nos Iudæos fuit, & qui actus ei, quiq; finis accesserit, experimẽto ipse cognoscens, narrare coactus sum, propter eos qui veritatem in ipsa conscriptione corrumpunt. Præfens autem opus allumpsi, credens dignum studium etiam Græcis omnibus apparere. Cõtinebit itaque omnem antiquitatem nostram, & conuersationis ordinem, ex Hebraicis libris interpretatum. Dudum siquidem, cum bella conscriberem, proposueram decla-

28. The Third 'Chevallon-Gryphius'
English-Bodied Roman [R 89]
or *Saint-augustin* (1536)

This is a reduced version of Gryphius's 1533 Roman on English (24), apparently proprietary to the Chevallons and their successors. It is wholly in Gryphius's style. Pierre Gaultier, Garamont's printer, acquired a fount, probably via the Chevallon press. It is attributed (as I think, wrongly) to Garamont by the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum (Carter, 1967, 30).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 89 x 1.8 : 2.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, C. Chevallon (Johannes Chrysostomus, *Opera*; Lyons, Bibliothèque de l'Université catholique, H12.A-1-1; Moreau, 5: 109, 209).

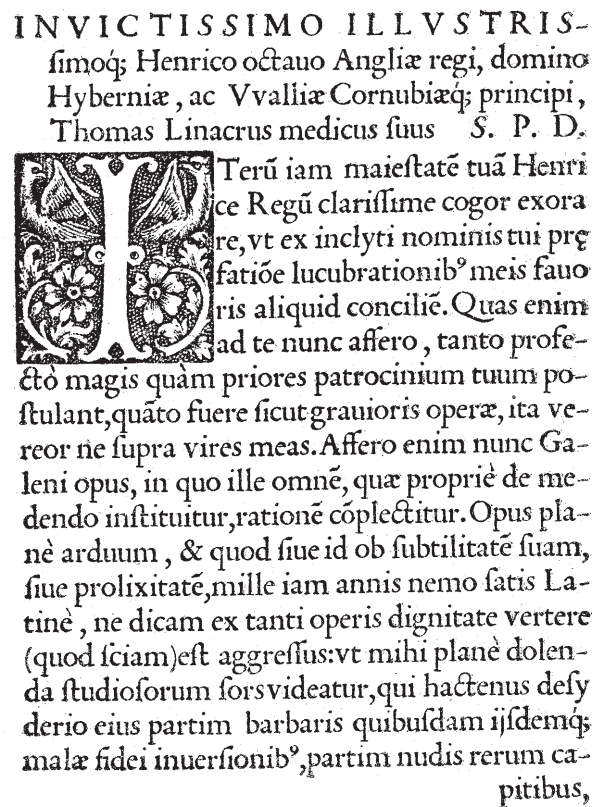
EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1539, Ch. Guillard & J. de Roigny {Alessandri}; 1542, J. Bogard {Bayard}; 1545, P. Gaultier for J. Barbé & C. Garamont & T. II Kerver & J. de Roigny {Hugo de Sancto Charo}; Lyons: 1548, Ph. Rollet {Fuchs}.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Vn Sainct Augustin ... que nous appellons de la premiere taille dudit garamond (Le Bé, c.1648).

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; one-eared M with center above base-line; sloping S; T with perpendicular top serifs; slightly sloping lower case c and e; small-bowled g.

FIGURE 28a The Third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-Sized Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536) as it appears in Galenus, *Methodus medendi*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, f. aa2v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 28b The Third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-Sized Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536) assembled from A. Lippomanus, *Catena in Genesim*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1546, p. 434. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.



ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ & ff fi œ ß

29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1531)

This Pica appeared in 1531, both at the press of Antoine Bocard, who (probably) was Augereau's father-in-law, and that of François Gryphius. It is the first Roman on this body to appear in Paris in the new 'Aldine' style of the 1530 Estienne Romans (Vervliet, 2004, 114–16). Gryphius's fount was cast on slightly smaller body (measuring 79 mm/20 lines) but is otherwise identical to that of Augereau.

Both Augereau and Gryphius were letter-engravers but this typeface is plausibly credited to the first on the grounds of its occurrence at his press and the attribution to him of a set matrices in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 28). The simultaneous occurrence at the two presses points to an early connection between the two craftsmen. Moreover, as the set possibly came to Le Bé among the materials he bought at Garamont's executors' sale, a link between Gryphius, Augereau and Garamont is a trail to investigate.

Augereau used this typeface throughout his career (1532–34). Gryphius had it only up to 1533 when he changed to a second state with slightly diverging capitals (E, M, T) and numerals. See below (30).

The Pica Roman occurring at the press of D. Janot (1534), which is said to be the Augereau Pica (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 142; 1987, 33), is likely a copy, with most sorts (such as M, R, Q, T, g, ligatures ff and long ss) differing from the present typeface. See below (32).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1531, Paris, A. Bocard (Vergilius, *Opera* [quires b sqq.]; London, British Library, 687.e.6; Moreau, 4: 127, no. 309; Renouard, 1964, 5: 73, no. 78) and 1531, Paris, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio ... pro Cn. Plancio*; Blois, Bibliothèque municipale, I 802; Moreau, 4: 71, no. 87).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1532, A. Bocard & A. Augereau & J. II Petit {Aristoteles}, A. Augereau {Sepulveda}, A. Augereau & G. I Du Pré {Plinius}; G. Fiscus [pseud. of Augereau] {Erasmus}.

KEY LETTERS Capital E with three arms of equal length; one-eared M, with center above base-line; old-fashioned numerals.

VARIANT LETTERS A second state, with diverging capitals E (short middle arm), M (center on base-line), T (short), and numerals appears from 1533 onwards (30). Janot possibly had a third state (32).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Un vieux Cicero Romain Augereau (Le Bé, c.1618)

LITERATURE Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 139, pls. 2, 4; Renouard, 1964, 1: 204, pl. 39; 5: 7, pl. 20; Barker, 1974, 14; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 31, fig. 2–4, 12; Kemp, 1991, 30–3, fig. 5–6.

FIGURE 29 The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1531) as it appears in J. de Hangest, *De libero arbitrio*, Paris, J. Petit & A. Bocard, c.1531, f. k8. Courtesy of the University Library, Leuven.

IN LV THERVM ARTI.II.

in lege domini ex qua demanarunt matris ecclesiæ
ac orthodoxorū patrum traditiones, voluntas per
maneat, in eisq; humilis & pia meditatio die noctu
q; , ea nanq; ecclesiastica doctrina secus decursus
sacrarum scripturarum plantata est, quæ inde fru-
ctus suos salutare dabit in tempore suo, nequaquæ
nenofis huiusmodi hæreticorum flatibus folia eius
defluent; sed prosperabuntur: non sic impii Lu-
therani, non sic, at tanquam pulueres erunt quos
proiicit ventus a facie terræ: matris nanq; ecclesiæ
viam per quam inceserunt patres nostri in cælo
beati, nouit dominus, iter autem impiorum Luth-
erorum tandem deo vindice peribit. Amen.

FINIS.

In Typographia Andreæ Boucard Im-
pensis Ioannis Parui, apud quem venun-
dantur Parisii in vico diui Iacobi sub Li-
lio Aureo.

30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1533)

This appears to be a second state of the Augereau/Gryphius Pica (29). It has slightly different capitals (E, M, T) and revised numerals. The lower case of both states seems undistinguishable. Chevallon and Gryphius used this second state, the former from 1533 (Hieronymus), the latter from 1534 (Terentius) onwards. It has been attributed to Garamont by Barker (1974, 19) but Gryphius may be a more plausible candidate. About 1538 a set of shortened capitals were added.

I noted above (2) a 1531 and an undated (c. 1533/37) edition of Vergilius, reissued with the same 1582 cancel title-page. The (undated) Oxford and Cambridge copies of the 1531/1582 Vergilius exhibit the present second state, while the London copy displays the first state.

The Pica Roman occurring at the press of D. Janot (1534), which is said to be the Augereau Pica (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 142; 1987, 33) and the Girault Pica are likely either variant states of the present typeface or copies, with many sorts differing. See below (32, 33).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1533–34, Paris, C. Chevallon (Hieronymus (s.), *Opera*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, F 4346; Moreau, 4: 239–40, nos. 721–6; 319, nos. 1031–2) and 1534, Paris, F. Gryphius (Terentius; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, A.lat.a 1839; Moreau, 4: 348, no. 1152).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1538, F. Gryphius (with shortened capitals) {Agricola}, 1538, P. II Regnault {Caesarius}; 1539, Ch. Guillard (with shortened capitals) {Erasmus}; 1542, J. Bignon {Marot}, N. Buffet {Stella}; 1543, A. Juriani & J. de Roigny {Augustinus}; Poitiers: 1541, J. II & E. II de Marnef (with shortened capitals) {Caviglioli}.

KEY LETTERS Capital E with short middle arm, one-eared M with center on base-line, short T.

VARIANT LETTERS In 1538 Gryphius {Agricola} added shortened capitals (2.2 mm), which Guillard {Erasmus, 1539} and the Marnefs in Poitiers {Caviglioli, 1541} used likewise.

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 17–19, pls. 7, 13; Kemp, 1991, 33–4; Kemp, 2005.

FIGURE 30 The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1533) as it appears in Hieronymus (s.), *Opus epistolarum*, Paris, C. Chevallon, 1533, p. 72. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

S C H O L I A.

Parentis affectus.) Parentis, refertur ad Paulam
Blefilla matrem: auunculi, ad Heliodorū Nepo-
tiani auunculum: mariti, ad Pammachium Pauli-
nae maritum. 2 Scholae memor.) Declamato-
riam scholā intellige. Porro praecepta iubent in genere lau-
datorio a maiorū laudibus ordiri. 3 Vnus qui nobis.) Re-
tulit Vergilianum carmen ex libro Aeneidos sexto, quod il-
le ab Ennio mutuatus traditur. Dictū est hodie de Quinto
Fabio Maximo, qui contatione sua Hannibalē fregit, remq;
Romanam penē ad extremam desperationem redactam re-
stituit. Vnde & contator dictus est. 4 Et quia statim in
princip.) Hoc ad consiliū pertinet, quod & admonet Quin-
tilianus, vt si quid fuerit quod ad causam videatur obstatu-
rum, id amoliamur, nō obleruata ratione communium prae-
ceptorum. Id quod fecit M. Tullius in oratione habita pro
Milone. 5 Corporis fui infamare partem.) Corporis par-
tem maritum vocat, quod vir & vxor vnum corpus appellet
Paulus. Hoc addidit, ne videretur vel fauore tacuisse, vel
metu, sed humanitate. Hoc admonendum putauī, ne quis hic
ineptē argutus, aliquid obscenius somniet, cū nihil tale si-
gnificet Hieronymus. 6 In basilica quondam Laterani.) Lateranē-
Indicat vnde basilica Lateranensis, quae Romae summa fuit, sis basilica
nomē inuenerit. 7 Aaron sacrilegiū.) Legis Exodi capite
vigesimo secundo. Fraternas preces, Moyse preces intelligit.
8 Quam Achab.) De peccato Achab, & de huius poeni-
tentia, legis tertio libro Regum, capite vigesimo primo. 9
Cōtra Montanum.) Vel hinc apparet, istos Christianis post Montani
baptismum lapsis, negasse per poenitentiam reditum ad gra-
tiam Christi: deceptos, opinor, occasione verborum Pauli in
epistola ad Hebræos: Impossibile est &c. Et Ioannis in pri-
ma epistola: Est peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico, vt

31. Constantin's Small Pica Roman [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1533)

Up to the mid-1530s Estienne used Colines's Small Pica, first on its normal 73 mm body, and from 1529 onwards on the next larger body size of Pica (80 mm). Casting it on a larger body gave a lighter weight to the rather bold Colines Roman. This change of body may indicate that Estienne and Constantin were envisioning, as early as 1529, the visual revolution that their lighter Romans, described above (1, 9, 21), would initiate a year later.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 72 x 1.3 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 15 August 1533, Paris, R. I Estienne (Lucianus, *Dialogi*; Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, FA 8° E 1g; Moreau, 4: 249, no. 760).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1538, R. I Estienne & R. Chaudière {Imbert}; 1553, C. I Estienne {Appianus}; 1566, R. II Estienne {Alphabetum graecum}; Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne {Pauli epistolae}; H. II Estienne {Xenophon}.

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; long-tailed Q; shallow bowl of R; S slanting to the right; asymmetrical top serifs of T; lower case g with short link; s slanting to the right; low terminal of v; small capitals (1.4 mm).

LITERATURE Barker, 1974, 8–9; Vervliet, 2004, 129–30.

FIGURE 31 Constantin's Small Pica [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1533) as it occurs in Joannes Despauterius, *Commentarii grammatici*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, f. 69. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Siquid in hoc mancum pubes studiosa libello,
Si natet in multis crassa Minerua locis,
Ne precor auctori sit fraudi: si potuisset
Inuida per plures cernere fata dies,
Omnibus hoc numeris opus absoluisset, & idem
Linxisset, catulos vrsus vt ipse suos,
Omne igitur vitium saeuus transcribito fatis,
Quae studiis semper sunt inimica bonis.
Addere nil volui, nil demere: nempe alienam
In messem, falcem mittere nolo meam.
Alea nam cecidit saepe infeliciter illi,
Cuius ad alterius addita scripta manus.
Nemo manum Veneri summam est imponere Apellis
Aufus, Phidiacum fingere nullus ebur.

32. The 'Janot' Pica Roman [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)

The present Pica Roman occurring at the press of D. Janot from 1534 onwards and said to be the Augereau Pica (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 142; 1987, 33), is either a revised version of Augereau's or possibly a close copy. Several sorts (such as H, M, N, R, Q, T, g, z, and the ff and long ss ligatures) differ from those of Augereau's Pica (29). But as Janot used Augereau's Great Primer (11) in 1537, more research is needed. The present Pica's relation to Girault's Pica (33) and Loys's English (26) may also need more scrutiny. Carter (1969, 49) suggested it was engraved by Garamont but his claim that it is identical to a Pica used in Garamont's 1545 Juvencus edition seems erroneous.

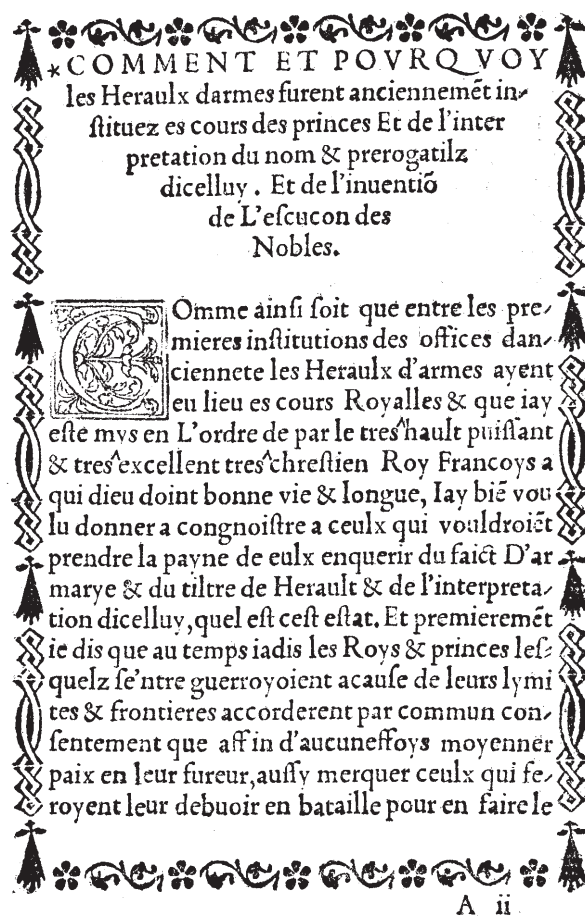
SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 81 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1534, Paris, D. Janot (P. Grosnet, *Enchiridion*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 27974; Moreau, 4: 314, no. 1012).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1535, P. Le Preux {Goullet}; 1539, G. Corrozet [& D. Janot] {Corrozet}.

KEY LETTERS Low middle arm of capital E; narrow H; one-eared M; N with extending top of diagonal; wide R; two ampersands (short/wide/swash from 1543 onwards).

FIGURE 32 The 'Janot' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1534) as it appears in S. Champier, *Fondement et origine des tiltres*, Paris, D. Janot, 1535, f. A2. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.



33. The 'Girault' Pica Roman [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1535)

Like the Girault Great Primer (17) this Pica has been linked variously to Buffet (Moreau, 4: nos. 1328, 1367, 1444, 1451; 5: 618) or Gromors (4: no. 1348). Was it a type owned by a publisher or available for hire? In 1542 Buffet {Stella} seems to use another typeface, viz. the Chevallon/Gryphius Pica (30). The Girault Pica is very similar to the Janot Pica (32) and may be an adulterated version. Pending further inquiry, it is here presented as a different typeface.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 81 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1535, Paris, P. Gaudoul & A. Girault & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit (Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum ac factorum ... Collectanea*; Ghent, University Library, Cl. 258; Moreau, 4: 422, no. 1444).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1535, A. Girault & J. Kerver & J. Macé & J. II Petit {Flavius Josephus}, P. Le Preux {Goulet}, O. Mallard {Diodore}, J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}, J. II Petit {Vergilius}; 1536, A. Girault & C. Chevallon & J. Macé & J. II Petit & M. de La Porte {Budé}; 1537, N. Buffet & G. Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruelle {Petrus Lombardus}.

KEY LETTERS Similar to the Janot Pica (32), but with long-tailed capital R and lower case z with light diagonal.

FIGURE 33 The 'Girault' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1535) as it appears in Valerius Maximus, *Dictorum ... collectanea*, Paris, P. Gaudoul & A. Girault & P. Le Preux & J. II Petit, 1535, f. ar. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Iodoci Badii Ascensii Familiaris Val. Maximi expositio, quæ
textum hac serie semper sequetur.

VRBIS Romæ. More oratorio quo ordine rem profe/
cuturus est proponit. Deinde inueterato sui temporis
errore inuocat non deum ipsum patrem luminū vn/
de omne datum & omne donum perfectum est descendens:
fed Tyberium Casarem, quem recepto iam tum consensu in
diuorum numerum asciscit. Quem quidem errorem Lauren/
tius Valla vt acri vir est ingenio acerbe satis detestatur Pos/
tremo loco proposita exequitur vt suis locis declarabimus.
In propositione reddit lectorē ex ordine rerū quo prius do/
mestica quā am extera se scripturum dicit docilem, ex difficul/
tate suscepti negotii attentū, & ex vtilitate & breuitate be/
niuolū. simulq; breuitatē ne vitio detur purgat: vt cū ordine
latius aperiemus quē ab vltima primæ Periodi parte auspica/
bimur: quia fere in cōstruendo & resoluēdo cōtrarius est or/
do: vt quæ hic vltima fuerint: sint illic fere prima. Ordo igit/
tur est. Cōstitui. i. maturo cōsensu & preuia deliberatione sta/
tui: deligere. i. de multis legere & decerpere facta simul ac di/
cta Vrbis Romæ & gentiū exterarū. i. aliarū nationū extra ci/
uitatē Romanā, digna memoratu. i. quæ memorentur: hoc est
recitetur & ad memoriā reducatur. Notum est Valla autho/
re oēs vrbes oppida posse dici preter Romā, quæ tantū vrbs
dicitur, vsq; adeo vt si per se ponatur vrbs Roma intelliga/
tur: quocirca possit superflua videri appositio: nā satis esset
vrbs exterarūq; gentium: verum quia dignitas quædam ex
nobilitate rerum gestarum accreuit Romæ, noluit id nomē
prætermittere, vnde autem Roma dicta sit an ab romulo an
ab Roma an ab *pouh* in aliis authoribus vbi plus sermonis
quā morum elegantiā venamus disquirendum censeo.
Bene autem præponit facta vtpote in quibus plus est pon/

34. Garamont's First Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)

A new Pica succeeding in 1536 to the Morrhius's Small Pica at Loys's press, may be the first typeface that can be attributed to Garamont with some certainty. It is documented in the 1541 contract of Garamont with the publisher Mathurin Du Puys by a reference to the 1540 Actuarius edition (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 78, fig. 1-2). It appears in Du Puys's 1547 Euthymius. Likewise by the 1543 contract of Garamont with Etienne Mesvière (ibid., 88 and fig. 4). Pierre Gaultier used it in the 1540s during his partnership with Garamont and Barbé.

No doubt, it can be identified as to the 'Cicero romain Garamond premiere taille' mentioned in the c. 1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 19) and the 1643 Le Bé Memorandum (Carter, 1967, 19), the 'seconde taille' being the Pica that Garamont engraved about 1550. Le Bé owned the punches for the latter, and Plantin had a set of matrices (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 26; 14, nos. 10, 12-13; Vervliet, 2008, no. 68). The 'seconde taille' is quite similar to the 'premiere taille' but features fractionally smaller capitals. Its spot letters are the M (with sloping left stroke), P (open-bowled), T (with doubly-bracketed bar).

For the 1533 Chevallon Pica, attributed to Garamont by Barker (1974, 19 and pls. 7, 13) and ascribed here to Gryphius, see above (30).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.6 : 2.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN August 1536, Paris, J. Loys for J. de Roigny (Cicero, *Orationes*; Ghent, University Library, G. 9635; Renouard, 1964, S4: 31, no. 8; Moreau, 5: 80, no. 96).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, J. Loys & J. de Roigny & J. II Petit & M. de Vascosan {Gellius}; 1538, N. Buffet for Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel {Petrus Lombardus}; 1539, A. Girault & J. Loys {Dionysius Carthusiensis}, C. Wechel {Noviomagus}; 1540, G. Le Bret {Erasmus}, M. Fezandat {Bringerius}, C. Néobar {Actuarius}; 1541, N. Barbou {Marinario}; 1542, J. Gazeau {Sylvius}; 1543, J. Bogard {Ramus}, P. & J. Regnault {Biblia}; 1544, J. Ruel {Phrases}; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé & C. Garamont {Cassianus}, P. Gaultier for J. Barbé & C. Garamont & Th. II Kerver & J. de Roigny {Hugo de Sancto Charo}; 1546, R. Avril {Gomes}, C. Badius {Epistre de Cicero}, E. Mesvière {Comines}; 1547, J. David for A. Girault & M. Du Puys & J. Foucher & O. Petit {Euthymius Zigabenus}; 1549, L. Begat {Vessodus}, M. Le Jeune {Cinqarbres}.

KEY LETTERS High-barred capital A; narrow H; one-eared narrow M; wide N with extending right top serif; tail of R extending below base line; outwards sloping top serifs of T; X leaning slightly to the right; wide ampersand leaning to the right.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Une frappe de matrices ... dont est imprime ung livre intitule Actuarius de compositione medicamentorum, complete avec ses petits versales et chiffre (Contract Garamont-Mathurin Du Puys, 1541); Une autre fonte de cicero (Contract Garamont-Mesvière, 1543); Cicero romain Garamond prem^{re} taille (Le Bé, c. 1618); Vn Cicero, que nous appellons de la premiere taille dudit garamond (Le Bé, c. 1648).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 138, fig. 5-8 (retouched); Renouard, 1964, 1: pls. 45, 47; 2: pl. 36; 3: 34 and pls. 6, 19, 26; 5: 93, 97, 140-1; Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 78, fig. 1-2; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 63-5, fig. 13-14.

FIGURE 34 Garamont's First Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) as it appears in Cicero, *Orationes*, Paris, J. de Roigny & J. Loys, 1536, f. e3v. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon.

C O D I C V M O R D O

A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L.M.N.O.P.Q.R.S.T.V.X.Y.Z.

AA.BB.CC.DD.EE.FF.GG.HH.II.KK.LL.MM.NN.OO.PP.QQ.RR.SS.

TT.VV.XX.YY.ZZ.&&. Omnes quaterniones præter, A ternionem: B, L, quinterniones.
a.b.c.d.terniones, e duernio.

PARISIIS
EXCVDEBATIOANNES LODOICVS
IMPENSIS IOANNIS ROIGNY,
ANNO M.D.XXXVI, MEN-
SE AVGVSTO.

35. Colines's Pica Roman [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1536)

In 1536 (or 1535, if the date of Nyverd's Foresti is to be followed) appeared an update of Colines's earlier 1527 Small Pica Roman (Vervliet, 2003a, 134–5, no. 9). The new type is a bit larger than the earlier one, but otherwise very similar. The most conspicuous characteristics are noted in the rubric on Key Letters. This could well be the last letter engraved by Colines himself.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar. G 5395; Moreau, 5: 92, no. 142).

EARLY APPEARANCE 1535, Paris, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. I Du Pré {Foresti; prelims only};

KEY LETTERS Outwards singly-serifed capital M with center on the base-line; narrow N with right stem descending below the base-line; alternative forms of Q (short/long-tailed); short tail of R; level cross-stroke to the lower case e; narrow g; bulbous tail of y.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 31; Vervliet, 2003a, 150–1, no. 19.

FIGURE 35a Colines's Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) as it appears in Eutropius, *De gestis Romanorum Libri decem*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1539, f. 32v–33. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 35b Colines's Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536) as it assembled from J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, Index, f. A8–G7. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

BELLVM CIVILE, MARIANVM,
ET MITHRIDATICVM.



Nno vrbis conditę sexcētesimo sexagesimo secundo primū Romę bellum ciuile cōmotum est: Eodē anno etiā Mithridaticū. Causam bello ciuili Caius Marius sexies c o s. dedit. Nam cum Sylla c o s. contra Mithridatem gesturus bellū, qui Asiam & Achaiam occupauerat, mitteretur, isque exercitū in Campania paulisper teneret, vt belli socialis, de quo diximus, quod intra Italiam gestū fuerat, reliquiā tollerentur: Marius affectauit vt ipse ad bellum Mithridaticum mitteretur. Quare Sylla cōmotus, cum exercitu ad vrbem venit. Illic contra Marium & Sulpitium dimicauit. Primus vrbem armatus ingressus est. Sulpitiū interfecit, Mariū fugauit: atq; ita c o s. ordinatis in futurum annum Cn. Octauio, & Cornelio Cinna, ad Asiā profectus est. Mithridates, qui Pōti rex erat, atque Armeniam mi-

ABCE GHIKLMNPQRSTVXZ
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79]
or *Cicéro* (1539)

In 1539, after an interval of some six years, Estienne began to introduce new type designs. Besides the present Pica Roman, three new Hebrews (Vervliet, 2004, nos. 22–4) appeared in 1539. The new Roman was rather rarely used and seems to have been withdrawn after 1541. We do not know who cut it, though it must be noted that two of three 1539 Hebrews were found insufficient and likewise discarded in 1542. Was the same engraver, perhaps Michel Du Boys, involved?

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 79 x 1.5 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 5 December 1539, Paris, R. I Estienne (C. Stephanus, *De re hortensi*; Ghent, University Library, HN 579; Moreau, 5: 383, no. 1313).

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; narrow H and S; doubly bracketed top serifs of T; lower case i with dot to the left.

VARIANT LETTERS A slightly bigger set of capitals (2.7 mm) appears in Geneva about 1553.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2004, 132–3, no. 6.

FIGURE 36a The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539) as it appears in Charles Estienne, *Seminarium et plantarium*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540, p. 58–9. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 36b The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539) assembled from Charles Estienne, *Seminarium et plantarium*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1540, p. 58–9 and f. N4v–O4v. The capital Z is probably inverted. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

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pellauere: quæ ramis, caudice, frondibus, syluestri cupresso propemodū similis est. De hac videto Theophrastum lib. 4. & 5. cap. 5. Caterum citrus nostras nihil commune cum cupresso habere videtur: cui foliū est andrachnes vnedonisque, spinis intercurrentibus, vt in pyro & oxyacantha, sed læuibus, infestis mucrone & validis. Hæc Barbarus. Sed vt ad ipsa mala redeamus, certū est ex Athenæo mala citrea Plutarchi auorum memoria nunquam gustata fuisse: sed neque Plinii & Theophrasti seculis magnopere degustabantur, tantum odore commēdato: nunc verò (inquit Hermolaus) à Palladii fere temporibus promiscuum expetimus cœnis: qui & medullas eorū acris dulcibus mutare docuit. Hæc itaque mala ex infitione quoties proueniūt, citromela proprie dicuntur ab aliquibus. Aristophanes autem grammaticus à Lacedæmoniis oxymala persica nūcupari prodidit, à sapore acetoso, & quod ex Persia allata sint, quibus etiā deos coronari solitos suis tē-

ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTVZ
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
æ & & fi ff

37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65]
or *Petit-romain* (1536)

In 1536 Colines began to use a new Bourgeois Roman, the third in his punchcutting career. It is the successor to his 1523 Bourgeois, the workhorse for his sextodecimo editions (Vervliet, 2003a, 130–1, no. 6). It is more in line with the new trend but retains many characteristics typical of Colines, making it possible to attribute this small typeface to him. It was perhaps his last. Amert (1991, 25) seems to date its introduction as early as 1531, but I have been unable to confirm that.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 65 x 1.3 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar G 5395; Moreau, 5: 92, no. 142).

EARLY APPEARANCE 1538, F. I Estienne [& S. de Colines] {Terentius}.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capitals E, G, N, R; outwards singly-seriffed M; broad T; level cross-stroke to the lower case e; narrow g; bulbous tail of y.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 25 (s.v. *Petit-texte*); Vervliet, 2003a, 149, no. 18.

FIGURE 37 Colines's Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536) as it appears in J. Ruel, *De natura stirpium*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1536, Index, f. H6v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

ERRATA IN SIGNIORA POST IMPRESSIONEM ANIMADVERSA,
QUORVM PRIOR NVMERVS, PAGINAM: POSTERIOR, PAGINAE LINEAM DENOTAT.

In epistola liminari, linea 30. transposita literula, displicuerint. 16. 35. vim ventorum. 18. 3. characiæ tithymali. 30. 2. gratissimum, & 32. radiata. 44. 29. spathulis. 66. 8. in aliquibus lege, & semis. 73. 42. structili. 94. 2. ebulum chamæacten. 95. 4. pandaturve. 108. 27. credimus, hoc fretus præstigio. Chamæ. 112. 43. mollis. 128. 2. accipiente. 141. 38. appositu. 155. 43. ædere fructus. 158. 37. Ita nihil mirum si peregre. 169. 42. Acefinen. 191. 2. cœnis. 234. 30. duritia. 236. 43. minus. 261. 25. parentem. 268. 23. emicuisse. 287. 31. grauari. 293. 7. linteolis. 342. 33. ducantur. 348. 34. quo. 361. 14. demer. gente. 366. 33. in aliquot lege, setino. 367. 45. caufa. 387. 40. multiq;. 389. 6. casas. 22. producente. 467. 43. amaritudi. nis. 473. 9. bafis. 479. 27. vua. 514. 30. leuissima. 517. 24. glabritie. 532. 40. cicatrices. 544. 5. odore. 557. 22. gustum. 584. 25. granis. 593. 12. excidat. 594. 34. incanis. 601. 45. adligant. 602. 35. incana. 609. 32. vite. 628. 1. illam; & adhi bere. 3. teritur. 632. 29. Carpitur Vergiliarum occasu. vacat. 638. 24. comprehendentem. 641. 14. incana. 29. adpellitur. 644. 40. Hoc. 646. 36. ipsum. 654. 20. vacuatorijs vacat. 659. 20. Lendes & fœda. 660. 6. colatis. 671. 33. tomento. 674. 23. flauescit. 676. 35. cætam. 36. cetoëssam. 37. cætaëssam. 679. 37. incano. 683. 42. præstringit. 688. 12. inquit. 692. 23. inuncti. 711. 15. subtectum. 719. 25. illitum. 721. 27. ben. iuinum. & 28. ben. iuinum. 34. asæ. 731. 6. satyrij effigie. 738. 41. medicamenta. 745. 34. keirin. 749. 18. orualam. 752. 11. simile. 756. 25. folliculi. 768. 40. maleficia. 773. 23. aruifq; repit. 775. 9. cocta. 779. 40. epithymi non. 789. 7. ferruminent. 791. 6. sistuntur. 33. helxinen. 792. 9. Helxine. 794. 11. vitigi. neæ. 804. 36. glandula. 816. 33. quanto. 821. 10. boletos. 826. 24. perungitur. 834. 4. magica. 5. euecta. 24. arction. 835. 3. feritur. 836. 31. telinen. 837. 33. capiti. 840. 9. cerui. 842. 13. fronte. 30. carui. 848. 17. quondam. 852. 16. cubeba. 853. 39. tenui vacat. 859. 23. eliciat. 860. 27. ardoris vim. 863. 32. Genera. 884. 30. vagina. Reliqua tu facile animaduertes.

38. The 'Janot' Long Primer Roman [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1536)

This old-fashioned Long Primer occurs only at Janot's press from 1536 to 1539; its letterforms seem somewhat reminiscent of Girault's English-Bodied Roman (27).

SIZE Long Primer (Petit-romain); 20 67 x 1.5 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1536, Paris, D. Janot for J. Longis & P. Sergent (M. d'Amboise, *Les epistres veneriennes*; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Lm 57; Moreau, 5: 60, no. 14).

KEY LETTERS Slab-serifed capital M, long-tailed R; tilt-barred lower case e; thin diagonal of z; high lead-in stroke of ampersand.

FIGURE 38 The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1536) as it appears in M. d'Amboise, *Les epistres veneriennes*, Paris, D. Janot for J. Longis & P. Sergent, 1536, f. Arv. Courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

Prologue. ✱

✱ Lesclauue fortune a ses bons amys donne salut.
MAL VIT QVI NE SAMENDE,
(ie ie dis mes amys) pource que ces iours re-
uoiant aucuns Liures quen ma ieunesse desir de bon
lorz & amyte acquerir enuers celle à qui iestoys re-
deuable de tout mon pouoir m'uoit fait mettre en
lumiere par publique Impression, y trouuay vne as-
bisme derreurs commise par mon inscience qui na-
noys encores congneu lornature Rethoricienne,
dont es qudrures auez de coustume vser, de laquelle
le ores plus que lors imbeu par la frequente & conti-
nuelle lecon (que iay prinle en voz oeuvres) mesme
ment es Cretiennes, Marotiennes, & Boucheticques
(de nostre temps pour vray les plus excellentes) me
fius persuade, iceulx en plus saine & meilleure Re-
thorique reduire, combien que le meilleur que ie y
puisse faire, nest sinon fumeé aupres de vostre feu re-
thoricial (mes bōs amys) es liures desquelz Suadella
deesse de bien parler a infunde & mis la rosee mellis-
sue de celeste eloquence. Touthoys affin que per-
petuellement ie ne demourasse en ygnorante reputa-
tion enuers noz posterieurs ay prins ma faulx de re-
congnoissance encores peu forte par la priere d'ung
ieune filz Apollonien qui promet aux suyuantz vng
merueilleux & tresabondant fruiet de son laboureux
esperit appelle par surnom Corrozet. Et dicelle ay
fauche la zizanie & mauuaise herbe que iay cōgneue
auoir este par moy semee au iardin de mes complain-
tes, & Panthaire. Et en son lieu ay plāte nouveaulx
arbres. Ce sont epistres Veneriennes Damours, que
ienuoye a ceulx qui nont encores le hardement par
presente supplication de bouche aux Dames declai-
rer le pensement de leurs meurs cūlx noyans es von-
des de leur parfaicte beaulte, en esperāce de gaigner
le port de iouissance naturelle, le les prie par vous
d'ussi bon cueur comme de bonne volunte leur faitz
ce present, quilz se aydent plustost de la langue que
de la plume, pource que presence d'homme donne
souuent crainte de reifuz, mesmement es lieux ou

39. Garamont's First Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1537)

At the end of 1537 this typeface appeared at Loys's press. The attribution to Garamont is confirmed by the 1543 Mesvière contract (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, 88, fig. 4; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 69–70, 74–5, fig. 16), the 1545 Godard inventory (Paris, Archives nationales, MC Et. 9: 129, f. 38v; Parent, 1974, 84) and the occurrence of this typeface at the press of Pierre Gaultier, Garamont's partner in the early 1540s. The reference to a Garamont Long Primer in a 1545 contract between the typefounder Jacques Permentier and the publisher Jacques Regnault (Coyecque, 1: 575, no. 3133) is probably for this typeface but that needs confirmation.

At the end of the 1540s and in the 1550s similar Romans in this size appeared, possibly engraved by Granjon (Vervliet, 1998, 9–10) or Haultin and more research is needed to ascertain which printers used which.

SIZE Long Primer (Petit-romain); 20 67 x 1.4 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN October 1537–February 1538, Paris, J. Loys for A. Girault, Ch. Guillard, P. Le Preux, J. Petit, J. de Roigny (J. Eck,

Homiliae; Maredsous, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye; Moreau, 5: 267, no. 848; Renouard, 1964, 54: 57–9, no. 38).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1538, N. Buffet for Gervais Chevallon & P. Le Preux & J. Macé & J. II Petit & P. II Regnault & J. I Ruel {Petrus Lombardus}, A. Girault {Ponte}; 1539, D. Janot {Ovidius}; 1540, C. Néobar {Theophilus}; 1541, M. Fezandat {Eusebius}, E. Toussaint {Alexander}; 1542, J. Gazeau {Sylvius}; 1543, J. Bogard & J. Gazeau & J. de Roigny {Theophylactus}; 1545, P. Gaultier & C. Garamont {Chambellan}, J. Barbé & J. Gazeau & V. Sertenas {Jacquinot}, E. Mesvière & A. & Ch. Langelier {Constantin}; 1546, E. Mesvière & G. I Du Pré & J. de Roigny {Commines}.

KEY LETTERS Capitals below ascender line; middle arm of F protruding; one-eared M; N with extending right top serif; tail of R extending below base line; outwards sloping top serifs of T. Very similar to Garamont's Bourgeois Roman (40).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Une paires de matrices petit romain ... en possession dudit Garamont (Contract Mesvière-Garamont, 1543); ugne raison de matrices de petit Romain de Claude Garamon (inventory G. Godard, 1545); lectres d'impression de la taille de Garamont du petit-romain (contract J. Regnault-J. Permentier, 4.2.1545).

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, pl. 7; 5: 141, pl. 28; Parent, 1974, 84; Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, 88, fig. 4; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 69–70, 74–5, fig. 16.

FIGURE 39 Garamont's First Long Primer [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1537) as it appears in Aristoteles, *De mundo*, Paris, Edmonde Toussaint, 1541, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

GVLIELMVS BVDAEVS

IACOBO TVSANO S.

RISTOTELIS librum de

mundo nuper sermone lati-

A no cum scripſisſem, huic Phi-

lonis librum eiusdem tituli

agglutinandum cenſui, tan-

quam Herculi Theſeum, aut profano Ari-

ſtotelis potius Ariſtotelem initiatum: quādo

eodem in Argumento, aut certe eiusdem titu-

li libro, eodem penē hic cum illo ſtili gene-

re, ſuppari etiam vſus acumine mihi ſciētūā-

que videbatur. Siquidē Philo (quiſquis hic

fuit qui librum de Mundo ſcripſit: nā incly-

tum illum Philonem, qui Platonem facun-

dia æquauisſe dicitur, nequaquam cum fuiſ-

ſe mihi perſuadeo) differendo de mūdo, de-

que eius interitu aut æternitate conſtituen-

do, nō tā Hebraicæ philoſophiæ alumnus,

mea quidē ſententiā, q̄ Græcorū affectator

eſſe videriq; meditat⁹ eſt. Scita enī amplex⁹

eſt nō tā ſcholæ circūciſæ cōgruentia, q̄ reli-

giōe oraculari ſolutæ ac liberæ. Et huius aut

& illius librū ē vulgatis tātū exēplaribus ver-

ti, vt q̄ manu ſcriptum nullū vnq̄ viderim: id

quod veniæ emerēdæ gratiā teſtādū existi-

maui, ſi id ī cā partē aliquaten⁹ valiturū eſt.

Veritus ſū enī ne ſi in mēdis deplorationib⁹,

aut ſi ī loco vno aut altero mutilato ſenf⁹ nō

cohæreat, iniqua cōditiōe alienā culpā præ-

a ii

40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
or *Gaillarde* (1538)

Charlotte Guillard, Chevallon's widow, used this typeface from 1538 onwards and Garamont is said to have worked at her house (Carter, 1967, 30). It also occurs at the press of her nephew, Jacques Bogard, concurrently with Garamont's Long Primer (39).

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 64 x 1.4 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1538, Paris, Ch. Guillard (Galenus, *Methodi medendi* ... libri; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, J 5731; Moreau, 5: 277, no. 891.

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1541, J. Bogard {Aristoteles}.

KEY LETTERS Very similar to Garamont's Long Primer (39), but its capitals are slightly bigger and the ascenders and descenders smaller. Capital F has no protruding middle arm and M and N are slightly narrower.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 5: 141, pl. 28.

FIGURE 40a Garamont's Bourgeois [R 64] or *Gaillarde* (1538) as it appears in Galenus, *Methodus medendi*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, Index, f. aa3v–aa4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 40b Garamont's Bourgeois [R 64] or *Gaillarde* (1538) assembled from G. Pachymeres, *Paraphrasis in decem epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, f. m3v–n4v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



8471101.45.
quæ dicantur
101.45.
Abdomen quid

93.40.

Abdomen quo incudendum instrumento, si vulnus ampliari debeat 94.20.

Abdomine vulnerato, quid agendum 93.79.

Abdominis *ἰσχυρὰ* diffectio, 93.30.

Abdominis suæ ratio, *ῥατὸς* *ῥαφία* 94.38.

Abdominis futura 94.71.

Abdominis vulnerati medicamenta qualia 95.6. & deligatio. 9.

Abcessus *ἀποστήμας* duplex confyderatio 219.77.

Abcessus diuifio, curatio symptomatis non est. 182.37.

Abcessuum frequētissima tria genera 220.12.

Abfynthij potio quando danda 116.43.

Abfynthij pot⁹ ex mulfa, quid faciat 117.12.

Abfynthio, & cappari, & oxy-

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNoprstV
a b c d e f g h i j l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
æ & ff œ ff st ç p

41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68]
or *Petit-romain* (1539)

This Long Primer has been seen only at the press of Gryphius.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 68 x 1.3 : 1.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1539, Paris, F. Gryphius (B. Latomus, *Epitome commentariorum ... Agricolae*; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, Res. D. xvi 745; Moreau, 5: 406, no. 1410).

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; tilt-barred lower case e.

FIGURE 41 Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68] or *Petit-romain* (1539) as it appears in *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1540, f. 438. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes.

R V M P R O P R I E T A T E L I N -
g u a r ũ e x s c r i p t i s d e a r t e I o ā . G r a m a t i c i .

Dialectus est linguæ proprietas. Sunt autem dialecti quinque, Attica, Dorica, Aeolica, Ionica, Communis. Et Attica quidem vocata est ab Atthide Cranai filia. Aeolica vero ab Aeolo Hellenis filio. Dorica autem à Doro Hellenis filio. Ionica autem ab Ione filio Xuthi, qui fuit Hellenis & Creusæ Erechthei filia. Communis autē quæ ex his quatuor confiat. Habet autem vnaquæque dialectus proprium idioma.

D E D I A L E C T I S P R O O E -
M I V M A L T E R V M .

Dialecti quinque, Ionica, Attica, Dorica, Aeolica, Communis.

D E I O N I C A L I N G V A .

Ionica autem est qua vsi sunt Iones, hanc autem antiquam esse conſtant. Proprium autem ipſius eſt, pro α η vti, & circumflexas ſyllabas in duo diuidere, & pro π, κ accipere, & pro aspiratis collifionibus tenues proferre & quibusdā dictionibus, i auferre. Vtuntur igitur η pro α, vtianuam pro ianuam, & diem pro diem, & vtilitatem pro vtilitatem. Circumflexas autem ſyllabas in duo diuidunt, pro facere enim facere dicunt. pro π, κ accipiunt. nam quomodo quomodo dicunt, pro aspiratis collifionibus tenues proferunt, cum dicunt pro in equis in equis, & inſpicere inſpicere. Quibusdā dictionibus, i auferunt, pro laborare laborare dicentes. Ionica autem ab Ione Apollinis filio, & Creuſa Erechthei filia.

D E A T T I C A L I N G V A .

Attica verò eſt dialectus, qua vsi ſunt Athenienſes. Peculiare autem ipſius eſt aſſatim vti contractionibus, & dictiones inſeparabiliter pro ferre. tum verò & τ & ϑ, pro σ accipere, & υ pro ε, & pro σ, ϑ. Contractionibus igitur abunde vtuntur, cum dicunt veſtis, pro veſtis, & proœmiũ pro proœmiũ. coniunctim verò nonnullas dictiones proferunt,

42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier Roman [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1532)

This typeface is tentatively attributed to Gryphius, though it is of much better design than the Brevier Gryphius himself used (43). It is distinguishable from Colines's 1526 Minion (Vervliet, 2003a, 136, no. 10) and Gryphius's 1537 Brevier, described below (46). More research is needed to determine whether Olivier Mallard {Gillot} used this Brevier in 1538 or yet another one.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 52 x 11 : 1.6 mm.
 FIRST SEEN IN 1532, Paris, C. Chevallon (J. Campensis, *Psalmorum ... interpretatio*; Ghent, University Library, Theo. 3012; Moreau, 4: 141, no. 359).
 EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1537, J. Loys {Ulmeus}; 1540, D. Janot {Justinus}; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé {Caesar/Commentaires}.
 KEY LETTERS Pointed apex of capital A; wide E; outwards singly-seriffed splayed M; tilt-barred lower case e.

FIGURE 42 The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1532) as it appears in [Jodocus of Erfurt], *Vocabularius iuris utriusque*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1538, f. 8v–9. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

aboli. l. abolitio. Et per hanc exi-
 mitur reus q non incidit in Tur-
 pilianū, si nō deferat accusatum.
 ff. de aboli. cri. l. si interueniente.
 Et si infra triginta dies post abo-
 litionē generalē causa proposita
 nō potest probari: ad eam redire
 non potest. C. de aboli. gene. l. j.
 ¶ Abominatio appellatur serui-
 tus idolorum: secundū Hiero. in
 homil. Largius tñ fumitur in cōi-
 vsu loquēdi: pro qualibet re tur-
 pi & abominabili. Vñ dicitur abo-
 minatione populi. extra de cleri.
 ægro. c. tua nos. Vel abominatio
 est deo elemosyna facta de rāpi-
 na, simonia vel vsura. j. q. j. nō est
 putanda. xiiij. q. v. scriptum est.
 ¶ Abortiu⁹ est puer vñ alter fœ-
 tus ante debitum tempus natus.
 & ideo sic dicitur q nō oriatur,
 sed abortiatur & excidatur secun-
 dūm Ifido. lib. x. Et mulier quæ
 sic abortitur, dicitur homicida oc-
 casionaliter. xxxj. q. ij. quod verō.
 & ca. Moyses. lxxxvij. di. si expo-
 situs. Et Paulus nominat se abor-
 tituum. j. ad Timoth. j. & xxij. q.
 vj. in præsenti. de celebra. mīlla.
 c. cum Marthe. versi. fanē. a's nō
 est homicida, qui abortitiū pro-
 creat antequā animā accepit cor-
 pori infusam, vt est embriō. xxx.
 q. ij. ca. quod verō non formatū.
 & extra de homici. ca. si aliquis.
 nectalis cōtrahit irregularitatē
 quo ad promotionē, nisi interfi-
 ciat hominē iam animatū. de ho-
 mici. c. sicut ex literarum.
 ¶ Abpatru⁹ est frater abauī vel
 abauīæ. vt infit. de grad. cog. §.
 sexto gradu.
 ¶ Ab re. i. sine causa: vt habetur
 in. l. si quis seruo alieno. C. de fur.
 & l. consentaneum. C. quomodo
 & quando iud. senten. & c.
 ¶ Abrogare est destruere vel de-
 lere in toto. vñ dicitur lex abro-

43. Gryphius's Second Brevier Roman [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1533)

Though I have not found this small Roman before 1533, its design suggests an earlier date. It is certainly better than the 1522 Vidoue Brevier (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 27) but less balanced than the 1526 Colines Minion (Vervliet, 2003a, 136) and the 1532 Gryphius-Chevallon Brevier (42). The 1532 typeface may be seen as its successor stylistically. I have not seen outside the publications of Gryphius, who used it up to 1537 when he replaced it with another Brevier (46).

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 52 x 11 : 1.8 mm.
 FIRST SEEN IN 1533, Paris, F. Gryphius & P. Gaudoul (Erasmus, *Familiarium colloquiorum ... opus*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 33489; Louvain-la Neuve, 3A 20840; Moreau, 4: 227, no. 673).

KEY LETTERS Slab-seriffed capital A; long lower arm of E; outwards singly-seriffed M with center above base-line; tilt-barred lower case e; protruding link of g; high lead-out stroke of amper-sand. Small capitals (1.5 mm).

FIGURE 43 Gryphius's Second Brevier [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1533) as it appears in *Sanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium*, Paris, Jer. de Gourmont & F. Gryphius, 1533/4, f. aiv–2. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Liège.

SV CHRISTI EVANGE
 lium. Secundum mathæum.
 CAPVT I.
 A IBER generatiōis IE SV Luc. 3. e.
 CHRISTI, filiij David, fi- Geñ. 21. e.
 liij Abrahā. Abrahā, genuit Geñ. 25. d.
 Isaac. Isaac autē, genuit Ia- Geñ. 29. g.
 cob. Iacob autē, genuit Iudā
 & fratres eius. Iudas autē, genuit Pha- Geñ. 38. g.
 res & Zaram de Thamar. Phares autē, 1. Par. 2. a.
 genuit Esrom. Esrom autē, genuit Aram Ruth. 4. d.
 Aram autē, genuit Aminadab. Aminadab autē, genuit Naasson. Naasson autē, genuit Salmon. Salmon autē, genuit Booz de Raab. Booz autē, genuit Obed ex Ruth. Obed autē, genuit Iesse. Iesse autē, genuit David regem. David autē, genuit Solomonē ex ea quæ fuit Vriax. Solomon autē, genuit Roboam. Roboam autē, genuit Abiam. Abiam autē, genuit Afa. Afa autē, genuit Iosaphat. Iosaphat autē, genuit Ioram. Ioram autē, genuit Oziam. Ozias autē, genuit Ioatham. Ioatham autē, genuit Achaz. Achaz autē, genuit Ezechiam. Ezechias autē, genuit Manassē. Manassēs autē, genuit Amon. Amon autē, genuit Iosias. Iosias autē, genuit Iechoniam & fratres eius, in transmigratione Babylonis. Et post transmigrationem Babylonis, Iechonius genuit Salathiel, Sala 1. Par. 3. e.
 2. reg. 12. f.
 Para. 3. b.

44. Constantin's Nonpareil Roman [R 42] (1533)

A Nonpareil body size was a rarity in early sixteenth-century typography and only owned by the better equipped printers. In Italy, small-sized (though still in the Minion range, 49/45 mm), Italics were employed by Paganini in 1515 and Griffo in 1516 (Isaac, 1938, pls. 15 and 22). In France, early users of true Nonpareil Romans were Vidoue in 1521/22 (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 28), and those of Estienne (described here) and Colines (45), both in 1533. In 1553, Haultin introduced his version, in both Italic and Roman, which captured the market and retained it far into the seventeenth century (Vervliet, 2000, 96–8).

In 1536 Estienne used this present Nonpareil Roman for the main text of his pocket edition of Terentius and his octavo Bible (Moreau, 4: nos. 876 and 1151). It later appeared in Estienne's sextodecimo editions of the classics and in the octavo, so-called Nonpareil Bibles published at Paris in 1545 and Geneva in 1555, the latter printed by Conrad Badius. The *litterae minutulae* earned the praise of Jean Dorat, one of the poets of the Pleiade (Demerson, 1989, 17).

Like the preceding Estienne typefaces (1, 9, 21, 31), this Nonpareil was not used outside the Estienne family, as far as I know. Like the other early Estienne types, it may have been engraved by the Estienne Master, probably Maître Constantin.

SIZE Nonpareil; 20 42 x 0.8 : 1.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 19 November 1533, Paris, R. I Estienne (Ph. Melancthon, *Grammatica Latina*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 7475:2; Moreau, 4: 252, no. 771).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1551, R. I Estienne {Pauli epistolae}; 1554, C. Badius {Nouveau Testament}.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capital H; one-eared M; long-tailed Q; shallow bowl of R; doubly bracketed top serifs of T; lower case g with small bowl.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2004, 130–1, no. 5.

FIGURE 44 Constantin's Nonpareil Roman [R 42] (1533) as it appears in *Hebraea, Chaldaea...nomina* [in 8°], Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1537, p. 419. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

¶Lufus sunt homicidia ducibus exercit.
1. reg. 1. c d
¶Lutres aenei in templo Salomonis. 9.
reg. 7 f
¶Lux, quae & dies dicta est, verbo dei creatur. genef. 1. 2
1 V X D E V S E S T, in quo non sunt
tenebrae. 1. iohan. 1. c
Lucem deus habitat inaccessibilem. 1. timoth. 6. c
1 V X C H R I S T V S, omnium hominum oculos illuminans. iohan. 1. 9
b. 9 a. 1. iohan. 1. b
Lux Christus, quare iudeis non receptus. iohan. 1. c
Lux mundi, apostoli. matth. 2. b
¶Luce Christo credamus, ipse Christus nos hortatur. iohan. 11. f
in Luce Christo si ambulemus, confortati habemus cum ipso. 1. iohan. 1. c
in Luce non est qui fratrem suum odit. 1. iohan. 1. b
cum Luce societatem non habemus, si infideles sumus. 1. iohan. 1. c
Lucis opera, omnis bonitas, iustitia & veritas. ephes. 2. b

45. Colines's Nonpareil Roman [R 43] (1533)

A new tiny Roman with narrow g and horizontal bar to the e appears from 1533 onwards in Colines's books. It is unmistakably in his style. The reference by Veyrin-Forrer (1995, xxv) to its occurrence in Viexmonts's *Methodus confessionis* of February 1533 (Moreau, 4: 269, no. 836) needs to be checked.

SIZE Nonpareil; 20 43 x 0.9 : 1.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1533, Paris, S. de Colines (H. Courtois, *Volantillae*; Brussels, Royal Library, VH 11634 A LP; Moreau, 4: 221, no. 649).

KEY LETTERS Outwards singly-serifed capital M; downwards beaking G; narrow N; long-tailed Q and R; lower case e with horizontal bar; narrow g.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 31, fig. 16; Vervliet, 2003a, 144, no. 15.

FIGURE 45 Colines's Nonpareil Roman [R 43] (1533) as it appears in Cicero, *Officia*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1538, f. L4. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

18 Nulla tam detestabilis. Videbatur posci, vt: sed quoniam quæ non, resoluitur in, vt ea non, subiecit, quæ, pro, vt ea.
19 Artibus tribuuntur operosis. Operosis dictū videtur ab opere, non ab opere. Operosum dicitur, quod multo opere, multoque negotio constat. Hic operosus dixit, quod operis, non animi viribus exerceantur.
20 Quibuscum congregamur. Congregamur dictum est pro, cōsuetudinem habemus: & idcirco addidit, cū, quibus, vt dicimus, mes cum habet consuetudinem.
21 Si quid importetur nobis. Importetur incommodum, noue dixit, pro inferatur.
22 Cum reflauit. Reflare fortunam dixit, cum est aduersa: quem admodum resiliit, qui ex aduerso oblati: & repugnat, qui ex aduerso pugnat.
23 Aut spe sibi id vitile futurum. Noue nomini addidit verbum. Quis enim ausit ita loqui, venio huc spe te mecum iturum ad cœnam? Mollius tamen est, cum additur, ducitur spe, ductus spe. Nam spes est, pro, spero, satis visitatum est.
24 Vel ad perpetuitatem. Cum perpetuū ferē accipitur pro cōtinuo, hic perpetuitatem vsurpasse videtur pro aternitate.
25 Compunctum notis. Compunctum dixit, vndique notatum. Vnde videntur Theologi dixisse compunctionem.
26 Desitum est enim. pro desit videri.
27 Ex bellis transalpinis triumpharunt. Triumphamus hostem, quem in triumphum ducimus: & triumphamus ex his vnde triumphum referimus.
28 Capitur beneficiis. Mirum cur non vitarit amphibologiam. nam capitur beneficiis, qui ducitur & deleatur beneficiis. Hic sentit beneuolentiam adipisci nos beneficiendo.
29 Amor multitudinis commouetur. Commouetur pro excitatur, in bonam partem.
30 Capere consilium. Dicitur non qui consultat aliū, sed qui ipse reperit consilium.
31 Animi desipientia. Noue dixit desipientiam, pro magnitudi ne, qua infra nos posita contemnimus.
32 Admirabilitatem facit. Magis noue dixit, admirabilitatem facit, pro eo quod est visitatus, reddit hominem vehementer admirabilem.
33 Nec illi quidem. Sunt qui dubitent, satisne Latinum sit vti, nec, si sequatur quidem. Hic tamen ita est locutus Cicero. Atque alijs quoque locis, ne quis cauteur hic fuisse casum, velut libro tertio, numero 5, Nec illi quidem septem. Rursum eodem libro, numero decimo quarto, Nec utilitas quidem. Rursum numero vigesimo octauo, Nec si exploratum quidem. Rursum numero trigesimo, Sed nec cogitare quidē. & numero trigesimo primo, Nec nosse quidē. Et numero quadagesimo tertio, Sed nec malum quidē esse. (Omnia nibe certe his locis, pace Erasmi dixerim, exēplar nostrum, ne habet.) Item de amicitia, numero 18. Rursum 21. Rursum de senectute numero 27. Item 28. ac mox 43.
34 Lælius, is qui sapiēs vsurpatur. Noue dixit pro eo quod erat, cui vsus tribuit cognomen sapientis.
35 Cum prohiberet iniuria. Pro eo quod erat, defenderet ab iniuria.
36 Aliter iustitia non esset. Aliter noue posuit, pro alioquo, quomodo vsurpatur & aliās. Nam secus ad hunc modum non ausim vsurpare.

L.iiiij.

46. Gryphius's Third Brevier Roman [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1537)

This Brevier is distinguishable from Colines's 1526 Minion (Vervliet, 2003a, 136, no. 10), the Chevallon-Gryphius (42) and the second Gryphius Brevier, used from 1533 to 1537 (43). It has been seen only at the presses of Gryphius and Pierre II Regnault. Both were reputedly woodcutters and their relations deserve more study.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 52 x 11: 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1537, Paris, F. Gryphius (Cicero, *Oratio pro... Milone*, Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 364060; Moreau, 5: 163, no. 426).

EARLY APPEARANCE 1540, Paris, P. II Regnault {Biblia}.

KEY LETTERS Pointed apex of capital A; one-eared capital M; steep-tailed R; tilt-barred lower case e.

FIGURE 46 Gryphius's Third Brevier [R 52] or *Petit-texte* (1537) as it appears in Erasmus, *In Acta Apostolorum paraphrasis*, Paris, G. I Du Pré & P. II Regnault, 1540, f. Aaaz. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

PRINCIPI D. FERDINANDO,
Austriæ archistratego, Caroli Cæsaris
germano, Des. Erasmus Roterodamus S. D.



N O superiore paraphrasim in Euangelium Matthæi, magis ex autoritate R. D. Matthæi Card. Sedunensis, quam ex animi mei iudicio suscepieram, Ferdinando principum integerrime: partim quod ipsa maiestas operis, religione quadam animi meum ab attrectatione submoveret: partim quod & alioqui plurimæ varietatē difficultates imbecillitatem meam sibi probe consciam ab aggrediēdo detererēt. Iamq; mihi videbar in totum huius generis scriptione defunctus. Tamen nescio quo pacto rursus huc me perpulit, tum superioris audaciæ successus, tum summorum virorum autoritas, quorū voluntati non satisfacere, mihi vehementer sit inhumani: iussis non parere nephas quidem erat, ut iohannis Euangelium ad eundem modum explicarem. Non me fugiebat quanto etiam augustior esset huius argumenti maiestas, quod magna ex parte versatur in abditis illis naturæ diuinæ mysteriis enarrandis, & huius admirabili cum nostra commercio. Quis enim hominum vel cogitatione consequi possit, quomodo pater deus sine initio, sine fine semper gignat filium deum, in quem generans sic se totum effundit, ut ipsi nihil decedat: a quo sic nascitur filius, ut ab eo qui producit nūquam recedat: rursus quomodo ab utroq; procedat spiritus sanctus, sic ut inter omnes sit eiusdem naturæ perfectum consortium, non confusa personarum proprietate? Quis ingenio completi

Aaaz

47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44]
or *Mignonne* (1537)

I have seen this typeface only at Bossozel's press. It is here ascribed to Gryphius only on stylistical grounds as I failed to find it in his books. With thanks to Lotte Hellinga, London, and David J. Shaw, Canterbury, for checking the 1537 and 1539 Gryphius imprints (Moreau, 5: nos. 370, 372, 1169) at the British Library, which, however, show his slightly larger Brevier (46).

SIZE Minion (*Mignonne*); 20 44 x 11: 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1537, Paris, G. Bossozel (*Evangelium secundum Matthæum*; Liege, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, 1 N 19; Moreau, 5: 150, no. 374).

KEY LETTERS Pointed apex of capital A; narrow H; outwards singly-seriffed M; long-tailed R; level-barred lower case e; high top terminal of ampersand.

FIGURE 47 Gryphius's Minion [R 44] or *Mignonne* (1537) as it appears in *Evangelium secundum Matthæum*, Paris, P. Cousin & G. Bossozel, 1537, f. Aiv–2. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Liège.

ESANCTVMIESVCHRISTIVM
STI EVANGELIUM
Secundum Matthæum.



lber generationis Luc. 3. e.
lesu Christi filii Gen. 2. 12
David filij, Abra 25. d. 19
ham. Abrahā ge 8,
nuit Isaac. Isaac Gen. 38
aut genuit Iacob. 1. par. 2 g
Iacob autē genu Ruth 4 d
it Iudā & fratres
eius. Iudas autē
genuit Phares &
Zaram de Thamar. Phares autē
genuit Elfron. Elfron autē genuit Aram.
Arā autē genuit Aminadab. Aminadab
autē genuit Nahasson. Nahassō autē ge
nuit Salmō. Salmō autē genuit. Booz de
Rahab. Booz autē genuit Obed ex Ruth.
Obed autē genuit Iesse. Iesse autē genuit 2. reg. 12
David regē. David autē rex genuit Salo f.
nē ex ea quē fuit Virg. Salomon autē ge 1. par. 3 b
nuit Roboā. Roboā autē genuit Abiam.
Abia autē genuit Afa. Afa autē genuit
Iosaphat. Iosaphat autē genuit Iorā. Iorā B
autē genuit Ozīā. Ozias autē genuit Ioa
tham. Iothā autē genuit Achaz. Achaz
autē genuit Ezechiā. Ezechiā autē genuit
Manassā. Manassēs autē genuit Amō. A 2. par. 36
mon autē genuit Iosiā. Iosias autē genuit a. b
Iechoniā & fratres eius in trāsmigrationē Baby
lonis. Et post trāsmigrationē Baby
lonis, Iechonias genuit Salathiel. Salathiel 1. par. 3 c
el autē genuit Zorobabel. Zorobabel autē
genuit Abiud. Abiud autē genuit Eliachim.
Eliachim autē genuit Azor. Azor autē ge
nuit Sadoc. Sadoc autē genuit Achim. Achim
autem genuit Eliud. Eliud autem
genuit Eleazar. Eleazar autem genuit
Mathan. Mathan autem genuit Iacob.
Iacob autem genuit Ioseph virum Mz.
A ij

Table 1: Types in Order of First Occurrence

- 1530**
1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1530)
 9. Constantin's Great Primer [R 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1530)
 21. Constantin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
- 1531**
2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1531)
 10. Colines's Second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119]
or *Gros-romain* (1531)
 11. Augereau's Great Primer [R 112]
or *Gros-romain* (1531-32)
 12. The 'Wechel-Gryphius' Great Primer [R 112]
or *Gros-romain* (1531-32)
 13. Gryphius's Second Great Primer [R 113]
or *Gros-romain* (1531)
 22. The First 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-Bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531-32)
 29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1531)
- 1532**
42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52] or
Petit-texte (1532)
- 1533**
3. Gryphius's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 95]
or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1533)
 14. Colines's Third Great Primer [R 116]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)
 15. Gryphius's Third Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)
 23. Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
 24. Gryphius's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
 30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1533)
 31. Constantin's Small Pica [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (1533)
 43. Gryphius's Second Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1533)
 44. Constantin's Nonpareil [R 42] (1533)
 45. Colines's Nonpareil [R 43] (1533)
- 1534**
25. Augereau's English-Bodied Roman [R 96]
or *Saint-augustin* (1534)
 32. The 'Janot' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)
- 1535**
4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290]
or *Gros-canon* (1535)
 16. The First 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)
 17. The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)
 26. The 'Loys' English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
 27. The 'Girault' English-Bodied Roman [R 95]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
 33. The 'Girault' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1535)
- 1536**
5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1536)
 18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)
 19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104]
or *Gros-texte* (1536)
 28. The Third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-Bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536)
 34. Garamont's First Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)
 35. Colines's Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)
 37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536)
 38. The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1536)
- 1537**
6. The 'Chevallon' Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 39]
or *Lettres de deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537)
 39. Garamont's First Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1537)
 46. Gryphius's Third Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1537)
 47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44]
or *Mignonne* (1537)
- 1538**
7. The 'Vidoué' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1538)
 8. The 'Wechel' Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6]
or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1538)
 40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
or *Gaillarde* (1538)
- 1539**
20. The Second 'Loys' Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1539)
 36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79] or *Cicéro* (1539)
 41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68]
or *Petit-romain* (1539)

Table 2: Types Classified by Punchcutter

- Simon de Colines (c. 1490–1546)**
10. Colines's Second Great Primer 'Terentianus' [R 119]
or *Gros-romain* (1531)
 14. Colines's Third Great Primer [R 116]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)
 23. Colines's Third English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
 45. Colines's Nonpareil [R 43] (1533)
 35. Colines's Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)
 37. Colines's Long Primer [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1536)
- The 'Estienne Master', probably Maitre Constantin (c. 1500–c. 1533)**
1. Constantin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1530)
 9. Constantin's Great Primer [R 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1530)
 21. Constantin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
 31. Constantin's Small Pica [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (1533)
 44. Constantin's Nonpareil [R 42] (1533)
- Antoine Augereau (c. 1500–1534)**
29. The Augereau/Gryphius Pica [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1531)
 11. Augereau's Great Primer [R 112]
or *Gros-romain* (1531–32)
 25. Augereau's English-Bodied Roman [R 96]
or *Saint-augustin* (1534)
- François Gryphius (c. 1500–c. 1545)**
2. Gryphius's Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1531)
 12. The 'Wechel-Gryphius' Great Primer [R 112]
or *Gros-romain* (1531–32)
 13. Gryphius's Second Great Primer [R 113]
or *Gros-romain* (1531)
 22. The First 'Gryphius-Chevallon' English-Bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1531–32)
 42. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1532)
 3. Gryphius's Titling on Two-line Great Primer [R 9.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1533)
 15. Gryphius's Third Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1533)
 24. Gryphius's Second English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1533)
 30. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Pica [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1533)
 43. Gryphius's Second Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1533)
 19. The 'Chevallon-Gryphius' Large English [R 104]
or *Gros-texte* (1536)
 28. The Third 'Chevallon-Gryphius' English-Bodied Roman [R 89] or *Saint-augustin* (1536)
 46. Gryphius's Third Brevier [R 52]
or *Petit-texte* (1537)
 47. Gryphius's Minion Roman [R 44]
or *Mignonne* (1537)
 41. Gryphius's Long Primer Roman [R 68]
or *Petit-romain* (1539)
- Claude Garamont (c. 1510–1561)**
34. Garamont's First Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1536)
 39. Garamont's First Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1537)
 40. Garamont's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
or *Gaillarde* (1538)
- Unattributed Typefaces**
32. The 'Janot' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)
 4. The 'Budé' Two-line Double Pica [R 290]
or *Gros-canon* (1535)
 16. The First 'Loys' Great Primer [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)
 17. The 'Girault' Great Primer [R 110]
or *Gros-romain* (1535)
 26. The 'Loys' English-Bodied Roman [R 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
 27. The 'Girault' English-Bodied Roman [R 95]
or *Saint-augustin* (1535)
 33. The 'Girault' Pica [R 81] or *Cicéro* (1535)
 5. The 'Finé' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1536)
 18. The 'Vascosan' Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (Paris, 1536)
 38. The 'Janot' Long Primer [R 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1536)
 6. The 'Chevallon' Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9]
or *Lettres de deux lignes de Petit-texte* (1537)
 7. The 'Vidoue' Two-line Double Pica [R 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1538)
 8. The 'Wechel' Titling on Two-line Small Pica [R 6]
or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1538)
 20. The Second 'Loys' Great Primer [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1539)
 36. The 'Estienne' Pica Roman [R 79]
or *Cicéro* (1539)

Roman Types by Robert Granjon

North of the Alps, the evolution away from the fifteenth-century black letter into the modernity of Romans and Italics originated in the main with a number of French type designers working in Parisian artistic and scholarly circles of the 1530's and thriving on the interests, promises, largesses of Francis I and his court. Simon de Colines, Geoffroy Tory, Robert Estienne were on the crest of the first wave of typographic innovation. In the background operated two talented punchcutters: Claude Garamont (c.1510–61) and Robert Granjon (1513–90). The first brought a lasting standard, one of a sober and immutable beauty to the old-face Roman. The second was the leading artist in the development of Italic and script types. Both masters enjoyed a worldwide reputation, lasting over centuries.

Granjon's civilité, exotic, and Italic types have been studied by Carter and Vervliet.¹ Conversely, his Romans, which a connoisseur such as Stanley Morison thought equal to those of Garamont,² have not been researched comprehensively.

The present article describes twenty-one Roman typefaces. Six of them belong to Granjon's earliest or Lyonesse period (1542–50). They are not particularly attractive or elegant, especially when compared with the Romans a more mature Garamont engraved towards the end of his life (d.1561) or with the late Granjon Romans. But both points of reference may seem somewhat anachronistic and therefore unfair to a younger Granjon. At any rate, one of these earlier typefaces, the Two-line English (or *Petit-canon*) of 1547 proved to be very popular, staying in use until well into the 1700s.

During the 1550–60s new Granjon Romans escape observation. Ostensibly Granjon concentrated on his civilité, Greek, and Italic types. Or maybe the market for Romans was held by Garamont. The earliest Roman of Granjon's late (or Antwerp) period dates from 1566, five years after Garamont's death. In total, we know of seven Romans engraved during the years 1566–83. These faces are coherently and brilliantly designed, full of a Baroque refinement, vitality and vigor; they wholly deserve the praise of Morison, quoted above. As an interlude Granjon made in the years 1566–68's for Plantin three adaptations of Garamont Romans in order to allow the Antwerp printer to cast them on a smaller body.

Five typefaces of uncertain or debatable origin close this study. They have been assigned to Granjon on weak grounds or await further research for a more firm attribution. We do not expect that this first synthesis covers all Granjon Romans.^a But it may lead to further attributions or discoveries.

The descriptions that follow are arranged by body size within each of the four chapters, namely:

- a. The early Romans; 1542–50; nos. 1–6
- b. The late Romans; 1566–83; nos. 7–13
- c. Granjon's adaptations of Garamont; 1566–68; nos. 14–16
- d. Romans of uncertain origin, possibly by Granjon; nos. 17–21.

Two tables complete this article: the first displays Granjon's Romans by date; the second by size.

Summary

This paper surveys the Roman types of Robert Granjon (1513–90), a Parisian typographer, well-known for his Italic and civilité types. It describes twenty-one Roman typefaces. Six belong to a first or Lyonesse, seven to a late or Antwerp period. Moreover three adaptations of Garamont Romans and five provisionally unattributed ones are reported.

Revision of a paper that appeared in *De gulden passer*, 76–7 (1998–99), 5–76.

a. Vervliet, 2008 (nos. 96 and 121) adds two more, an English and a Great Primer, both of 1551.

1. Carter & Vervliet, 1966; Vervliet, 1981; 1998. For a survey of his life and works, see Vervliet, 1981, 1–11.

2. Morison, 1967, 131.

Conspectus of Types

The Early Romans (1542–50)

1. Granjon's Long Primer Roman [R 65]
or *Petit-romain* (1542)
2. Granjon's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1544)
3. Granjon's Two-line Pica Roman [R 150]
or *Palestine* (1545)
4. Granjon's Two-line English Roman [R 190]
or *Petit-canon* (1547)
5. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Nonpareil
[R 2.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Nonpareille* (1550)
6. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9]
or *Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte* (1543)

The Late Romans (1566–83)

7. Granjon's Brevier Roman [R 54] or *Petit-texte* (1570)
8. Granjon's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
or *Gaillarde*, named 'La Granjonne' (1569)
9. Granjon's Second Pica Roman [R 84]
or *Cicéro*, named 'Gros Cicero' (1569)
10. Granjon's Second English-Sized Roman [R 95]
or *Saint-augustin* (1580)
11. Granjon's Second Great Primer Roman [R 118]
or *Gros-romain* (1566)
12. Granjon's Double Pica Roman [R 140]
or *Gros-parangon* (1570)
13. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Pica [R 6.9]
or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1567)

Granjon's Adaptations of Garamont.

In search for economy Plantin had in 1566–67 requested Granjon to provide shorter descenders and ascenders to adapt to a slightly smaller body Garamont's Long Primer, Pica, and English. See Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9–10 (nos. 37, 45, and 59). In the main Granjon reduced the ascenders to the height of Garamont's capitals, which (as then usual) were a little lower than the original ascenders. For the Long Primer and English sizes Plantin noted the delivery of some 19 punches. We assume therefore that Granjon cut duplicates, although the sorts are nearly indistinguishable with those described above in (8) and (9).

14. Garamont's Long Primer Roman
or *Petit-romain* to be cast on Bourgeois [R 61]
or *Gaillarde* (1566)
15. Garamont's Pica Roman
or *Cicéro* to be cast on Small Pica [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (1566)
16. Garamont's English-Sized Roman
or *Saint-augustin* to be cast on Pica [R 84]
or *Cicéro* (1568)

Romans of Uncertain Origin, possibly by Granjon

17. Haultin's Pica Roman [R 82]
or *Cicéro* (1548), supposedly by Granjon
18. Du Boys's Paragon Roman [R 128]
or *Petit-parangon* (1547), supposedly by Granjon
19. The 'Rouillé' Two-line English Roman [R 190]
or *Petit-canon* (1581), possibly by Granjon
20. Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*,
perhaps by Granjon (1583)
21. The 'De Tournes' Ten-line Pica Roman [R 960]
(1551), possibly by Granjon

1. Granjon's Long Primer Roman [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1542)

The Martines-Granjon contract of 1551 (Parent, 1974, 71–2) mentions a Roman typeface of the size 'petit Cicero'. It is described as being provided with two sets of capitals, viz. 'petites et grandes' and to be cast on the same mould as a small Italic also with two ranges of capitals, viz. 'droictes et couchees'. The reference to the Italic makes it clear that a *Petit-romain* and not a Small Pica or *Philosophie* is meant (Vervliet, 1998, 13–14). Doubtlessly the quotation refers to a new Long Primer or *Petit-romain* appearing in Lyons from 1542 on and used by the Fezandat-Granjon partnership in 1549, where it appears fitted out with small capitals.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 65 x 1.2 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1542, Lyons, S. Gryphius (*Testamentum novum*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 804101; Baudrier, 8: 172).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1547, J. de Tournes; 1549, M. Bonhomme; 1555, J. Faure; Paris: 1548, M. Fezandat; 1549, J. Du Puys, M. Fezandat & R. Granjon.

KEY LETTERS Capital F with longer middle arm; narrow M without right upper serif; broad N; oversized Q; heavy T; top of lower case c leaning to the right; dot of i leaning to the left.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Ung petit Romain nommé le petit Cicero (Contract Granjon-Martines, 1551).

Figure 1 Granjon's Long Primer Roman [R 65] or *Petit-romain* (1542) as it occurs in D. Richel, *Monopanton*, Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1549, p. 18–19. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

18 D. DIONY. CARTH.

tem, & non timuerunt Regis edictum. Fide Moses grandis effectus occidit Aegyptium, considerans dolorem fratrum suorum. Fide Moses grandis effectus negavit se esse filium filiae Pharaonis: magis eligens affligi cum populo Dei, quam temporalis peccati habere iucunditatem: maiores diuitias aestimans thesauro Aegyptiorum improprium Christi. Aspiciebat enim in remunerationem. Fide reliquit Aegyptum, non ueritus animositatem Regis. Inuisibilem enim tanquam uidens sustinuit. Fide celebrauit pascha, & sanguinis effusionem: ne qui uastabat primogenita, tangeret eos. Fide transierunt mare Rubrum, tanquam per aridam terram: quod experti Aegyptii deuorati sunt. Fide muri Hiericho corruerunt, circuitu dierum septem. Fide Raab meretrix non perit cum incredulis, excipiens exploratores cum pace. Et quid adhuc dicam? Deficiet me tempus enarrantem de Gedeon, Barach, Sampson, Iepte, Dauid, Samuel, & aliis prophetis: qui per fidem uicerunt regna, operati sunt iustitiam, adepti sunt repromissiones, obtinuerunt ora leonum, extinxerunt impetum ignis, effugauerunt aciem gladii, conuulnerunt de infirmitate. Fortes facti sunt in bello

MONOPANTON.

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bello, castra uerterunt exterorum, acceperunt mulieres de resurrectione mortuos suos. Et hi omnes testimonio fidei probati sunt, non acceperunt repromissionem, Deo pro nobis melius aliquid providente, ne sine nobis consummarentur.

De Spe.

CAP. VI.

A SPes non confundit. Spe enim salui
B facti sumus. Spes autem quæ uideretur non est spes. Nam quod uidet quis, quid speret? Si autem quod non uidemus speramus, per patientiam expectamus. Spe
C gaudentes. Quæcunque enim scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: ut per patientiam & consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus. Deus autem
D ipse repleat uos omni gaudio & pace, in credendo: ut abundetis in spe & uirtute
E Spiritus sancti. Non sumus confidentes in nobis, sed in Deo, qui suscitavit mortuos.
F Fiduciam autem talem habemus per Christum ad Deum: non quod sufficientes simus cogitare aliquid ex nobis, quasi ex nobis, sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est. Habentes igitur talem spem, multa
G fiducia utimur. Nam in Christo habemus fiduciam, & accessum in confidentia per
b 2 fidem

Rom. 5. a

Rom. 8. d

Rom. 12. c

Rom. 15. a

2. Cor. 1. b

2. Cor. 3. b

Eph. 3. e

2. Granjon's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1544)

This Roman appears in the first (or one of first publications) of Guillaume Rouillé, later a regular customer of Granjon. It is attributed to the latter on the basis of the Granjon-Hus contract of 1548 (Paris, Archives nationales, MC 49: 37; Parent, 1974, 72), and of the contemporary appearances of this typeface at presses in Lyons, Spain and, Italy, which had acquired Granjon's Italics or were to do so. Its capitals are stylistically near to the up-right ones of Granjon's first Long Primer or *Petit-romain* Italic of 1545, a typeface whose attribution rests on firm grounds (Vervliet, 1998, 13–14, no. 2).

The typeface was quite popular in England from 1553 on. It may have been introduced there by the French typefounder Hubert d'Armilliers, apprenticed to Robert Granjon in the years 1545–47 and residing in England from about 1553 to 1594 (Kirk, 1900, 2: 5; Renouard, 1: 111; Reed, 1952, 96; Carter, 1969b, 537–8; Ferguson, 1989, 9–11; Lane, 1992, 364).

A bold titling of the same size as the capitals appears in Lyons printing from 1550 on; see (5) below. On a different Pica or *Cicéro* Roman attributed to Granjon by Johnson (1938, 173–4; Reed, 1952, 227–8), see (17) below.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*; *Médiane*); 20 82 x 1.6 : 2.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1544, Lyons, G. Rouillé (H. Gigas, *Tractatus de pensionibus ecclesiasticis*; Ghent, University Library, Jur. 313; Baudrier, 9: 126).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1546, J. de Tournes; 1547, S. Gryphius; 1548, Th. Payen; 1549, M. Bonhomme; 1551, B. Arnoullet; 1554, J. Faure; 1564, T. Straton; Venice: 1546, A. Manutii Filii, P. Manuzio; 1554, A. Pincio; Geneva: 1552, Ph. Hamelin; 1568, J. Bourgeois; Zaragoza: 1548, B. de Nájera; Salamanca: 1551, A. de Portonariis; Vienne: 1552, B. Arnoullet; London: 1553, N. Hill; 1557, J. Day, J. Wayland; 1572, H. Bynneman; 1589, R. Field (more references in Ferguson, 1989); Barcelona: 1565, C. Bornat; 1596, G. Graells & G. Doutil; Angoulême: 1582: J. & O. de Minières.

KEY LETTERS Capital K with seriffed lower diagonal; splayed M without right upper serif; large-bowled P; small-bowled R; parallel upper serifs of T; small-bowled lower case g; dot of i somewhat slanting to the left.

VARIANT LETTERS Portonariis (Salamanca) uses two ampersands (one long-tailed).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Troys frappes de romain du blanc de cicero (Contract Granjon-Hus, 1548).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1936, 74; 1938, 168; Ferguson, 1989, 9–11.

FIGURE 2 Granjon's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1544) as it occurs in Fr. Phi. Pedimontius, *Ecphrasis in ... Artem poeticam*, Venice, Aldi Filii, 1546, p. 66. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

E C P H R A S I S I N H O R A T I I

tis huiusce præceptiones attineat, in eo desiderari potest. Nam
 si leniora quædam confectari uoluisset, quæ alioqui conscriben-
 dorum carminum ratio postulare uidebatur, grammatici officiū
 persoluisset. si præterea nonnulla alia parerga adiunxisset; quæ
 potius uerborum ubertatem, quàm materiam perutilem studio
 sis apportassent; frustra paginam absumpsisset; imitatusque hi-
 rudinem, legislatoris decorum non retinuisset; quod a¹ breuilo-
 quio nequaquam discedere oportere supra monuerat:
 imo crimen subiisset, quod ab alijs summopere eui-
 tandum iusserat. Vnde non inconsulto eius-
 modi comparatione libellum conclusit;
 ut innueret fatis, superque de arte
 poetica præcepisse, nihilque am-
 plius ea de re dicturum;
 ne pro uoluptate
 molestiam, aut
 demum
 pro emolumento detrimentum attulisset.

F I N I S.

SERIES L I T E R A R V M.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q.

3. Granjon's Two-line Pica Roman [R 150]
or *Palestine* (1545)

Although undocumented by archival sources, this Roman can be attributed to Granjon on the ground of its stylistic affinity with the Two-line English (*Petit-canon*), that can surely ascribed to Granjon (4). Moreover, it appears in the typography of Gryphius and De Tournes, two regular customers of Granjon. It is the main typeface used in Gryphius's typographical masterpiece, the *Biblia sacra* of 1550. In his dedication to cardinal Jean Du Bellay, the printer praises the bigger and nicer types ('maioribus augustioribusque typis excusa') of its book face. But frankly the type appears rather as a still immature exercise of a dawning great talent. In opposition to the great commer-

cial success of Granjon's Petit-canon Roman (4), I have not seen this Two-line Pica used outside the narrow circle of Granjon's Lyonese friends and customers.

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Palestine*); 20 150 x 3 : 5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1545, Lyons, S. Gryphius (*Institutio ... sacramenta*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 317578; Baudrier, 8: 195).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1547, J. de Tournes; 1553, B. Arnoullet; 1563, S. Honorat.

KEY LETTERS Capital E with long top arm and bold middle arm; K with lower diagonal serif; M without right upper serif; oversized Q; T with parallel upper serifs; lower case a with rounded bowl; dot of i somewhat slanting to the left; low-dotted j.

FIGURE 3 Granjon's Two-line Pica Roman [R 150] or *Palestine* (1545) as it occurs in *Biblia sacra*, Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1550, f. aa5. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Cumq; obduxero nubibus coelum, ap- c
parebit arcus meus in nubibus: & re- Eccli. 43. b
cordabor foederis * mei uobiscum, & * mei qd
cum omni anima uiuente quæ carnem pepigi uo-
uegetat: & non erunt ultra aquæ dilu- bificum.
uii ad delendam uniuersam carnem.
Eritq; arcus meus in nubibus, & uide-
bo illum, & recordabor foederis sem-
piterni quod pactum est inter Deum
& omnem animam uiuentem uniuersæ
carnis quæ est super terram. Dixitq;
Deus ad Noe, Hoc est signum foederis,
quod constitui inter me & omnem car-
nem super terram. Erant ergo filij Noe
qui egressi sunt de arca, Sem, Cham,
& Iapheth: porrò Cham ipse est pa-
ter Chanáan. Tres isti, filij sunt Noe:

4. Granjon's Two-line English Roman [R 190] or *Petit-canon* (1547)

A Two-line English Roman or *Petit-canon* to be supplied by Granjon is mentioned in two 1548 contracts, the first with Gaspar de Molina (Lyons, Archives départementales Rhone, 3 E 3920, f. 246v; Baudrier, 1: 284–5), the second with Jacques Hus (Paris, Archives nationales, MC 49: 37; Parent, 1974, 72). Both were Lyonese traders. About the same time the new Roman superseded at the De Tournes press an older titling of Basle design. From 1550 on it appears in books printed by the Granjon-Fezandat association. It is shown in the specimens of Plantin; in his inventories it is regularly ascribed to Granjon (Early inv., 1960, 23–4, LMA 6). According the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 18, 24), the Le Bé typefoundry owned the punches and a set matrices, both ascribed to Granjon. In a letter to Joannes Moretus c.1598, Guillaume II Le Bé included a specimen of this typeface with the handwritten heading 'Lettre que nous appelons Petit Canon dela taille de Rob. GranJon' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 14, no. 20). Later it appears in many German specimens, sometimes (wrongly) attributed to Garamont (Dreyfus, 1963, 4).

Carter (1969a, 46–7) judged this typeface not good enough to be cut either by Garamont or Granjon (and certainly it differs much from the later and better Romans of both masters) but there seems no reason to hesitate on an attribution to a young Granjon. His suggestion (1969, 99–100) that Granjon reworked some lower case punches of Garamont to match them with his own capitals can hardly be retained in the light of the earliest appearances of this typeface. The uneven weight of capitals and lower case sorts is reminiscent of Colines' 1542 'Ammonius' Two-line Pica (Vervliet, 2003a, no. 21), that may have been the model for Granjon's typeface.

Especially in France, Spain and Italy, it became in this size the most popular Roman from the mid-sixteenth century on. The 'Early appearances' above have been restricted to the earlier ones. Close but well-cut copies (R 8.5 and R 6) of Granjon's capitals appear in Poland at the Cracow press of A. Lazarus (1584). Possibly they were cut by Jan Januszowski.

SIZE Two-line English (*Petit-canon*); 20 190 x 3.4 : 6.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1547, Lyons, J. de Tournes (Margaret of Angouleme, *Marguerites de la Marguerite*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 317559; Cartier, 1: 253–60, no. 105) and 1547, Paris, M. David for J. de Roigny (A. Talaus, *Academia*; Leuven, University Library, 7A 814; STCf, 413).

EARLY APPEARANCES (*restricted to the earlier references*) Lyons: 1548, S. Gryphius; 1550, B. Arnoullet; 1552, J. Chabin, 1553, J. Temporal; Paris: 1549, N. Du Chemin, Ch. Guillard, M. Fezandat, P. Haultin & B. Prévost, J. de Roigny, G. Thiboust; 1550, L. Bégar, Ch. Langelier, R. Granjon & M. Fezandat; 1551, N. Buffet, V. Gualtherot, S. Nivelles, T. Richard; 1552, G. Merlin, A. Turnebus; 1553, Widow of M. de La Porte; 1554, A. Brière; A. Wechel; 1555, M. Boursette, G. Cavellat, B. Turrisan; 1556, M. David, A. Langelier; 1558, G. Le Bé, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard; 1559,

R. II Estienne; Zaragoza: 1550, P. Bernuz; 1552, M. de Capila; 1553, J. Millán; 1577, J. Soler; 1586, J. & D. de Robles; Reims: 1557, N. Bacquenois; Salamanca: 1551, A. de Portonariis; 1556, J. Canova; 1562, M. Gast; 1573, P. Laso; Basle: 1552, H. Froben & N. Episcopius; S. Koenig; Geneva: 1552, J. Crespin; 1554, A. Cercia; 1561, J. Bourgeois; Medina del Campo: 1553, G. de Millis; 1574, F. de Canto; Vienne: 1553, B. Arnoullet; Bordeaux: 1554, F. Morgain; 1576, S. Millanges; Valladolid: 1554, B. de Sancto Domingo; 1565, F. Fernández; 1568, A. Ghemart Barcelona: 1556, C. Bornat; 1562, J. Cortey; 1578, J. Malo; Cuenca: 1560, J. de Casanova; Alcalá de Henares: 1561, A. de Angulo; 1563, S. Martinez; Rouen: 1562, F. Valentin; Caen: 1563, P. Philippe; Venice: 1563, G. Ziletti; 1564, R. Borgominieri, G.B. Sessa; 1565, Stagnini Fratres; 1567, N. Bevilacqua, F. de Franceschi & G. Chrieger, V. Valgrisi; 1570, A. II Manutius; 1571, P. Manuzio; 1574, G. Porro; Antwerp: 1564, C. Plantin; Toledo: 1564, M. Ferrer; 1567, F. de Guzman; 1574, J. de Ayala; 1585, J. Rodriguez; Naples: 1565, J.M. Scotti; 1567, J. de Boy; 1572, G. Cacchi; 1573, O. Salviani; Orleans: 1565, L. Rabier; Estella: 1567, A. de Anvers; Ferrara: 1567, F. Rossi; Mexico: 1574, P. Balli; Madrid: 1578, F. Sanchez; 1583, A. Gomez.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. B3, 'III. Tvscvl.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 17); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 66v, 'Canon Romain Petit' (Plant. arch. 43); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Petit Canon Romain' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 8, no. 7); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Petit Canon de Garamond' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); c.1599, Le Bé, Paris, [*Le Bé-Moretus specimen*], 'Petit Canon de la taille Rob. GranJon' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 14, no. 20); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Petit Canon de Garamond' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. 29, 'Carattere detto Canoncino' (Vervliet, 1967, 31, no. 29); 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen*], f. 8, 'Petit Canon' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958); lines 3–4 excepted; 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Petit Canon Antiqua de Garamond' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Klein Canon' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, 4); 1665, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *ÆABC*, [No. 6] (Mori, 1955, 6); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... druckerie*, f. Aiv, 'Dubbelde Mediaen Capitalen', line 3 (Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Mar. 148–18); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Klein Canon' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, 5); 1702, Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Roman Antiqua No. 2' (Mori, 1955, 10); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, title-page, line 7 'Germanicorum', etc. (Mori, 1924, pl. 5); except capital U; f. 9, lines 16–17 'ÆABC', etc.; except Greek capitals and Æ, J, U, W; f. 13 'Text Antiqua'; mutilated (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); c.1710, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Specimen typorum Hebræorum*, title-page, lines 3 and 6; except capitals J and U; 1714, J.H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, [Line 8] (Mori, 1955, 21); 1718, Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Roman Antiqua No. 2' (Mori, 1955, 13); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. G1 'Lettres de deux points de Cicero, Numero Quatrième'; f. P4 'Petit Canon Numero LV' (Johnson, 1965); capitals only; except J and Greek capitals I, II, Ω; 1745, Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Petit Canon Rom: de Garamont No. 3' (Mori, 1955, 14). 1755, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 2 Roman Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 27); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. G1 'Lettres de deux points de Cicero, Numero Quatrième'; f. P4 'Petit Canon Numero LV' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); capitals only; except J and Greek capitals I, II, Ω; 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 46, 'Palestine romain'; p. 119–21 (Carter, 1969a, 57–8).

TYPE PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, LE–RO 14 (Early inv., 1960, 23–4, LMA 6).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with bold bar; E and F with bold middle arms; K with lower diagonal serif; T with parallel upper serifs;

lower case a with rounded bowl; g with broad loop; v extending under base line.

VARIANT LETTER short lower case v.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Deux aultres frappes petitz canons lettre antique (Contract Granjon-Molina, 1548); Troys frappes de petit canon (Contract Granjon-Hus, 1548); Petit Canon Romain de Granjon (Plantin, 1563); Petit canon de Granion (Plantin, 1566); Le petit Canon Romain de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); La Romaine [Petit Canon] de R. Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Lettre que nous appelons Petit Canon dela taille de Rob. GranJon (Le Bé, c.1598); Petit Canon Romain Granjon (Le Bé, c.1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 23–4, LMA 6; Dreyfus, 1963, 4; Vervliet, 1967, 31, no. 29; Carter, 1969, 99–100; Carter, 1969a, 46–7; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 17; 14, no. 20.

FIGURE 4a Granjon's Two-line English [R 190] or *Petit-canon* (1547) as shown in the Le Bé-Moretus specimen, Paris, G. II Le Bé, 1599, s.v. 'Petit Canon de la taille Rob. GranJon'. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 4b Granjon's Two-line English [R 190] or *Petit-canon* (1547) as preserved in (worn) standing type at the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (LE-RO 14). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Lettre q nous appelons Petit Canon dela taille de
 Est-il gentil qui cheual esperonne?
 Ou cil villain qui son asne tallonne?
 De ce,raison ne rends aucunement,
 Vice ou Vertu en font le iugement.

A B C D E F H I K L M

N O P R S T V X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i j k l m

n o p q r s t u v x y z

Æ æ ct & ff fi fl œ si fl ff ft

á à â ã ç é è ê ë í î ï ñ ó ò ô õ ú û ü ũ

, . ' ; : ! ?) / * §

5. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Nonpareil [R 2.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Nonpareille* (1550)

A smaller version of the earlier bold titling described below (6) appears at the Lyons and Vienne presses of B. Arnoullet from 1550 on, a.o. in the works of his corrector Guillaume Guérout, later a publishing partner of Arnoullet and Granjon.

SIZE Two-line Nonpareil (*Lettres de deux points de Nonpareille*); : 2.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1550, Lyons, B. Arnoullet (*Imperatorum et Caesarum vitae*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 879: 2; Baudrier, 10: 123).

KEY LETTERS Capital M without right top serif; narrow N; T with parallel top serifs.

FIGURE 5 Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Nonpareil [R 2.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Nonpareille* (1550) as it appears on the title-page of J. Huttichius, *Imperatorum & Caesarum vitae*, Lyons, B. Arnoullet, 1550. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Imperatorum & Cæsa-
RVM VITAE, CVM

L V G D V N I.
Apud Balthazarem Arnolletum.
M. D. XXXXX.

6. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] or *Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte* (1543)

In the 1540s Lyonese printers began to move to a new typeface away from an older bold titling of this size (Johnson, 1927a, pls. 42–3), that originated somewhere between Cologne and Basle at the end of the 1520s and was popular in the German-speaking countries and Lyons. Certain sorts of the newer typeface are reminiscent of Granjon's earliest style. On this ground it may be attributed tentatively to Granjon. Further research is needed to ascertain whether the variant sorts (Bonhomme, 1552; Giunta, 1556) are just a few changed letters of the existing alphabet or whether they belong to a duplicate.

The typeface must not be confused with a bold titling of the same size, which Guillaume I Le Bé cut in Venice for Zanetti in 1548 and which was the standard type for this size in Italy (Vervliet, 1967, 36, no. 53c) and Germany

(Dreyfus, 1963, 8, n. 4) from the 1550s onwards. Granjon himself put it to use in one of the works he printed in Rome (Guidetti, 1582; Biblioteca Vaticana, R I.v.1039).

SIZE Two-line Brevier (*Lettres de Deux Points de Petit-texte*); : 3.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1543, Lyons, J. de Tournes (*Les prieres et oraisons de la Bible*; Amsterdam, University Library, 2 D 12: 2; Cartier, 1: 173, no. 12).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1549, Ph. Rollet & B. Frein; 1550, B. Arnoullet; 1552, M. Bonhomme; 1553, G. Rouille; 1555, Heirs of J. Giunta, J. Faure; 1559, J. Saugrain; 1560, Heirs of S. Gryphius; 1563, S. Honorat; 1565, J. Martin; 1567, M. Jove; Geneva: 1552, Ph. Hamelin; 1568, J. Crespin; 'Anvers': 1579, F. Nierg.

KEY LETTERS Serifed capital C; small counter of P and R.

VARIANT LETTERS Variant forms occur of capital E (one with the typical Granjon heavier middle arm) and M (the earlier one without right-hand top serif; the other one with splayed stems and two top serifs).

FIGURE 6 Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] or *Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte* (1543) assembled from G. Paradin, *De motibus Galliae*, Lyons, J. de Tournes & G. Gazeau, 1558. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

ABDEGILMNOPRSTVX

7. Granjon's Brevier Roman [R 54] or *Petit-texte* (1570)

The term 'Gaillarde' later refers to the slightly larger size of Bourgeois (60mm/20 lines), but in Plantin and Le Bé's inventories ostensibly points to a Brevier (*Petit-texte, Bible*; 54 mm). This small Roman is safely to be attributed to Granjon on the basis of the Granjon 1570 type-speci-

men (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 14, no. 21). This is corroborated by the quotations in the 1579 sale by Plantin of a strike to the Heirs of Gerlach at Nuremberg (Plant. arch. 962, f. 71; 74v), the 1592–1622 Berner specimens (Dreyfus, 1963, 5), and the Plantin (Early inv., 1960, 43–4) and c. 1618 Le Bé inventories (Morison, 1959, 20).

Garamont had an earlier typeface on this size, which cannot easily be told apart with Granjon's; spot letters

of the latter's typeface are the broader capitals E and R, the smaller P, the K with serifless tail, and the descending lower case v. The two designs are shown face-to-face in the 1742 Lamesle and 1758 Gando specimens (f. A4v-B1). The 'Petit texte numero VIII' is Garamont's; 'Numero IX' is Granjon's.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 54 x 1.1 : 1.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1570, **Antwerp**, A. Tavernier (*Novum Iesu Christi Testamentum*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 20.8) and 1570, **Antwerp**, R. Granjon, (*Epreuve de la petite Antique*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Arch. 153, f. 20k; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 14, no. 21; Lane, 2004, 40, no. 1).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Antwerp:** 1574, C. Plantin. **Basle:** 1581, S. Henricpetri.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1570, R. Granjon, Antwerp, *Epreuve de la petite Antiquae*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Arch. 153, f. 20k; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 14, no. 21; Lane, 2004, 40, no. 1). c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Gaillarde sur la Garamonde'; 'Gaillarde Romaine' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, nos. 56, 67); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Rom. Galliard de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 5, pl. 2); c.1599, G. Le Bé, Paris, [*Le Bé-Moretus specimen*], 'Epreuve de la petite Antiquae ou Romaine, de Rob, Granlon, nommée la Gaillarde. en Anvers 1570' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 14, no. 21; Lane, 2004, 40, no. 1); c.1736, [J.J. Moretus], [Antwerp], *Per sanctorum*, 'Breuer Romein van francoys Guiot' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 217 [171]; Lane, 2004, 206-7, no. 124). 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Rom. Galliard de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3); 1664, J.Ph. Fieviet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Petit Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Romeyn [2]' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 12); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. A3v; 'Brevier Romeyn' (Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Mar. 148-18); except capital J; 1682, J.D. Fieviet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Petit Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Romeyn [2]' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerye*, f. B2 'Galjard Romeyn' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Galjard of groote Brevier Romeyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9); c.1700, Adamsz & Ente, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Groote Brevier Romyn'; 'Brevier Romyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 10); p.1701, [M. van Wolschatten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Brevier Romeyn' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 94 [66]); except capitals J, U, W; 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 14, 'Mittel Antiqua'; 'Grobe Cicero Antiqua'; small capitals only (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); ante 1718, P. Esclassan, Paris, *Epreuve de quelques matrices*, 'Petit Texte à gros oeil A' (Paris, Bib. nat., Gr.f. W 1319 T; Howe, 1951, 32); post 1725, [B. van Wolschatten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Brevier' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 123 [82]); c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, [p. 25] 'Brevier Romeyn' (Leyden UL, 744 D 19); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. Bi 'Petit Texte moyen Numero IX' (Johnson, 1965); ante 1748, I. vander Putte, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Galyart of Groote Brevier, No. 1' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f.100 [70]); except capital J; 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. Bi 'Petit Texte moyen Numero IX' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Romeyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13); post 1764, J.P. Fournier l'Aîné, Paris, [*Fonderie*], f. 66 'petit texte grosse de Granjon' (Paris BN, ms. fr. 22189); lower case only; 1767, Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam,

Proef van letteren, 'Galyard of Groote Brevier No. 1' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102:2); except capitals J and

W; 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 9 'Mignonne gros oeil romain' (mutilated); p. 11 'Petit-texte a son oeil romain'; p. 110 'Petit-romain romain oeil de Petit-texte' (Carter, 1969a, 43-4); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'No. XVIII Gailliard of Gr. Brev. Romy'n' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); except lower case a.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 61, MA 63, MA 127, MA 159 (Early inv., 1960, 43-4; 63).

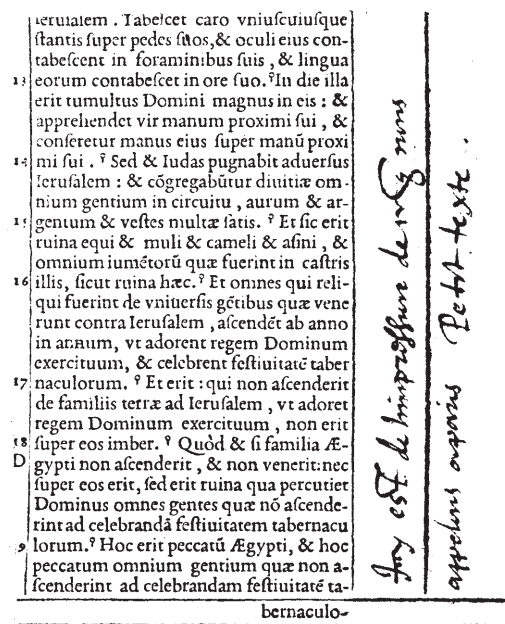
KEY LETTERS Capital A with acute top terminal; K with serifless tail; splayed M; v extending under base line.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS La petite Antique ou Romaine, de Rob. GranJon, nommée la Gaillarde (Granjon, 1570); 2 frappes de GranJon, La Romaine Gaillarde (Plantin, 1571); [Breviere] frappe de la Romaine de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); La petite Romaine de Granjon nommée la gaillarde (Plantin, 1579); [Byble] Gaillarde de R. Granjon (Plantin, 1581); vne frappe de petit romain de GrandJon nomme la Galliarde (Plantin, 1588); Galiarde Romaine granjon (Plantin, 1589); Rom. Galliard de GranJon (Bernier, 1592, 1622); Deux petits Textes Granjon Gaillarde (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 43-4; Dreyfus, 1963, 5; Carter, 1969a, 43-4; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 67; 14, no. 21.

FIGURE 7a Granjon's Brevier Roman [R 54] or *Petit-texte* (1570) as shown in the Le Bé-Moretus specimen, Paris, G. II Le Bé, 1599, f. 20k. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 7b Granjon's Brevier Roman [R 54] or *Petit-texte* (1570) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 61). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
A B D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u x y z
Æ æ Å å Ä ä Æ æ Œ œ Ŧ ŧ Ũ ů Ű ű Ų ų Ŵ ŵ
Á á Â â Ã ã Ä ä Ė é Ê ê Ë ë Ě ě Ī ī Î î Ĵ ĵ Ĺ ĺ Ń
Ó ó Ô ô Ö ö Ø ø Ŕ ŕ Š š Ś ś Ţ ţ Ů ů Ú ú Ü ü
ı Ł ł Ż ż Ž ž Š š Š š Š š Š š Š š Š š Š š Š š Š š Š š
. . . ; : ? (^ &

8. Granjon's Bourgeois Roman [R 64] or *Gaillarde*, named 'La Granjonne' (1569)

Like the preceding Brevier, this Bourgeois (7) can be assigned to Granjon on the strength of the 1569 contract with Plantin (Plant. arch. 31, f. 88v), in the subsequent attributions in the 1579 sale of a strike to the Heirs of Gerlach at Nuremberg (Plant. arch. 962, f. 71; 74v), in the 1592 correspondence of the Leyden typefounder Thomas de Vechter with Plantin's successor Jan Moretus, and in the 1572–1612 Plantin (Early inv., 1960, 50, 83, 88) and c.1618 Le Bé inventories (Morison, 1959, 20).

We do not know at what date exactly Granjon cut this type. My earliest printed record is 1574; the earliest archival one is 1569. However, its ascending and descending letters are all but undistinguishable from the long sorts Granjon cut in 1566 to Plantin's order to cast Garamont's earlier Petit-romain on a smaller body, though they are a trifle (0.1 mm.) smaller. See below (14).

The 1664 Fievet specimen, s.v. 'Garmont Antiqua ? de Granlon' misleadingly ascribes Garamont's second (1555) typeface on this size to Granjon (Mori, 1955, pl. 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4). Spot letters of the Granjon typeface are the narrower capitals H and N, and the K with serifless tail.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 64 x 1.4 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1574, **Cologne**, G. Calenius & Heirs of J. Quentel (L. Surius, *Commentarius brevis*; Ghent, University Library, Hist. 8287).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Frankfurt**: 1577, J. Feyerabend; 1592, Heirs of A. Wechel; **Venice**: 1580, F. Ziletti; 1587, Heirs of G. Giolito; **Antwerp**: 1593, J. Moretus; 1594, M. Nutius; **Leyden**: 1595, F. Raphelengius; **Basle**: 1594, S. Henricpetri; **Stockholm**: 1682, H. Keyser.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1593, J. van Hout, Leyden, [Type-specimen inc.] *Ascendonica*, 'Bourgeois Romeyn' (Leyden, Gemeente-archief, SA 1574–1816: 1052); 1615, J.J. Genath, Basle, *Underschiedliche Form*, 'Garamont schrifft. Antiq.' (Basle, University Library, ms. O 12C:166); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Garamont Antiqua [2]' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Garmont Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... druckerie*, f. A3v; 'Garmondt Romeyn' (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Mar. 148–18); except capital J; 1682, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Garmont Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); 1691, H. Keyser, Stockholm, *Specimen characterum*, 'Corpus Antiqua' (Stockholm, Royal Library, 82 Aa 18/72; Bengtsson, 1956, 181–3); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Garmont Romeyn [2]' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9); except capitals J, W, Æ; c.1695, J.A. Schmidt, Amsterdam, [*Fragments*

of type-specimens], 'Garmont Romeyn [2]' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 14); c.1700, Adamsz & Ente, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Garmont Romyn No. 2' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 10); except capitals J, K, U, W, Æ; post 1701, [M. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Garramonde Romain' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 94 [66]); except small capitals; 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Garmont Antiqua No. 16' (Mori, 1955, 10); 1704, J. Pistorius, *Ecce specimen*, Basle, f. 15, 'Garmond Antiqua [right hand column]'; except small capitals (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); c.1710, [M. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Text Geschreven*], 'Garramonde Romain' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:1, f. 81); except small capitals; 1714, J.H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, 'Garmont Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 21); post 1725, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Garmont Romeyn' (except capitals J, U, W and small capitals); 'Bovrgois' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 123 [82]); post 1728, Voskes en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Kleine Garmont Romein' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87 [63]); c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, University Library, 744 D 19); except capitals J, W and lower case w; c.1736, [J.J. Moretus, Antwerp], *Ad dvodecimvm*, (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8(4), f. 216 [170]); post 1764, J.P. Fournier l'Ainé, Paris, [*Fonderie*], f. 66 'petit texte grosse de Granjon' (Paris BN, ms. fr. 22189); capitals only; except J and small capitals; 1767, Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Garmont No. 2' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102:2); 1770, J. Becker, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 39 Garmont Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 32); except capitals J, U; c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'N. XVI Kleine Garmont Romeyn' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); except capitals A, J, U, W.

STRIKES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 187 (Early inv., 1960, 88).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with acute top terminal; E with bold middle arm; narrow H and N; K with serifless tail; splayed M.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS vne matrice granionne (sale Granjon to Plantin, 1569); Romaine dicte Granjonne (Plantin, 1572); vne frappe de petit Romain de Granjon nommee la granjonne (Plantin, 1579); Colineus Romaine van Granjon (Plantin, p.1581); vne frappe de petit romain de GrandJon nomme la GrandJonne (Plantin, 1588); Colineus romein ... van Robert Granjon (letter Th. de Vechter to J. Moretus, 1592); Granjonne Romaine petite nommee la Granionne (Plantin, 1612); Petit romain la Granjour (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 50 (LMA 10); 83 (LMA 32); 88 (MA 187); Dreyfus, 1963, 9.

FIGURE 8a (opposite) Granjon's Bourgeois Roman [R 64] or *Gaillarde*, named 'La Granjonne', (1569) as it appears in L. Surius, *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum*, Cologne, G. Calenius & Heirs of J. Quentel, 1574, f. 298–9. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 8b (opposite) Granjon's Bourgeois Roman [R 64] or *Gaillarde*, named 'La Granjonne', (1569) as cast from strikes in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 187). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

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lici proceres: verum ij dum se ad suos recipiunt, praelio commissio capti sunt. Indè iussu regis Francisci percussæ sunt decem mensium, vel vt alij habent, trimestres induciæ cum Maria Cæsaris sorore, quæ spe future pacis incitata, exercitum dimisit. Vtinam verò hæc arma in Christiani nominis hostes versa fuissent, quorum vires mutuis Christianorum principum diffidijs in dies augetebant. Interim nihilo minùs in Taurinis bellum perseuerabat.

Conuētus
Smalcaldie.

Huius anni mense Februario Protestantes conuentum egere Smalcaldie. Aderant illic etià illorum concionatores, qui, cum deliberaretur de Concilio à Paulo 3. Mantuæ indicto, de mandato principum atque vrbium euangelici nominis professi sunt, se iuxta capita confessionis Augustanæ & Apologiæ sentire & docere in suis Ecclesijs. Hoc quidem illi persuaferant principibus: sed quàm verè, ipsi viderint. Certè ipsa confessio sæpè in alias formas mutata est. Nitebantur quidam in hoc conuentu efficere, vt de cœna Domini & ecclesiasticis ritibus certum aliquid, quod omnes sequerentur, statueretur. Principes verò, missio ad eos Saxonis Cancellario cum altero quodam nobili, de solo concilio illos agere iusserunt. Videbant enim hisce de rebus inter istos præclaros euangelij buccinatores nulla ratione posse pacem confici. Luterus morbo correptus, missus est Gotham à principe Saxonie, atque eiusdem principis voluntate adièrunt eum Bucerus & Bonifacius Lycofthenes, qui eum ad respondendum Heluetijs hortarentur. At Luterus vi morbi se ait à scribendo impediri, licet interim Basileensi consuli Iacob Meyer scriberet, Heluetiorum scripta sibi esse redita. Sed nunquàm adduci Luterus potuit, vt Heluetijs cederet.

Luterus
egrotat.

Hac tēpestate orta fuit inter concionatores Zuin-
glijanos de cœna Domini rixa. Itaque habita est Synodus Bernæ vltima Maij, in qua decretum planè sacramentarium editum est, & sic ea lis vel sublata est, vel vtcunque in speciem sopita. Nihil enim ab istis concionatoribus sincere & bona fide agitur. Huius anni mense Iulio Parisijs turris Belliaca ad Sequanam, in qua magna vis nitri, sulphuris & pulueris tormentarij condita seruabatur, fulminis ictu funditus euerfa est.

Turris in-
cenditur.

Hoc ferè tempore Paulus Pontifex maximus Re-
ginaldum Polum, ex Margarita Eduardi 4. Angliæ regis

Polus mis-
situr ad

IN ORBE GESTARVM.

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gis nepte prognatum, quem paulò antè in Cardinalium regem ordinem adseuerat, in Britanniam legatum misit, vt Henricum regem ad saniora complectenda consilia reuocaret. Verum Henricus rex iam scripserat Francisco regi, vt legatum ad se captiuum in Britanniam mitteret. Eius rei commonitus Polus Cardinalis, ex Gallijs in Flandriam profectus, aliquandiu hæsit Cameraci. Indè Leodium abiens, aliquot menses liberalitèr habitus est à Cardinale Erardo: pòst Romam repetijt. Sleidanus suo more pessimè eam legationem interpretatur, tanquàm propter eam missus fuerit ad Franciscum regem, vt eum in Anglum inflammaret. Ità semper improbi homines ex animi sui prauitate etià alios metiuntur. Et valdè hoc familiare est Sleidano & sectarijs dogmatistis omnibus, vt Romanos pontifices & catholicos quosque magnoperè studeant apud omnes in summum odium & inuidiam adducere, licet interim illi piam doctrinam, & purū ac syncerum Euangelium, & incredibilem vitæ innocentiam sibi impudenti vanitate tribuere non vereantur.

Mense Octobri Iana Smeria, quam ab Anna Bole. Eduardus Rex Angliæ Henricus suo iunxerat matrimonio, filium Eduardum peperit, sed ipsa duodecimo pòst die vitam cum morte commutauit.

Eduardus
nascitur.

Per id tempus quo paulò antè diximus in Belgio viguisse bellum, multa Gallis apud Allobroges eripuit Daualus Vastius Cæsareanorum dux inclytus, & cum iam binis castris obsideret Taurinum & Pinarolum, Gallosq; ad summam alimentorum penuriam adduxisset, in ipso tempore Henricus Delphinus cum exercitu superueniens, rebus necessarijs grauissimè pressos subleuauit. Indè verò de pace tractari cœptum est, istis primùm trimestribus inducijs, & ijs rursus in alias trimestres, deniquè in longiores prorogatis. Ea in re conficienda præclaram sanè Reipub. Christianæ nauauit operam Paulus 3. Romanus Pontifex, cui dolebat illud bellum intestinum.

Cum Cæsar in Italia esset, miserunt ad eū legatos suos Protestantium ordines. Illos Cæsar quidem audiuit, sed occupatus rebus bellicis, respondit se per legatum illis responsa daturum. Hoc cum Protestantibus renunciatū esset, illi conuentū indicunt Smalcaldie ad septimum Februarij anni huius diem, vbi omnes adessent. Adduxerunt eò primi nominis concionatores suos, Lute.

Legatio
ad Cæsarem.

Conuētus
Smalcaldie.

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abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

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9. Granjon's Second Pica Roman [R 84]
or *Cicéro*, named 'Gros Cicero' (1569)

Apart from its style which is decidedly Granjon's, a typeface of this size is attributed to Granjon by Guillaume II Le Bé in two letters to his Geneva and Lyons colleagues Pierre Mourier and Sébastien Bouillant, both dated 1614 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 22117, f. 10–11v; an eighteenth-century copy), and in his c.1618 inventory (Morison, 1957, 19).

The typeface is very similar to a slightly larger English or *Saint-augustin* Roman cut by Granjon in Rome c.1583. See below (10). In the Pica size, there are three sets of matrices (two of them incomplete) present in the collection of the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The complete set (MA 26a) is not mentioned in the Plantin inventories up to 1652. Probably it was acquired in the 1730's when Joannes Jacobus Moretus (1647–1757) revived the Plantin typefoundry and engaged Johan Michael Smit and Pierre Perreault as punchcutter and typefounder respectively. At any event, we know of no earlier use of this face by the Plantin press as in the *Missale* and *Breviarium Romanum*, both of 1736. The long sorts are all but undistinguishable from the long letters Granjon cut in 1566 for Plantin to cast Garamont's English on a lesser body and preserved in MA 25b. Except for the long s + i ligature (which in the last set of matrices is about 0.1 mm shorter), differences could not be detected. Nevertheless, our earlier assumption that MA 25b derives from the same punches as MA 26a (Early inv., 1960, 42 and Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 37) deserves a new scrutiny. See below (16).

The Pica shown in the 1616 Specimen of the Nuremberg printer, G.L. Fuhrmann, (*Typorum & characterum officinae... designatio*, f. D3, s.v. 'Antiqua, quam vocant mediam, Norimbergae fusa'; Dresden, University Library, Techn.

B.175) is, as far as I can see, a close copy of Granjon's typeface. And the 1664 Fievet specimen, s.v. 'Cicero Antiqua ? de Granjon' errs by ascribing Garamont's late Cicero to Granjon (Mori, 1955, pl. 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4).

The Roman of the popular Monotype Plantin (Series 110, 1914) was modelled after the state of this face, the later Moretus used (capitals J, U, W added and lower case a replaced by an eighteenth-century sort, probably engraved by J.M. Smit).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro; Médiane*); 20 84 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1569, **Cologne**, G. Calenius & Heirs of J. Quentel (Canisius, *Authoritatum sacrae scripturae ...*; STCf, 684) and 1569, **Strasbourg**, Th. Rihel (Jociscus, *Oratio de ortu ... Oporini*; STCg, 451).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Basle**: 1570, Peter Perna; 1571, E. Episcopius; **Paris**: 1571, J. Kerver; 1576, N. Du Chemin; 1578, L. Cavellat; 1584, J. Mettayer; **Sevilla**: 1572, H. Diaz; **Venice**: 1572, P. Manuzio; 1573, F. dei Franceschi; **Cologne**: 1574, M. Cholinus; 1576, Th. Baum, 1591, J. Gymnicus; **Antwerp**: 1577, W. Silvius; **Rennes**: J. Du Clos; **Turin**: 1578, F. Dolce; 1587, Heirs of N. Bevilacqua; **Strasbourg**: 1581, B. Jobin; **Lyons**: 1586, G. Rouillé; **Barcelona**: 1587, P. Malo; **Mexico**: 1636, J. Ruiz.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdruksel van alle de letteren*, 'Avgvstijn romeyn' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 14, no. 6); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Media Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Grobe Cicero Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... druckerie*, f. A3; 'Augustijn Romeyn' [reporting ownership of punches]; f. fiv 'Dubbelde Perel capitalen' [2]; except capitals JUW (Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Mar. 148-18); 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustijn Romeyn No. 2' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 12); except capital and lower case w; c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustijn Romeyn No.2' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); 1691, H. Keyser, Stockholm, *Specimen characterum*, 'Mittel Antiqua' (Stockholm, Royal Library, 82 Aa 18/72; Bengtsson, 1956, 181–3); 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Mittel Antiqua No 10' (Mori, 1955, 10); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 14, 'Mittel Antiqua'; 'Grobe



V M ante annos non multos D. Nacleri Chronica in officina Quenteliana denuò essent excudenda, illustriſs. Princeps, clementiſs. Domine, rogavit me D. Geruinus Calenius, Iuris Licentiatus, mihi ob animi candorem & morum integritatem charus, vt ad Naclerum adijcerem eius temporis hiftoriam, quod ab illius Chronicis interim effluxiſſet. Maluiſſem ego alterius ea in re opera illum vti potiùs voluiſſe, quòd illi argumento parùm eſſem idoneus : ſed cùm non occurreret alius, coactus eſt à

BCDEFGHIKLM

NOPQRSTVXYZ

b c d e f g h i j k l n q r f s t v w x y z

Æ æ Æ & ff ff ff fi fl æ ſb ſi ſl ſſi ſt Æ ſ

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Cicero Antiqua'; except small capitals (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); 1714, J.H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, 'Mittel Antiqua'; 'Grobe Cicero Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 21); 1718, Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Gr. Cicero Antiqua No 12' (Mori, 1955, 13); 1727, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No 13 Mittel Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 24); 1740, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No 21 Mittel Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 25); mutilated; 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. F2v, 'Cicero gros oeil Numero XXXIV' (Johnson, 1965); except capital J; 1745, Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Cicero Rom: à gros oeil No 19' (Mori, 1955, 14); 1755, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 23 Cicero Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 27); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. F2v, 'Cicero gros oeil Numero XXXIV' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); except capital J; 1760, Gando Père et Fils, Paris, *Epreuves des caracteres*, f. 12, 'Saint Augustin Petit Oeil Numero XXII' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:1); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustijn Romeyn No. 2' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13); 1770, J. Becker, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 23 Mittel Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 32); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 29 'Cicero a gros oeil'; p. 118 (Carter, 1969a, 50–1).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 26a; MA 25b (ascenders and descenders only; Early inv., 1963, 42); MA 104b (incomplete and partially unjustified).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with acute top terminal; K with serifless tail; splayed M; lower case g with broad loop.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Gros Cicero de Granjon, qui est du Sainct Augustin racourcy; Sainct Augustin racourcy ou gros Cicero de Granjon; Sainct Augustin racourcy ou gros Cicero qu'a fait Granjon (Letters of Le Bé to Mourier and Bouillant, 1614); Gros Cicero romain Granjon (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 42, MA 25b; Dreyfus, 1963, 9; Johnson, 1965, 6–7; Carter, 1969a, 50–1; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 37.

FIGURE 9a (left-hand page) Granjon's Second Pica [R 84] or *Cicéro*, named 'Gros Cicero' (1569) as it occurs in L. Surius, *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum*, Cologne, G. Calenius & Heirs of J. Quentel, 1574, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 9b (left-hand page) Granjon's Second Pica [R 84] or *Cicéro*, named 'Gros Cicero' (1569) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 26). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

10. Granjon's Second English-Sized Roman [R 95] or *Saint-augustin* (1580)

This typeface can be attributed on the ground of the Granjon specimen, mentioned above. It resembles Granjon's second Pica (9) but its extenders are a trifle longer. Capitals and short lower case sorts are all but identical. Apart from its larger size, best spot letters are the H, T, Z, which are a bit larger on English.

The type is used in the new *Rituale Romanum*, a project of Giulio Antonio Cardinal Santoro, Granjon's patron in Rome. The service book was never authorized but its proofs, dated 1584, are preserved in the Vatican Library (R I.iii.209). Granjon's new Roman was its main text type. I have not seen this face used outside Italy.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 95 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1580, Rome, F. Zanetti (*Brevis orthodoxae fidei professio*; Adams, 1967, R738).

EARLY APPEARANCES Rome: 1583, R. Granjon; 1589, D. Basa; 1591, Tipografia Medicea; Venice: 1591, Giunta.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1583, R. Granjon, Rome, *Arabici Characteres* (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. St. Or. 4(5), f. 10; Vervliet, 1981, 32); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de carateri*, Rome, f. 39 'Giubilare' (Vervliet, 1967, 33, no. 39).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with acute top terminal; K with serifless tail; splayed M; lower case g with broad loop.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 1967, 33, no. 39; Vervliet, 1981, 53.

FIGURE 10 Granjon's Second English-Sized Roman [R 95] or *Saint-augustin* (1580) as assembled from A. Rocca, *Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, Stampa Vaticana, 1591, p. 144. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

A B C D E F G H I K L M
N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i k l m
n o p q r s t u v x y z

11. Granjon's Second Great Primer Roman [R 118] or *Gros-romain* (1566)

This elegant typeface can safely be attributed to Granjon on the basis of the Plantin inventories (Early inv. 1960, 47) and of its style, which matches that of the types described in (7–10). It was popular in Germany and Spain, but I failed to spot it in sixteenth-century France, where Garamont's Paragon Roman (1557) apparently was preferred. A close, well-cut copy of Granjon's typeface appears in Poland at the Cracow press of A. Lazarus (1584). Possibly it was cut by Jan Januszowski.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 118 x 2.5 : 3.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1566, **Frankfurt**, M. Lechler (L. Fuchs, *Operum tomus primus*; STCg, 326).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Antwerp**: 1568: A. Tavernier; **Frankfurt**: 1568, Heirs of C. Egenolff, S. Feyerabend; 1569, N. Bassée; 1578, G. Rabe; 1580, A. Wechel; 1588, J. Spiess; **Basle**: 1570, Th. Guarin; 1577, P. Perna; 1591, S. Henricpetri; **Leipzig**: 1570, J. Rambau; 1577, V. Voegelin; **Venice**: 1572, P. Manuzio; 1573, F. de Franceschi, D. & G.B. Guerra; 1585, J. Varisco; **Dillingen**: 1580, J. Mayer; **Bergamo**: 1582, C. Ventura; **Mantua**: 1586, F. Osanna; **Rome**: 1587, G. Tornieri; **Helmstedt**: 1591, J. Lucius; **Lyons**: 1596, P. Estiart; **Madrid**: 1622, Widow of F. Correa Montenegro. More references in Johnson, 1965, 7–8.

TYPE-SPECIMENS **1615**, J.J. Genath, Basle, *Unterschiedliche Form*, 'Text Antiqu' (Basle, University Library, ms. O 12C:166); **1616**, G.L. Fuhrmann, Nuremberg, *Typorum & characterum officinae ... designatio*, 'Antiqua, quam tertiam vocant' (University Library, Dresden, Techn. B.175); **1664**, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Grobe Bibel Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); **1669**, J. Moxon, London, *Proves of several sorts*, 'Great Primmer' (Davis-Carter, 1958, 362–3); except capitals and lower case w; **1682**, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Parangon Antiqua N' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); c.1700, J. Rolu, Amsterdam, *Proeven van*

Letteren, 'Paragon Romeyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, 15); *post 1701*, [M. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Text Romeyn'; capitals only; except Æ; 'Paragon Romein'; except small capitals (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 94 [66]); **1704**, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, title-page, line 10 'Ac typographo, etc.' (Mori, 1924, pl. 5); except capital U; f. 2, 'Parangon Antiqua' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); c.1710, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Specimen typorum Hebraeorum*, title-page, lines 7–10; *post 1725*, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Kleyne Paragon'; 'Groote Text'; (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 123 [82]); except Æ; **1742**, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. N4v, 'Petit Parangon Romain Numero LI' (Johnson, 1965, 7–8); except capital U; **1755**, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 11 Tertia Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 27); **1768**, Widow J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Tertia Antiqua n.2' (Mori, 1955, 29); **1758**, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. N4v, 'Petit Parangon Romain Numero LI' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); except capital U;

MATRICES AND STRIKES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, matrices: MA 14 and 84a (capitals only); strikes: MA 112, MA 125, MA 179 (Early inv., 1960, 47).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; narrow E, F, X, Y; K with serifless tail; splayed M; v extending under base line.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Romain paragon de GrandJon (Plantin, 1588); Parangon Rom. GrandJon (Plantin, 1589); Rom. parangon de granjon (Plantin, 1590); Parangonne Romaine de Grandjon (Plantin, 1590).

LITERATURE Early inv. 1960, 47; Dreyfus, 1963, 8; Johnson, 1965, 7–8.

FIGURE 11A (opposite) Granjon's Second Great Primer Roman [R 118] or *Gros-romain* (1566) as it occurs in T. Livius, *Romanae historiae libri*, Frankfurt, G. Rabe & S. Feyerabend, 1576, p. 967. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 11B Granjon's Second Great Primer Roman [R 118] or *Gros-romain* (1566) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 14). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
æ ct & ff ffi fi fl œ si fl ffi ft
á à â ã ç é è ê ë ē ĩ ï ï ó ò ô
õ þ ð ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ ñ
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
, . ' ; : ? (- ★

nes perueniretur. Edita tribunis centurionibusque erant quæ agerentur: mane omne aurum, argentumque collatum: hora quarta signum ad diripiendas vrbes datum est militibus: tantaque præda fuit, vt in equitem cccc. denarij, peditibus duceni diuiderentur, centum quinquaginta millia capitum humanorum abducerentur. Muri deinde direptarum vrbiũ diruti sunt: ea fuere oppida circa LXX. vendita præda omnium, de ea summa militi numeratum est. Paulus ad mare Oricum descendit, nequaquam vt ratus erat expletis militum animis: qui tanquam nullum in Macedonia gessissent bellum, expertes regiæ prædæ esse indignabantur. Orici cum missas cum Scipione Maxima Maximoque filio copias inuenisset, exercitu in naues imposito, in Italiam traiecit. Et post paucos dies Anicius conuentu reliquorum Epirotarum Acarnanumque acto, iussisque in Italiam sequi principibus, quorum cognitionem causæ referuaret: & ipse nauibus expectatis, quibus usus Macedonicus exercitus erat, in Italiam traiecit. Cum hæc in Macedonia Epiroque gesta sunt, legati, qui cum Attalo ad finiendum bellum inter Gallos & regem Eumenen missi erant, in Asiam peruenerunt. Inducijs per hyemem factis, & Galli domos abierant, & rex in hyberna concesserat Pergamum, grauique morbo æger fuerat. Ver primũ ex domo exciuit: iamque Synnada peruenerant, cum Eumenes ad Sardeis vndique exercitum contraxerat. Ibi & Romani Solouettium ducem Gallorum Synnadis allocuti, & Attalus cum eis profectus: sed castra Gallorum intrare eum non placuit, ne animi ex disceptatione irritarentur. P. Licinius cum regulo Gallorum est locutus, retulitque ferociorem eum deprecando factum: vt mirum videri posset, inter opulentos reges Antiochum Ptolemæumque tantum legatorum Romanorum verba valuisse, vt extemplo pacem facerent: apud Gallos nullius momenti fuisse. Romam primũ reges captiui Perseus & Gentius in custodiam cum liberis abducti, dein turba alia captiuorum: tum quibus Macedonum denuntiaturum erat, vt Romam venirent, principumque Græciæ. nam hi quoque non solum præsentis exciti erant: sed etiam si qui apud reges esse dicebantur, literis accersiti sunt. Paulus ipse post dies paucos regia naue ingentis magnitudinis, quam sexdecim versus remorum agebant, ornata Macedonicis spolijs, non insignium tantum armorum, sed etiam regionum textilium, aduerso Tiberi ad urbem est subuectus, completis ripis obuiam effusa multitudine. Paucos

12. Granjon's Double Pica Roman [R 140] or *Gros-parangon* (1570)

On 19 May 1569 Plantin advanced the sum of 2 £ and 2 patt. 'a Me Robert Grandion a bon compte des poinsons et quatre frappes quil me promet de faire d'une Rommaine petit petit Canon' (Plant. arch. 31, f. 88v). The expression 'petit petit Canon' is unusual, indicating that the term 'Parangon' was as yet not accepted fully in the 1560's. Later Plantin inventories variously describe the size as 'Ascendonica' or 'Parangonne'. And when in 1570 Hendrik van den Keere justified its matrices, he reported it as a Two-line Small Pica Roman ('een groote Romeyn 2 regulen philosophi'; Plant. arch., 153, f. 43 and 71).

The new type appeared from 1570 on in the Plantin books, among which the *Biblia regia*. It was the latest Roman in a series of five which Granjon cut in Antwerp in the years 1566–70. See (7, 8, 11, 13). Further research is needed to elucidate its later spread over the Netherlands, England, Italy. I have failed to spot the typeface in sixteenth-century French imprints. Seemingly Garamont's Paragon Roman (1557) prevailed there.

Granjon's Double Pica was Matthew Carter's model for the Roman of the Linotype Galliard of 1978 (Carter, 1985).

SIZE Double Pica (*Gros-parangon*); 20 140 x 3 : 4.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1570, **Antwerp**, C. Plantin (F. Richardot, *Sermon faite en l'Eglise...*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 11.35; Voet, 5: 2001, no. 2145); capitals only; and 1571, **Antwerp**, C. Plantin (*Psalterium*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 552; Voet, 4: 1961–3, no. 2115).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Toledo**: 1571, J. de Ayala; **Venice**: 1580, F. Ziletti; 1597, G. Bindoni; **Leyden**: 1586, F. Raphelengius; **Bergamo**: 1593, C. Ventura; **Cologne**: 1594, H. Falckenburg.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 65 'Ascendonica Romaine' (Plant. arch. 43); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. 31 'Ascendonica' (Vervliet, 1967, 32, no. 31); 1658, J. Elsevier, *Specimen typorum*, Leyden,

'Ascendonica Romanum' (University Library, Leyden, 743 f. 44); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. A2v; 'Paragon Romeyn'; reports ownership of punches (Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Mar. 148–18); except capital J; 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerie*, 'Groote Paragon Romeyn' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); except lower case a; c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Parangon' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9); except lower case a; 1706, Oxford University Press, Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Paragon Roman' (Hart, 1970, 69, 185); except capital W and lower case a and w; post 1728, Voskes en Clerck, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Gr. Paragon Romyn' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87 [63]); except lower case a; c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, f. A3 'Paragon Romeyn'; except capitals H, W, small capitals and lower case a and w; [p. 21, line 8] 'AKR...'; except H, J, U (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1749, J.W. de Groot, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerie*, W. Boot, f. D3 'Dubbelde Brevier Capitalen' (The Hague, Royal Library, 3110 E 40); only capitals; 1767, Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'N. VI Groote Paragon Romein' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102:2); except lower case a; c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'No. VI Groote Paragon Romein' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); except lower case a.

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, ST 9, MA 7 and MA 8 (Early inv., 1960, 37; 41).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; narrow X, Y; K with serifless tail; splayed M.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Rommaine petit petit Canon (contract Granjon-Plantin, 1569); Ascendonica Poinsons de la Romaine par Granjon (Plantin, 1572); Ascendonica La Romaine de Granjon (id.); Ascendonica Poinsons de la Romaine de R. Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Ascendonica La Romaine de Robert Granjon (id.); Ascendonica romain GrandJon 1570 (Plantin, 1588); Ascendonica rom. granjon (Plantin, 1590); Ascendonica Romaine Granjon (Plantin, 1612).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 37 (ST 9); 41 (MA 7–8); 88 (LMA 56); Dreyfus, 1963, 13; Vervliet, 1967, 32, no. 31.

FIGURE 12a (opposite) Granjon's Double Pica [R 140] or *Gros-parangon* (1570) as it appears in *Psalterium*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1571, f. *3v. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 12b Granjon's Double Pica [R 140] or *Gros-parangon* (1570) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 8). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
Æ Æ æ ct & ff ffi ffi fi fl œ si fl ffi ft R ŷ °
á à â ã ä å ç é è ê ë ē ċ í î ï ï ñ ó ò ô õ ö ø þ ñ ŭ ù ù ù ù
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
, . ' " ; : ! ? ([- * ¶ ✱ ✱
a e n t

ELVCIDATIO CALENDARII.

IN Calendario locatur primò Aureus numerus; deinde litteræ Dominicales & feriarum; tertio numerus Calendarum, Nonarum, & Iduum; quartò dies cuiusque mensis, cum festis sanctorum suo loco.

AUREVS NVMERVS.

xiiij. xv. xvj. xvij. xviii. xix.
i. ij. iij. iiii. v. vj. vii. viij. ix. x. xj. xij. xiiij.

IN superiori numerorum serie sicprehèditur Aureus numerus. Primus numerus qui est xiiij. tribuatur anno 1571. sequens qui est xv. tribuatur anno 1572. & sic deinceps, donec ad annum currentem perueniatur. Finitis decem & nouem annis, redeundum est ad principium. Sic autem in singulis mensibus est accommodatus, vt vbi cadit in Calendario, ibi sit Nouilunium.

LITTERAE DOMINICALES.

G F D C B A F E D C A G F E C B
E G B D
A G E D C B G F E D B A
F A C

13. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Pica [R 6.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1567)

This elegant titling (*pace* the strongly nosed capital A) is typical of Granjon's late Romans. In August 1566 Christopher Plantin bought a set of matrices from Granjon (Plant. arch. 31, f. 88; 36, f. 110); he began to use the typeface from 1567 on. It is ascribed to Granjon in the Plantin inventories of 1572 and 1581; in the later inventories it appears unattributed; cf. Early inv., 1960, 50, (LMA 13). The set of matrices disappeared from the Plantin collection sometime in the eighteenth century. Known by Plantin under the name 'La Plaisante', it later became widely popular in Europe. The c.1618 Le Bé inventory ascribes the punches to Granjon (Morison, 1959, 25). It does not mention matrices, probably by inadvertency, as the 1685 Le Bé inventory lists an (unattributed) 'petite boëtte dans la quelle est 27 matrices de lettres de deux points de cicero' (Paris, Archives nationales, MC Et. 70: 182).

We have not noticed this typeface before 1567. References to earlier appearances at the Lyons presses of the Beringi Fratres (H. Agrippa, *Opera*, s.a.; Baudrier, 3: 55) and Jean I de Tournes or at the Paris press of Federic Morel (1559) cannot be substantiated. The Beringen imprints are in all probability seventeenth-century reprints. The reference to 1549 or 1559 imprints of De Tournes (Carter, 1969a, 58–9; 1976, 77–8, nos. B 88–90) must be slips of the pen. The Morel reference is caused by an erroneous caption in Morison, 1924, 177; the reproduction, a Ronsard poem addressed to Henry III, is not to be dated 1559, but 1575 (Smith, 1975, 214).

It is possible that at the end of the 1570's Granjon cut a Two-line English lower case [R 190] to be cast with these capitals. See below (19).

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Lettres de deux points de Cicéro*); : 6.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1567, **Antwerp**, W. Silvius, (L. Guicciardini, *Description de toute le Pais Bas*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 2998) and 1567, **Antwerp**, C. Plantin (Horatius, *Epodon liber*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 1699; Voet, 3: 1167–9, no. 1380).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Basle**: 1568, P. Perna; **Antwerp**: 1568, Ph. Nutius; 1570, A. Tavernier; **Geneva**: 1571, J. Crespin; 1580, J. Des Planches; 1581, J. Chouet; 1583, J. Desboys; 1586, E. Viollier; **Sevilla**: 1571, H. Díaz; **London**: 1572, J. Day; 1575, Th. Vautrollier; **Venice**: 1573, F. da Franceschi, Giunta, A. Manuzio; 1580, F. Ziletti; 1583, G.A. Rampazetto; 1585, G. Vincenzi; 1587, A. Gardano; 1588, G.B. Somasco; 1590, G.B. Bonfadino; 1591, P. Meietti; 1594, N. Moretti; 1597, P. Dusinelli; 1599, G.B. Ciotti; **Paris**: 1574, D. Du Pré; 1575, G. Buon; 1576, N. Du Chemin; 1578, S. Nivelle; 1579, J. Kerver, J. Mettayer; 1580, Th. Brumen, J. Houzé & H. Le Bé, A. Langelier; 1581, M. Le Duc; 1585, L. Cavellat; 1586, J. Richer; 1587, L. Delas, D. Du Val; 1588, G. Linocier; 1589, G. Bichon, P. Des Hayes, D. Millot; 1591, P. Chevalier; 1605, Compagnie du Grand Navire; 1609, G. II Le Bé; 1617, Imprimerie royale; **Turin**: 1574, Heirs of N. Bevilacqua; 1588, A. Bianchi; 1589, E. Tomisi; 1596, A. Pizzamiglio; 1598, G.M. & G.F. Cavalleri; G.B. Tarino; **Cologne**: 1575, G. Calenius; 1576, T. Baum; 1577, Heirs of A. Birckmann; **Louvain**: 1577, R. Velpius; **Douai**: 1578, J. Bogard; **Lyons**: 1578, N. Guérin; 1581,

G. Rouillé; 1584, J. Martin; 1588, B. Rigaud; 1590, J. Roussin; 1593, Th. Ancelin, H. a Porta; **Bordeaux**: 1580, S. Millanges; **Naples**: 1582, O. Salviani; 1585, G. Cacchi; 1592, G. Carlino; 1595, G. Napolitano; 1599, C. Vitale; **Leyden**: 1583, J. van Hout; 1588, J. Paedts; 1589, F. I Raphelengius; **Rome**: 1583, F. Zanetti; 1587, B. Bonfadino; 1591, Stampa Vaticana; 1592, Tipografia Medicea; 1595, D. Basa; D. Gigliotti; **Cremona**: 1584, C. Draconi; **Milan**: 1584, M. Tini; **Oxford**: 1585, J. Barnes; **Reims**: 1585, J. de Foigny; **Mantua**: 1586: F. Osanna; **La Rochelle**: 1587, P. Haultin, J. Haultin; **Strasbourg**: 1587, G. Le Porché, O. Hengst; **Frankfurt**: 1588, J. Wechel; **Macerata**: 1588, S. Martellini; **Ferrara**: 1589, V. Baldini; 1591, V. Baldini; **Genoa**: 1590, G. Bartoli; **Florence**: 1590, G. Marescotti; **Pons**: 1590, Th. Portau; **Piacenza**: 1592, G. Bazzachi; **Montbéliard**: 1593, J. Foillet; **Treviso**: 1593, D. Amici; **Brescia**: 1594: V. da Sabbio; **Niort**: 1594, Th. Portau; **Sedan**: 1594, A. Rivery; **Brussels**: 1595, R. Velpius; **Metz**: 1597, J. d'Arras; **Pavia**: 1598, A. Viani; **Middelburg**: 1599, S. Moulert.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. A1, 'Sive' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 2, no. 2); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Specimen' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2); 1608, M. Lanzenberger, Leipzig, in: J. Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, 45 (Gaskell, 1972). 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Specimen' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3); 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen*], f. 5, 'Patiens [lettres de deux points de Cicero]' (Veyrin-Forrer-Jammes, 1958); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, [title-page, line 2], 'Typorum' (Leyden UL, 743 f. 44); except capital U; 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Specimen' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J. Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Principio apud Devm' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1665, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *ÆABC* ..., [Line 5] (Mori, 1955, 6); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. A1; 'Dubbelde Augustijn Capitalen'; line 2; f. A1v; 'Dubbelde Mediaen Capitalen'; line 1 (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Mar. 148–18); 1670, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen*, 'Probatissimorum' (Mori, 1955, 8); except capital U; 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Dubbelde Mediaen Kapitalen' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 12); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Principio apud Deum' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); except capitals J and U; c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Dubbelde Mediaen Kapitalen' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); 1685, H. Curio, Uppsala, *Catalogus literarum*, [line 2:] 'Literarum' (Bengtsson, 1956, 61); except capital U; 1692, P. Boeyes, Hoorn, *Proeven Van ... Letteren*, 'Dubbelde Mediaen Capitalen' (Leyden UL, 744 D 19); except capitals J, Q, W; c.1700, Adamsz & Ente, Amsterdam, *Letteren en Bloemen*, 'Dubbelde Descendiaan' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 11); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 9, lines 14–15 'ÆCEABC, etc.; except capitals CE, J, U, W (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerie*, [p. 20] 'Dubbelde Augustijn Capitalen'; 'Dubbelde Mediaan Capitalen' (Leyden UL, 743 F 45); 1714, J.H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, 'Tam ipsi librorum' (Mori, 1955, 21); except capital U; post 1725, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Dobbel Mediaen' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 123 [82]); except capitals J and U; post 1728, Clerk en Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Dubbelde Mediaan' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 106–8 [73–4]); except capital J; c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, [p. 21, line 5] 'HAGD...' (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. G1 'Lettre de deux points de Cicero Numero Premier' (Johnson, 1965); except capitals J, U, Æ, CE; ante 1748, I. vander Putte, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Dubbelde Deszendiaan [2]' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 98 [68]); except capitals J, Q, U, W; 1749, J.W. de Groot, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerie*, W. Boot, f. D2 'Dubbelde Mediaan Capitalen' (The Hague RL, 3110 E 40); c.1749, I. vander Putte, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Dubbelde Deszendiaan No 2' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 96 [67]); except capital J; 1758,

N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caractères*, f. G1 'Lettre de deux points de Cicero Numero Premier' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); except capitals J, U, Æ, OE; 1771, J. Kannevet, Amsterdam, *Proeve Van ... Letteren*, [f. D4] 'Dubbelde Mediaen Capitalen' (Amsterdam, University Library); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caractères et les vignettes*, p. 47 'Petit Canon romain'; capitals only; p. 88 '[Lettre de deux points] Saint Augustin romain' (Carter, 1969a, 58–9; 69); except J.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; narrow E, F, N; K with serifless tail; splayed M.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Matrices des capitales de deux regles sur le Median (sale by Granjon to Plantin, 1566); Capitales sur deux lignes du Cicero par Granjon (Plantin, 1572); Plaisante. Capitales de deux lignes de mediane justifiées R. Granjon

(Plantin, 1581); Lettres de deux points de Cicero rom. Granjon (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1936, 78–9; Early inv., 1960, 50, (LMA 13); Dreyfus, 1963, 4; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 2, no. 2.

FIGURE 13a Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Pica [R 6.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1567) *Biblia*, Antwerp, Widow of J. Steelsius & A. Tavernier, 1570, f. *3, *5. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 13b Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Pica [R 6.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1567) as shown in the *Epreuves générales*, Paris, C. Lamesle, 1742, f. G1. The J, Q, U, Æ, OE are later additions. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

INDEX RERVM ET SENTEN-
TIARVM VETERIS AC NOVI TESTAMENTI: IN
QVO ADVERTENDVM MVLTA DITIONES QVAE IN INITIO
VOCALI LENI SCRIBI SOLENT, HIC AB ASPIRATA INCIPI,
HENTENII NECHLINIEN-
SIS IN BIBLIA LOVANII ANNO M. D. XLVII.
EXCVSA ATQVE CASTIGATA,
PRAEFATIO.

ABCDEF
GHIJKL
MNOPQ
RSTUVX
YZÆŒ

14. Garamont's Long Primer Roman or
Petit-romain to be cast on Bourgeois [R 61]
or *Gaillarde* (1566)

During the first two weeks of February 1566 Plantin paid Granjon for the delivery of nineteen punches to cast a Long Primer (*Petit-romain* or *Garamonde*) on the lesser body of Bourgeois, or Colineus in Plantin's terminology (Plant. arch. 31, f. 87v). The Long Primer was Garamont's as appears from a payment to the local typefounder Laurent van Everbroeck on 5 October 1567 (*ibid.*, f. 69v). The typeface is reported (unattributed) in the 1572 and 1581 inventories (Early inv., 1960, 40 [LST 9; 119, MA 47b]) and shown in the c.1585 Folio Specimen (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 59). We have seen this combination of typefaces only at the Plantin and Raphelengius presses, from 1568 and 1590 onwards respectively. The punches are lost but a set of matrices (missing p and q) survives in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 47b).

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 61 x 1.5 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1568, **Antwerp**, C. Plantin (V. Cordus, *Dispensatorium*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 195; Voet, 2: 695–6, no. 1023).

TYPE-SPECIMEN c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Colineus Romaine'; ascenders and descenders only (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 59).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 47b (Early inv., 1963, 119).

KEY LETTER Lower case g with large loop; ascenders 2.1 mm high instead of those of Garamont (2.4 mm).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Paye 35 patt. pour chacun poinçons desdites 19 qui sont sur la garramonde petit Romain pour faire fondre sur le blanc de la lectre dicte Colinet (Payment of Plantin to Granjon, 1566)

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 40 (LST 9; 119, MA 47b; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 59).

FIGURE 14 Garamont's Long Primer Roman or *Petit-romain* to be cast on Bourgeois [R 61] or *Gaillarde* (1566) as shown in the c.1585 Folio Specimen, Antwerp, C. Plantin, s.v. 'Colineus Romaine'; with ascenders and descenders by Granjon. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Colineus Romaine.

Pomponius Atticus in funere matris, quam extulit nonagenariam, ipse natus annos sexaginta septē, gloriatus est, quod nunquam cum matre in gratiam redijisset, nunquam cum sorore fuisset in similitate, quam propē æqualem habuit. Hanc vocem se ab ipso audisse scripsit Cornelius Nepos. Plus autem est non redisse in gratiam, quàm non fuisse in similitate: Matrem nunquam offenderat, inter ipsum & sororem etiam si quid incidit offensarum, nunquam exierunt in similitatem, quæ tamen inter fratres & sorores frequenter acerrimæ solent existerē.

15. Garamont's Pica Roman or *Cicéro*
to be cast on Small Pica [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (1566)

In June 1566 Plantin noted the payment to Granjon of some 19 punches 'sur le median qui sont court pour faire fondre sur la Philosophie' (Plant. arch. 31, f. 87v); the casting of a complete fount was paid to the local typefounder François Guyot in October 1566 (*ibid.*, f. 65v). Punches and matrices were reported in the Plantin inventories of 1572 ('Poinçons des lectres longues sur la Romaine de Garamond pour la mettre sur la Philosophie') and 1581 (Early inv., 1960, 40, LST 9; 43, MA 36b). Plantin used this combination from 1568 on.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 72 x 1.6 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1568, **Antwerp**, C. Plantin (*Horæ beatissimæ Virginis*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 2.28; Voet, 3: 1148–9, no. 1355).

TYPE-SPECIMEN c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Vraye Mediane Romaine'; descenders only; 'Mediane sur la Philosophie'; ascenders and descenders only (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, nos. 38, 45).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 36b (Early inv., 1960, 40, LST 9; 43, MA 36b).

KEY LETTER Lower case g with large loop; ascenders 2.5 mm high instead of Garamont's 2.9 mm.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Poinçons sur le median qui sont court pour faire fondre sur la Philosophie (Payment of Plantin to Granjon, 1566).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 40, LST 9; 43, MA 36b; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 45).

FIGURE 15 (opposite, above) Garamont's Pica Roman or *Cicéro* to be cast on Small Pica [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1566) as shown in the c.1585 Folio Specimen, Antwerp, C. Plantin, s.v. 'Mediane sur la Philosophie'; with ascenders and descenders by Granjon. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Mediane sur la Philosophie.

Agis Laconicorum regum vltimus, per infidias captus, ac præter meritum ab Ephoris condemnatus, quum ad laqueum duceretur, confpiceretque quendam è liçtoribus flentem ob indignitatem rei, cuius cogebatur esse minifter: Define, inquit, ô homo vicem meam flere. Nam sic moriens præter ius & æquum, melior, feliciorque sum his, qui me occidunt. Hæc loquutus vltro collum laqueo induit. Quo nemo Stoicorum docuit quicquam fortius, hoc ille iuuenis non verbis, sed re præstitit, felicitatem omnem solo honesto metiens, eosque iudicans infeliciores, qui faciunt iniuriam, quam qui patiuntur.

16. Garamont's English-Sized Roman
or *Saint-augustin* to be cast on Pica [R 84]
or *Cicéro* (1568)

These shortened letters are attributed to Granjon on stylistic grounds; they are all but identical to the sorts of Granjon's large-faced Cicero (see above 9). They are not mentioned explicitly in the Plantin inventories but they appear in his printing from 1568 on and in his c. 1585 Folio Specimen.

SIZE Pica (Cicéro); 20 84 x 1.9 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1568, Antwerp, C. Plantin (S. Grzebski, *De multiplici siclo*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 880/2; Voet, 3: 1645-6, no. 1268; only ascending and descending letters.

TYPE-SPECIMEN c. 1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Augustine sur la Mediane (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 37); ascenders and descenders only.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 25b (Early inv., 1960, 42-3).

KEY LETTERS Lower case g with large loop; ascenders 3 mm high instead of Garamont's 3.2 mm.

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 42-3, MA 25b; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 37.

FIGURE 16 (below) Garamont's English-Sized Roman or *Saint-augustin* to be cast on Pica [R 84] or *Cicéro* (1568) as shown in the c. 1585 Folio Specimen, Antwerp, C. Plantin, s.v. 'Augustine sur la Mediane'; with ascenders and descenders by Granjon. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Augustine sur la Mediane.

Quidam humiliori liberius aduersus ipsum multa loquenti: Colaphum, inquit, tibi dicam, & formulam scribo, quod caput durum habeas: pro diem tibi dicam, dixit, colaphum tibi dicam: & in capite duro lusit amphibologia. Siquidem durum caput habet peruiçax, & durum caput habet, qui offendit manum percutiens. Allusit autem ad morem eorum, qui quempiam in ius vocant, quorum est & diem reo præscribere, & cur in ius vocetur misso libello exprimere.

17. Haultin's Pica Roman [R 82] or
Cicéro (1548), supposedly by Granjon

'Cicero Antiqua de Granlon' is a heading in the 1664 type-specimen of the Frankfurt typefounder J.P. Fievet, but this refers to a Garamont Roman (Dreyfus, 1963, 9, pl. 4). Another Cicero Roman in the same specimen, simply headed 'Cicero Antiqua' was attributed to Granjon by Johnson (1938, 173–4; 1938a, 69–70; 1943, 58; Reed, 1952, 227–8), because this was used in 1551 in a Fezandat-Granjon imprint. He retraced its first appearance to Gualterot (Paris, 1549) and its occurrence in many seventeenth-century type-specimens. However, the editors of Dreyfus (1963, 9) suggest that the style of the typeface is more Haultin's than Granjon's. Probably they are right. Fezandat used this type from 1548 on, i.e. before his partnership with Granjon started. And I think I have seen this typeface in a Haultin-Pléau imprint of 1549 (*Ordonnance sur le poix*; Paris, Ste. Geneviève, F 8° 838:8). Its design is very near to a Small Pica (or Philosophie; 72 mm) Roman Haultin used from 1549 on in his earliest imprints. This typeface finally belongs to a group of half a dozen French types, bought about 1557 by Paolo Manuzio for use in his publications for the *Academia veneta* (1558–61). All (except a Long Primer by Garamont) are ascribable to Haultin.

The Plantin-Moretus Museum owns an incomplete set of matrices of this Roman (MA 75), which, however, it is not mentioned in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Plantin inventories.

SIZE Pica (Cicéro; Médiane); 20 82 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1548, Paris, M. Fezandat (Flavius Josephus, *Vita*; Ghent, University Library, Hist. 6750:1).

EARLY APPEARANCES Louvain: 1549, B. Gravius; Paris: 1549, V. Gualtherot, P. Haultin & N. Pléau; 1550, M. Fezandat & R. Granjon; 1551, N. Du Chemin; 1561, G. Merlin; G. Guillard & A. Warancore; Antwerp: 1553, J. Loe; Venice: 1553, G. Scoto; 1556, P. Manuzio.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn No. 2' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 12); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn No. 2' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Gemeene Med. Rom.' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9); with diverging sorts; 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Mediaan Romyn' (Leyden UL, 743 F 45); post 1728, Voskes en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Mediaan Romyn No. 2' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87 [63]); c.1740, Cambridge University Press, *A specimen of the letters*; after Johnson, 1938a, 69–70; c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn No. 2' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 75; incomplete set; not mentioned in the Plantin inventories nor specimens).

KEY LETTERS Capital E with longer lower arm; M without right upper serif; P smaller than other capitals.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1938, 173–5; Johnson, 1938a, 69–70; Johnson, 1943, 58; Reed, 1952, 227–8; Dreyfus, 1963, 9.

FIGURE 17 Haultin's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro*, supposedly by Granjon (1548), as it occurs in *Biblia*, Paris, Ch. Guillard, 1552, p. 799. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



It factus est sermo domini ad me dicens: Fili hominis, † pone faciē tuam ad ^a montes Israēl, & prophetabis ad eos, & dices: Montes Israēl audite verbū domini dei. Hęc dicit dominus deus montibus, & collibus, rupibus, & vallibus. Ecce ego inducam super vos gladiū, & disperdā excelsa vestra, & demoliar aras vestras, & cōfringentur simulachra vestra, & deiiciā interfectos vestros ante idola vestra. Et dabo cadauera filiorum Israēl ante faciē simulachrorū vestrorum, & dispergam ossa vestra circum aras vestras in omnibus habitationibus vestris." ^b Vrbes desertæ erūt, & excelsa demolientur ² & dissipabuntur, & interibunt] aræ vestræ, & confringentur, & cessabunt idola vestra, & conterentur delubra vestra, & delebuntur opera vestra, & cadet interfectus in medio vestri, & scietis quia ego sum dominus. Et relinquam in vobis eos qui fugerint gladium in gentibus, cum disperfero vos in terras, & recordabuntur mei liberati vestri in gentibus ad quas captiui ducti sunt, quia ³ contriui] cor eorum ^c fornicans & recedens à me, ⁴ & oculos eorum fornicantes post idola sua, & displicebunt sibi met super malis quæ fecerāt in vniuersis abominationibus suis, & scient quia ego dominus nō frustra locutus sum, vt facerem eis malum hoc. Hęc dicit dominus deus: Percute ⁴ ^d manum tuam, & allide pedem tuum,] & dic: heu ad omnes abominationes malorum domus Israēl, quia gladio, fame, & peste ruituri sunt. ^e Qui longe est peste morietur: qui autem prope, gladio corruet: & qui relictus fuerit & obsessus, fame morietur. ^f Et complebo indignationē meam in eis, & scietis quia ego dominus, cū fuerint interfecti vestri in medio idolorum vestrorum, in circuitu ararum vestrarum, in omni colle excelsō, & in cūctis summitatibus montium, & subtus omne lignum nemorosum, & subtus vniuersam quercum fron

18. Du Boys's Paragon Roman [R 128] or
Petit-parangon (1547), supposedly by Granjon.

Johnson (1943, 57–8; 1946, 55) attributes this typeface to Granjon. He mentions it as an early example of the thesis that in the course of the sixteenth century the trade of types had become international. Why exactly he attributed this typeface to Granjon, is unclear. One guesses he was impressed by its wide circulation over most of southern Europe, in the wake of the Lyons business influence, and by its acceptance at Lyons presses of De Tournes, Rouillé and others, who were regular customers of Granjon. However, as this type belongs stylistically to a seemingly coherent group of half a dozen Romans, all appearing in the 1540's and all quite different in style from Granjon's, the hypothesis of another punchcutter, such as Michel Du Boys (active in the Lyons in these years) cannot be ruled out (Vervliet, 2004, no. 22).

SIZE Paragon (*Petit-parangon*); 20 128 x 2.5 : 4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1547, Lyons, J. de Tournes (Petrarca, *Il Petrarca*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 809817; Cartier, 1: 240, no. 99).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Florence**: 1549, L. Torrentino; **Salamanca**: 1549, A. de Portonariis; 1557, J. de Canova; 1562, M. Gast; **Lyons**: 1550, S. Gryphius, Frères Senneton; 1553, G. Rouillé; 1554, M. Bonhomme; 1556, J. Temporal; **Basle**: 1554, J. Oporinus; 1565, Frobenii Fratres; 1570, Th. Guarin; 1584, L. Ostein; **Frankfurt**: 1563, S. Feyerabend; **Rome**: 1564, P. Manuzio; 1588, Typographia Vaticana; **Madrid**: 1567, P. Cosin.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. 33, 'Parangone della Vaticana' (Vervliet, 1967, 32, no. 33).

KEY LETTERS Capital B with large lower bowl; conspicuous middle arm serif of E; M without upper right serif; long-tailed R; upper right serif of T slanting to the right; broad lower case a; hooked link of g; ampersand slanting to the right.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1939, 201, no. 14; Johnson, 1943, 57–8; Johnson, 1946, 55; Tinto, 1967, 30; Vervliet, 1967, 32, no. 33; Cruickshank, 1986, 57.

FIGURE 18 Du Boys's Paragon Roman [R 128] or *Petit-parangon*, supposedly by Granjon, (1547) as it occurs in P. de Medina, *Lart de naviguer*, Lyons, G. Rouille, 1554, f. *2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



Ire, la commune obligation du subiect enuers son Seigneur & Prince, & le seruice que ie vous doy, pour la charge à laquelle il a pleu à vostre Maiesté m'appeller, ont eu telle vertu en moy que, nonobstant vne griëue & longue maladie, qui me faist sur le poinct de mettre en lumiere les representations, de vostre victorieux voyage de Bouloigne, ie ne voulu failir de faire en quelque forte mon deuoir, selon que tel empeschement suruenu me le peut permettre. Recourant donc au secours des liures, pour mettre au net mes peregrinations terrestres & marines, la pluspart faictes par vostre commandement, en maidant du liure Castillan de l'art de nauiguer, iadis composé par le Seigneur Pierre de Medine, Pilote du Roy d'Es-paigne sur les Indes Occidentales, le trouuay tant vtile & necessaire à ceux qui ont à voyager sur mer par vostre autorité, que le deu de mon estat me contraignit volontairement à le leur faire entendre par la traduction que ie leur en presente sous vostre bonne grace & royalle faueur. Surquoy i'espère, Sire, que cest emerueilla-

19. The 'Rouillé' Two-line English Roman
[R 190] or *Petit-canon* (1581),
possibly by Granjon.

This lower case was used in France and Italy from the 1580's on in combination with Granjon's Titling on Two-line Pica, described above in no. 13. It stayed in use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was introduced in the Rouillé's editions from the 1580's on together with other newer Romans by Granjon (who was in Lyons at the end of years 1570 and arrived in Rome around October 1579).^b The first appearances of this typeface in Lyons just after Granjon's departure from this city make his authorship acceptable although there is an evident incongruity in weight between capitals and lower case.

SIZE Two-line English (*Petit-canon*); 20 190 x 4 : 6.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1581, **Lyons**, G. Rouillé (A. Tiraqueau, *De utroque retractu*; Ghent, University Library, Jur. 3916; Baudrier, 9: 380).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Lyons**: 1587, P. Roussin; 1602, P. Frellon; **Turin**: 1588, A. Bianchi; 1589, Heirs of N. Bevilacqua.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. P 4v 'Petit Canon Numero LV' (Johnson, 1965); lower case only; 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. P 4v 'Petit Canon Numero LV' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); lower case only; 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 47 'Petit Canon romain'; (Carter, 1969a, 58-9; 69); except J;

KEY LETTERS lower case a rather broad; v descending below base line;

FIGURE 19 The 'Rouillé' Two-line English [R 190] or *Petit-canon* (1581), possibly by Granjon, as it shown in *Caracteres et vignettes*, Lyons, L. Delacolonge, 1773, p. 47. Courtesy of the Ecole Estienne, Paris.



PETIT CANON ROMAIN.

L'air & les man-
nieres rendent
gracieux, dit M.
l'abbé Girard, l'es-
prit & l'humeur
rendent agréable.
On aime la ren-
contre d'un hom-
me gracieux.

b. See Vervliet, 1981, 7.

20. A Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*
(1583), perhaps by Granjon.

In Italy a 8.5 mm titling occurs from about 1591 on, the style of which follows closely Granjon's titling described in (13). Though it is hard to decide about its cutter on a few lines or occurrences, it is well designed. It seems good enough to be by Granjon or by an able imitator. More research on the early appearances of this type, as well as on a series of 12.5 mm Roman capitals at the Junta (Venice) and Bellone (Carmagnola/Turin) presses, is needed to reach a conclusion.

SIZE Two-line English (*Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*); : 8.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1583, **Venice**, G. Angelieri (Magagnò, *La quarta parte delle rime*; after Vaccaro, 1983, 46, pl. 25).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Treviso**: 1590, A. Mazzolini; 1591, D. Amici. **Turin**: 1596, L. Pizzamiglio; 1598, G.M. Cavalleri; **Venice**: 1600, Heirs of F. de Franceschi.

FIGURE 20 Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or *Lettres de deux Points de Saint-augustin*, perhaps by Granjon (1583), as it appears in G. Bonifacio, *Historia Trivigiana*, Treviso, D. Amici, 1591, f. A1.

DELL'HISTORIA
TRIVIGIANA
DI GIOVANNI BONIFACCIO D.
LIBRO PRIMO.

21. The 'De Tournes' Ten-line Pica Roman
[R 960] (1551), possibly by Granjon.

From 1550 on, both Jean I de Tournes and Sebastian Gryphius used occasionally a series of display capitals, respectively 10.5, 13, 15 and 20 mm. high; they are well designed and deserve more research. Besides these, there appears in 1551 at the De Tournes press a large display letter (960 mm.), the biggest I saw in French sixteenth-century typography, complete with capitals and lower case. De Tournes uses them for main line on the title-pages of his folios, as a forceful entrance and a welcome change from the usual display in full lines of spaced capitals, either in the outmoded so-called Froben capitals of 8.5 mm. or in Granjon's Two-line English.

The new typeface appears in many De Tournes folio editions from 1551 on; it was in use at their Geneva premises from 1585 on until well into the seventeenth century. It can be seen in their folio editions of the Latin and French Bible and of the works by Serlio, Bassantin, Duvet, Pavari, Canaye, Sleidanus, Paradin; the last occurrence I know of is the Bassantin of Geneva, 1613 (Cartier, 2: 698, no. 775).

It may seem a question whether these types were woodcut or cast types; the identity of the same sorts used on one page implies that they were cast, probably sand-cast from wooden or copper punches, or dabbed from wooden types. These techniques was used for producing printing types larger than, say, Two-lines Double Pica (*Gros-canon*) and is well documented (Vervliet, 1968, 81–5; 216;

Carter, 1969, 15–16; Stephenson, 1990, 10; Lane, 1993, 51–2; Mosley, 2002, 64, n.72). In French typography a large Roman titling probably by Peter II Schoeffer (14.5 mm.) occurs from the 1530's on (Renouard, 2: 268, no. 679); it was followed by this typeface and later in the century by the large display types of Pierre Haultin^c and Guillaume I Le Bé.^d They must not be confused with woodcut lettering, mostly weakly designed (excepted, of course, the splendid title lines of Charles Estienne's *Thesaurus Ciceronis* (1556) which seem good enough to be Garamont's) and those of the *Sainte Bible* by S. Nivelles (1566).

There is no documentary evidence that Granjon, rather than Haultin, cut or even designed these types. But their quality, the connection with De Tournes and the date of their first occurrence make it plausible that he had a hand in them. However, for a firm ascription it may be more prudent to wait until all large sized types and initials can be studied as a group.

SIZE Ten-line Pica; 20 960 x 17 : 32 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1551, Lyons, J. de Tournes (S. Serlio, *Livre extraordinaire de architecture*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 22893; Cartier, 1: 317, no. 205).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1560, G. Cotier & J. d'Ogerolles; 1561, J. II Frelon; 1566, S. Honorati.

FIGURE 21 The 'De Tournes' Ten-line Roman [R 960] (1551), perhaps by Granjon, as it appears on the title-page of J. Duvet, *Lapocalypse figuree* Lyons, J. de Tournes, 1561. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Grenoble.

Lapocalypse
figuree,

c. See below, p. 263.

d. See Vervliet, 2008, nos. 153 and 157.

Table 1: Granjon's Romans by Date

- 1542**
1. Granjon's Long Primer Roman [R 65]
or *Petit-romain* (1542)
- 1543**
6. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9]
or *Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte* (1543)
- 1544**
2. Granjon's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1544)
- 1545**
3. Granjon's Two-line Pica Roman [R 150]
or *Palestine* (1545)
- 1547**
4. Granjon's Two-line English Roman [R 190]
or *Petit-canon* (1547)
18. Du Boys's Paragon Roman [R 128]
or *Petit-parangon* (1547), supposedly by Granjon
- 1548**
17. Haultin's Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1548),
supposedly by Granjon
- 1550**
5. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Nonpareil
[R 2.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Nonpareille* (1550)
- 1551**
21. The 'De Tournes' Ten-line Pica Roman [R 960]
(1551), possibly by Granjon
- 1566**
11. Granjon's Second Great Primer Roman [R 118]
or *Gros-romain* (1566)
14. Garamont's Long Primer Roman
or *Petit-romain* to be cast on Bourgeois [R 61]
or *Gaillarde* (1566)
15. Garamont's Pica Roman
or *Cicéro* to be cast on Small Pica [R 72]
or *Philosophie* (1566)
- 1567**
13. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Pica [R 6.9]
or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro* (1567)
- 1568**
16. Garamont's English-Sized Roman
or *Saint-augustin* to be cast on Pica [R 84]
or *Cicéro* (1568)
- 1569**
8. Granjon's Bourgeois Roman [R 64]
or *Gaillarde*, named 'La Granjonne' (1569)
9. Granjon's Second Pica Roman [R 84]
or *Cicéro*, named 'Gros Cicero' (1569)
- 1570**
7. Granjon's Brevier Roman [R 54] or *Petit-texte* (1570)
12. Granjon's Double Pica Roman [R 140]
or *Gros-parangon* (1570)
- 1580**
10. Granjon's Second English-Sized Roman [R 95]
or *Saint-augustin* (1580)
- 1581**
19. The 'Rouillé' Two-line English Roman [R 190]
or *Petit-canon* (1581), possibly by Granjon
- 1583**
20. Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5]
or *Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin*,
perhaps by Granjon (1583)

Table 2: Granjon's Romans by Body Size

<p>Brevier (<i>Petit-texte; Bible</i>)</p> <p>7. Granjon's Brevier Roman [R 54] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1570)</p> <p>Bourgeois (<i>Gaillarde</i>)</p> <p>14. Garamont's Long Primer Roman or <i>Petit-romain</i> to be cast on Bourgeois [R 61] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1566)</p> <p>8. Granjon's Bourgeois Roman [R 64] or <i>Gaillarde</i>, named 'La Granjonne' (1569)</p> <p>Long Primer (<i>Petit-romain; Garamonde</i>)</p> <p>1. Granjon's Long Primer Roman [R 65] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1542)</p> <p>Small Pica (<i>Philosophie</i>)</p> <p>15. Garamont's Pica Roman or <i>Cicéro</i> to be cast on Small Pica [R 72] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1566)</p> <p>Pica (<i>Cicero; Mediane</i>)</p> <p>2. Granjon's Pica Roman [R 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1544)</p> <p>17. Haultin's Pica Roman [R 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1548), supposedly by Granjon</p> <p>5. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Nonpareil [R 2.9] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Nonpareille</i> (1550)</p> <p>9. Granjon's Second Pica Roman [R 84] or <i>Cicéro</i>, named 'Gros Cicero' (1569)</p> <p>16. Garamont's English-Sized Roman or <i>Saint-augustin</i> to be cast on Pica [R 84] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1568)</p> <p>English (<i>Saint-augustin</i>)</p> <p>6. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 3.9] or <i>Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte</i> (1543)</p> <p>10. Granjon's Second English-Sized Roman [R 95] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1580)</p>	<p>Great Primer (<i>Gros-romain</i>)</p> <p>11. Granjon's Second Great Primer Roman [R 118] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1566)</p> <p>Paragon (<i>Petit-parangon</i>)</p> <p>18. Du Boys's Paragon Roman [R 128] or <i>Petit-parangon</i> (1547), supposedly by Granjon</p> <p>Double Pica (<i>Gros-parangon</i>)</p> <p>3. Granjon's Two-line Pica Roman [R 150] or <i>Palestine</i> (1545)</p> <p>12. Granjon's Double Pica Roman [R 140] or <i>Gros-parangon</i> (1570)</p> <p>Two-line English (<i>Petit-canon</i>)</p> <p>4. Granjon's Two-line English Roman [R 190] or <i>Petit-canon</i> (1547)</p> <p>13. Granjon's Roman Titling on Two-line Pica [R 6.9] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Cicéro</i> (1567)</p> <p>19. The 'Rouillé' Two-line English Roman [R 190] or <i>Petit-canon</i> (1581), possibly by Granjon</p> <p>Two-line English (<i>Lettres de deux Points de Saint-augustin</i>)</p> <p>20. Roman Titling on Two-line English [R 8.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Saint-augustin</i>, perhaps by Granjon (1583)</p> <p>Ten-line Pica</p> <p>21. The 'De Tournes' Ten-line Pica Roman [R 960] (1551), possibly by Granjon</p>
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Printing Types of Pierre Haultin; c.1510–1587

He did not enjoy the celebrity of Claude Garamont, nor was he, as Robert Granjon, employed by the greatest printing offices of his time. Nonetheless the ‘Pierre Haultin, tailleur des lettres d’imprimerie’, mentioned in archive documents from the mid-1540s onwards, deserves attention. If one had to name the most outstanding names of the for that matter very fecund French sixteenth-century type design, surely he would be on the short list. At any event, being available for sale unto the first quarter of the nineteenth century, several of Haultin’s typefaces exhibit the same extraordinary longevity as that of his two more renowned colleagues.

In typographical history he played a double role. First, he lend a hand with the vast printing and publishing campaign, launched from the 1550s onwards by Calvin and Geneva to provide the French-speaking world with pocket-sized devotional and scriptural books in the vernacular tongue. Secondly, as a designer he developed a new style of Roman type, sturdier, heavier, perhaps less royal or elegant but certainly more economical than the earlier sixteenth-century Romans of the Estienne or Garamont fashion. He thus set the tone for what can be characterized as ‘Huguenot typography’.¹ The new design anticipated a trend towards narrower and more compact Romans with a greater x-height and visibility, which, mainly in Protestant countries, gained favour in the next centuries.

There exists no comprehensive survey of Haultin’s work as a type designer and the present paper aims to fill up that gap. It tries to cover his Romans, Italics, Greeks, and music types, but not his printer’s flowers, a less amenable topic. It has much been furthered by earlier research by Desgraves on the Haultins in La Rochelle,² Parent on Paris printing,³ Gilmont on Crespin,⁴ and Chambers, Noailly and Guillo on French bibles and music printing.⁵ But it remains a provisional attempt and will need correction and enlargement.^a

Data on Haultin’s birthdate and youth are scant and uncertain. Fournier’s information⁶ that about 1528 Haultin engraved Attaignant’s earliest single impression music or Le Bé’s report that he was born before 1500, worked from before 1530 and employed Garamont, has been met with sound scepticism.⁷ Two minor facts cannot be disputed: his birthplace in Villaine-sous-la-Flèche near Angers⁸ and his marriage to Marie Vadé, of a typefounders family,⁹ both events occurring at dates unknown to us.

Archival sources start to mention Haultin half a dozen times in the late 1540s at Paris. A bond to sell a music type to Nicolas Du Chemin, an association with the same, and another with the printer René Avril (all dated 1546), an agreement (1547), finally a sale of five sets of matrices to an otherwise unknown Mathieu Chrétien (1549) are reported by Lesure and Parent.¹⁰ In 1549–50 his Paris imprint appears on four or five books – a Greek New Testament and works by Clenardus, Dioscorides, Aesop, and possibly Fuchs – and on half a dozen pamphlets, such as ordonnances and edicts. The books were produced in association with the printer Benoit Prevost,¹¹ the pamphlets with Nicole Pléau, widow of the king’s binder, Estienne Roffet. Presumably Haultin acted here as a publisher, not as a printer.

Summary

Though less famous than his contemporaries Garamont and Granjon, Pierre Haultin (c.1510–87) ranks among the better French type designers of the sixteenth century. He was instrumental in the Calvinist publishing campaign of the 1550s and in developing a sturdier and more economical design of Roman type. His types remained popular unto the end of the eighteenth century, a few even unto the first quarter of the nineteenth century. This paper describes the typefaces he may have cut and presents some evidence for attributing them. It describes thirty-eight typefaces, namely fifteen Romans (1–15), eight Italics (16–23), four Greeks (24–27), and eleven musics (28–38). A table by date concludes this study.

Revision of a paper that appeared in *Quaerendo*, 30 (2000), 87–129; 173–227.

a. Four early Romans appearing at the presses of Torrentino’s (Varchi, *Due lezzioni*, 1549), Prévost (Dioscorides, 1549), and Guillard (Justinianus, 1550) may be added, as well as a Minion Greek (Plantin, 1564) and two Hebrews, a rabbinical and a square, appearing in J. Martini, *Grammatica Hebraea* (La Rochelle, 1590). See Vervliet, 2008, nos. 19, 42, 95, 178, 307, 381, 393.

1. Carter, 1969b, pp. 535–6.

2. Desgraves, 1960; 1965.

3. Parent, 1974.

4. Gilmont, 1981.

5. Chambers, 1983; Noailly, 1988; Guillo, 1991.

6. Fournier, 1765, 5–6.

7. Hertz, 1969, 49; Carter, 1967, 42.

8. Chaix, 1954, 142; Droz, 1970, 4: 374.

9. (Renouard, 1901, 270; Parent, 1974, 82; 140.

10. Chaix, 1953, 270; Parent, 1974, 71–4, 82, 144.

11. Renouard, 1964, 4: 60–6.

He was also a woodcutter and copperplate engraver, as the 1547 contract attests;¹² it seems premature to point to particular items, except perhaps for some delicious woodcut initials and headpieces, appearing in early imprints of Ruelle, Du Chemin and Crespin, in Fezandat's *Chansons* of 1556, Guevara's *Marc Aurele* (Paris, Jean Le Royer, 1565) and in Haultin's *Institution de la religion chrestienne*¹³ and *Calendrier historial*, published in 1565, 1567, and 1571, in Lyons, Paris and La Rochelle respectively.¹⁴ They are well designed and mix arabesque leaves, human figures or dots in a startling and personal style.

In October 1550 Haultin left Paris, professedly for three months.¹⁵ In fact he went to Geneva (and later intermittently to Lyons) only to return to Paris, first for short stays in 1555 and 1562, thereafter (in 1565) for about five years. Seen in the light of his later career, we may assume that he fled Paris because of his adherence to the Reformation. From 1548 on an alliance of the Sorbonne, Parliament and newly crowned King Henry II effectively enforced in Paris a steadily tightening religious repression, causing an exodus of Protestants to Geneva. One of the better known of these was the king's printer for Latin and Greek, Robert I Estienne.

Haultin's sojourn in Geneva is well documented. In September 1551 'Maistre Pierre le tailleur' was late to deliver music types to Jean Crespin, with Robert Estienne the foremost Geneva printer.¹⁶ In 1553 Haultin was reported doing typesetting for the last,¹⁷ but the Estiennes, sticking to their own matrices, did not use Haultin's typefaces. Conversely, other Geneva printers must have welcomed his arrival, as the city was lacking the services of a professional punch-cutter since the short stays of Michel Du Boys (1539–41) and Guillaume I Le Bé (1550).

Haultin manifestly was not a bleak character. Though a convinced Calvinist, he was indicted or jailed four times, in each of the years 1553 to 1556, for scoffing at the Scripture and 'paillardise' – lechery. Loose behaviour was not appreciated in Calvin's Geneva; Haultin was upbraided but escaped condemnation.¹⁸

Haultin's Geneva stay was a peak in his career as type designer. His first new typeface was for a 8.2 mm music used for a psalter printed in December 1551 by Jean Crespin (34). During the next two years Crespin introduced no less than eight new typefaces: three Romans (1, 3, 6), three Italics (16 and 19), three Greeks (24, 25 and 27), all by Haultin. During his 'Rhône period', say the 1550s, Haultin was extremely productive. Wandering between Geneva and Lyons, supplying from there Paulus Manutius and other Venice printers, he engraved more than half of the some thirty-five typefaces we think he made.

In accordance with his own beliefs, Haultin's types were strongly associated with the Bible, Calvin, and Geneva. Haultin thus played a part in the remarkable outburst of calvinist printing and publishing in the 1550s: the printing press was the instrument *par excellence* for religious instruction at distance and individual Bible reading, so much recommended by Calvin and his fellow reformers.¹⁹

The wave of persecution in France, mentioned above, caused an acute immigration in Geneva, mainly of craftsmen. Its number of printer's firms grew from three in the 1540s to twenty-two in the 1550s.²⁰ The collaboration of theologians and scholars such as John Calvin and Théodore de Bèze with scholar-printers as Robert Estienne, Conrad Badius, Jean Crespin, and financiers as Antoine Vincent and Laurent de Normandie forged a formidable weapon of Protestant propaganda.²¹ Their new publishing drive assertively eliminated

12. Parent, 1974, 73, n.3.

13. Baudrier, 3: 98.

14. Droz, 1970, 3: 13; Guillo, 1991, 374–5, no. 112.

15. Parent, 1974, 82, n.1.

16. Gilmont, 1981, 1: 19, no. 5116.

17. Chaix, 1954, 152.

18. Chaix, 1954, 142–3; Droz, 1970, 4: 373–8.

19. Stauffer, 1980, 171–2; Gilmont, 1997, 235–6.

20. Higman, 1983, 317.

21. Droz, 1957; Higman, 1983, 320–2; Gilmont, 1997, 247–9.

what persisted of the more timid evangelism of a Lefevre d'Etaples or Erasmus. What then was Haultin's place in this scenario?

For an entrepreneur in the sixteenth-century printing and publishing field, the direct costs (*i.e.* apart from investment and general costs) for an usual edition of 1000/2000 copies were (ranked in order of magnitude): paper (normally 75 %), wages, ink. If more copies were to be printed, the paper charge would be the one which could not be compressed. Simple commercial commonsense here joined religious proselytism in requiring religious publications, especially Bibles, to have three main characteristics: they ought to be complete, small, inexpensive. It was Geneva's good fortune that from late 1551 on Haultin was available to help in the realization of its vast programme of religious publishing for the general reader.

The contradictory requirements of completeness and exiguity called for an particular investment in type design, prompting Haultin to cut a series of very legible typefaces at the lowest end of the size scale. In the first half of the sixteenth century the normal small body size was a Petit-romain or Long Primer (about 9 points or 67 mm for 20 solid lines) or more rarely a Petit-texte or Brevier (about 7 points or 54 mm/20 lines). Jean Girard, the principal Geneva printer of the 1540s used the last body size, first in a somewhat old-fashioned German or Basle type design, not very elegant in my opinion but one which pleased Calvin,²² later changing to Estienne's in 1551.

And then, from 1552 on, suddenly there appear in the Geneva printing more than a dozen new typefaces, coherently and brilliantly designed. Six of them are for small and very small body sizes. Some twenty years later they reappear in Paris with a Haultin imprint. Similarly the Plantin inventories identify some of them as the work of Pierre Haultin. The new Geneva typefaces were the following:

- a Roman and Italic Nonpareil (about 5 points or 41 mm/20 lines); see below (1 and 16);
- a Roman Minion (about 6 points or 45 mm/20 lines); see below (2);
- a Roman, Italic, and Greek Brevier or Petit-texte (about 7 points or 54 mm/20 lines); see below (3, 19 and 24).

Haultin's small body sizes were used by all but Geneva printers, in the first place by Crespin. Exceptions were Girard and Robert Estienne, although the last hired Haultin as a type-caster in 1553; up to the mid 1560s, the Olive Press of the Geneva Estiennes obviously preferred to use the stock of matrices brought over from Paris. The Haultin Nonpareil Roman and Italic later found their way into the main stock of the major European typefoundries. They were available until the end of the eighteenth century and, in that body size, for most printers the only choice on the market.

The following example illustrates the commercial advantages of Haultin's small typefaces: in 1553 Girard and Crespin each published a pocket Bible, in an octavo-format that became Geneva's trade mark.²³ Both publications comprise some thousand pages. While Girard used his own Brevier (55 mm/20 lines), Crespin exploited Haultin's Nonpareil (42 mm/20 lines). Girard needed a page area of 14 x 20 cm; Crespin one of 11 x 17 cm.²⁴ Girard's paper format and consumption was 50% more than Crespin's. Economy of space implies reduction of cost: complete small Bibles cost in average 3 sols, one-fifth or one-tenth of the price for a quarto or folio Bible.²⁵

22. Gilmont, 1997, 245.

23. Higman, 1990, 120;

Engammare, 1991, 367.

24. Chambers, 1983, nos. 171 and 173).

25. Engammare, 1991, 368; Higman, 1998, 575.

Reduced in size and cost, the newly formatted Geneva Bibles, Psalms and Catechisms turned out to be ideally portable and handy, both for clandestine selling or distribution, and for individual reading. Higman²⁶ relates a story which depicts well the circumstances in which these publications may have been distributed: in 1565 the City of Laon (in the north of France) issued an ordinance to block the basement windows on the street. The argument of the edict was as follows:

La raison de tel commandement était qu'il vint en ladite ville des hommes envoyés secrètement de la ville de Genève, chargés de plusieurs petits livres, fort bien reliés et accommodés, et de belles lettres d'imprimerie, qui étaient pseumes de David en françois et en rime, prieres et oraisons pour dire tant au matin qu'au soir, des instructions et autres choses faites et composees par les ministres de Genève. Ces livres étaient jetés par ces hommes secrètement et nuitamment dans les caves et celliers par les soupiraux, en sorte qu'il se trouva quelque peu de temps après bon nombre d'habitants curieux de nouveauté abandonner la religion catholique et romaine pour prendre la nouvelle qui s'appeloit alors la luthérienne, et cela par le moyen de ces petits livrets.^b

b. The reason for such an ordinance was that there were men coming secretly into the said town from the town of Geneva, bearing numerous booklets, very well bound and arranged, and printed in handsome letters, which are the Psalms of David, in French and in verse, prayers and recitations to be said as much in the morning as in the evening, instructions and other things made and composed by the ministers in Geneva. These men secretly threw these books at night through windows into basements and cellars, so that a short time afterwards a good number of inhabitants who were curious and drawn to novelty, gave up the Catholic religion of Rome and took the new one, called at the time Lutheran, and this came about as a result of these little booklets.

26. Higman, 1983, 321.

27. Black, 1961; 1970; Higman, 1998.

28. Higman, 1998, 580.

29. Parent, 1974, 74, n.1.

30. Droz, 1970, 4: 375.

31. Baudrier, 7: 118.

32. Baudrier, 3: 97.

33. Renouard, 1901, 124; Droz, 1957, 282; Morisse, 1991.

34. Baudrier, 3: 97–9; Droz, 1970, 3: 15–16; Guillo, 1991, 315–8.

35. Vervliet, 1967.

36. Pallier, 1997, 156, n.21.

37. Desgraves, 1960, x–xii; Droz, 1970, 1: 346; Diefendorf, 1991, 221, n.23.

38. Pallier, 1997, 152, n.70.

39. Aquilon, 1975; Desgraves, 1993.

Moreover, the availability of three body sizes (41, 45, 55 mm/20 lines respectively) allowed a clear and didactic layout – a typographical commodity allowing the isolated reader to differentiate easily between headings, main text, summaries, commentaries, references and the whole apparatus of new textual features Calvin and his colleagues thought appropriate to introduce as reading guides for the simple believer.²⁷ At the cradle of the new Geneva typography for Bibles and Psalters thus stood a simple craftsman: Pierre Haultin. The large and rapid expansion of the Reformation in France coincides with the growth of the Geneva Bible printing in the years 1550–60, as has been noted by Higman.²⁸

Apart from an earlier, apparently short, visit to Paris in 1555²⁹ and several short, perhaps amorous, stays in Montluel and Lyons,³⁰ Haultin is reported in Lyons from 1558 on. He was a witness for the inventory, dated 27 August 1558, of the estate of the prominent protestant publisher Luxembourg I de Gabiano, where he is described as 'tailleur de lettres d'imprimerie'.³¹ In 1561 he appears as a partner of the Lyonese publisher Gabriel Cotier.³²

In early 1562, during the pause after the Poissy colloquy Haultin was anew in Paris, participating in the Psalm printing project of Antoine Vincent. Again this short stay ended in a flight from his persecutors.³³ Back in Lyons in 1563, he published in 1564–65 Calvin's *Institution de la religion chrestienne*, some Psalters in French and a few other protestant publications.³⁴ By then the news of Haultin's availability as type designer and typefounder must have spread around France. From the early 1560s on, his types found their way into provincial Protestant printing centers such as Orleans, Rouen, Caen, Metz, Saint-Lo.

From the late 1550s onwards his types had spread out all over Italy. It is attractive to assume that he used the commercial ties of Lyons with Italy to sell some typefaces to Paulus Manutius and other Venetian printers. By an irony of history the Stampa Vaticana owned half a dozen typefaces of Haultin,³⁵ using them to combat the very ideas for which this staunch Calvinist had battled and suffered.

From end 1565 Haultin was again in Paris³⁶ type-casting and publishing a *Sainte Bible*, a *Nouveau Testament*, a *Calendrier historial* and a Psalter in 1567. In June 1567 and again in October 1570 he was jailed or subjected to examination.³⁷ Probably he went from Lyons to Paris via calvinistic Orleans where he probably remarried³⁸ and was involved in the 1566 French Bible of Louis Rabier.³⁹

Thereupon and apparently at the invitation of Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarra and mother of the future Henri IV, he left turbulent Paris for the Calvinist stronghold La Rochelle, where he printed some one hundred publications from 1571 to 1587. Two La Rochelle publications (1581 and 1586) bear the name of an otherwise unknown Abraham H[aultin] (d.1591), possibly a relative as was also a Denis Haultin, who printed in Montauban.⁴⁰

In La Rochelle Pierre Haultin also ran a typefoundry, providing types to printers in South-West France. One of his earlier customers in Aquitania was Simon de Millanges, at Bordeaux the printer of the *Essais* of Michel de Montaigne. In 1572 Millanges contracted Haultin to provide eight founts, namely a Roman and Italic Great Primer, English, Pica and Long Primer;⁴¹ five of these were by Haultin (all the Romans and the Long Primer Italic); the three other Italics were by Granjon; a set of matrices of these ostensibly were in Haultin's possession.

Great Britain was served first by Hubert d'Armilliers, a former apprentice of Granjon residing as a type-caster in London from about 1553 to 1594,⁴² and later by Pierre Haultin's nephew Jerome (c.1550–1600), a type-caster who had settled in London about 1568.⁴³ Along with the typefaces of the Antwerp typefounder François Guyot, Haultin's types belonged to the main stock of the Elizabethan printers. Their acquisition in 1582 by the first Cambridge University Printer was appreciated by the University Chancellor, the humanist and connoisseur, William Cecil.⁴⁴

Pierre Haultin died probably in 1587 or 1588.⁴⁵ His last known impression is a Clenardus of 1587,⁴⁶ its second part, likewise dated 1587, bearing the imprint of his nephew Jerome, the London typefounder. Jerome was active in La Rochelle from 1587 to 1600. After his death, his daughter Marie Haultin and her husband ran the printing office until the 1620s. Its inventory included punches for a Nonpareil Roman and Italic as well as matrices for a Pica Greek and for a Great Primer Roman and Italic.⁴⁷

Doubtless the Haultin printing office at La Rochelle was the most elegant and best equipped Calvinist press in France, competing successfully with the best ones of Geneva.⁴⁸ For its bibliography the reader is referred to Desgraves.⁴⁹ But it must be noted that the hypothetical distinction of Audiat followed by Renouard, Desgraves,⁵⁰ and others, between a Pierre Haultin father and son has been questioned (in my opinion rightly) by Matthew Carter⁵¹ and Mme Droz.⁵² At any rate, in an endowment to his sister-in-law, Marguerite Vade, of 15 February 1550, Pierre Haultin is reported as being childless⁵³ and I suspect that the Marie Haultin, described by Renouard as his daughter,⁵⁴ is more probably his sister.

Besides the few contemporary archival documents, related by Lesure and Parent,⁵⁵ there are four main sources for assessing Haultin's work as a type designer. First, the inventories (1556–1652) and type-specimens (1567–85) of Christopher Plantin. The Antwerp printer was one of the earlier customers of Haultin. Plantin's inventories mention ten of his typefaces.⁵⁶ Some of them (1, 2, 5, 9, 11, 16, 23–26) may have been supplied by the Paris printer Martin Le Jeune, a cousin of the punchcutter, as we are told.⁵⁷

Further, there are two major documents indirectly originating from the first Guillaume Le Bé (1523–98), the same who visited Geneva in 1550. From a family of paper merchants, Le Bé was trained in the craft of punchcutting and specialized in cutting Hebrew typefaces. He was instrumental in build-

40. Audiat, 1879, p21–2; Aquilon, 1975, 149.

41. Desgraves, 1960, xvi.

42. Kirk, 1900, 2: 5;

Renouard, 1964, 1: 111.

43. Desgraves, 1960, xviii; Oastler, 1975, 33.

44. McKitterick, 1984, 8.

45. Desgraves, 1960, xxi.

46. Bakelants, 1981, 100, no. 281,

47. Desgraves, 1960, xx.

48. Desgraves, 1980.

49. Desgraves, 1960; 1965.

50. Audiat, 1879, 23–4; Renouard, 1965, 200; Desgraves, 1960, viii.

51. Carter, 1961, 242.

52. Droz, 1970, 1: 346, n.19).

53. Paris, Archives nationales, MC 73: 15.

54. Renouard, 1965, 386.

55. Lesure, 1953; Parent, 1974.

56. Early inv., 1960; Vervliet-Carter, 1972.

57. Rooses, 1883, 1: 13.

ing a core collection of punches and matrices by Garamont, Granjon, Haultin and other contemporary masters, a basis for the main Paris typefoundry which lasted through four generations of Le Bés and two of Fourniers until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first Le Bé document is an inventory of his typefoundry, preserved in an eighteenth-century copy in the hand of the elder Fournier.⁵⁸ The lost original must have been written (or updated) by the younger Guillaume Le Bé around 1618, as the inventory includes punches and matrices from the Du Chemin heritage.⁵⁹ The c.1618 Le Bé inventory mentions thirteen typefaces by Haultin (1–3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 22, 24, 26, 36).

The other document is a memorandum with chiefly biographical notes about French punchcutters, type-casters and printers active in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. It is preserved in a private archive but has been published by Harry Carter.⁶⁰ Its first part was compiled and written by the same Guillaume II Le Bé about 1643. His father evidently was the main source for the earlier part of the story. The memorandum mentions seven typefaces by Haultin, described in (4, 7, 9, 10, 24–26).

Finally there is the contemporary printed material, especially that originates from places where Haultin settled down; first, Geneva, where he supplied to Jean Crespin and other printers; secondly, La Rochelle, where he was the principal printer from 1571 to 1587. Some circumspection is recommended here, as the use of material provided by other punchcutters, as for example by Granjon or Guyot, occurs.

From about 1550 onward, Haultin's typefaces share common characteristics, which facilitates recognition and attribution. His Roman lower case g has a conspicuous big bowl. The capital E has a strong lower arm. The K and R are steep-tailed. The bar of his T is narrow with doubly-bracketed serifs. The capital M is 'dog-eared', a somewhat idiosyncratic expression which tries to describe his very particular treatment of the junction of the stems and upper serifs of the capital M. *Mutatis mutandis* the Italic capitals display the same characteristics.

His Greeks and music types are much harder to differentiate from those possibly made by other punchcutters. While his Greek capitals, especially the M and T exhibit the typical Haultin features, his lower case sorts are all but identical with those of Granjon or Villiers; they are all three close copies of Garamont's *Grecs du Roy*, albeit in other sizes. A civilité type attributed to Haultin by the 1575 and 1585 Plantin inventories⁶¹ is more probable the work of Philippe Danfrie, a contemporary punchcutter.⁶²

Haultin was famous for his music types. Fournier⁶³ credits him with the invention of the technique of single-impression music, introduced in 1528 by Pierre Attaingnant – an extravagant proposition. Despite their reputation, Haultin's music types are difficult to isolate. As far as I know, Haultin designed only single-impression mensural music in a very simple design, diamond-shaped, straightforward and sober, completely in line with Calvin's doctrine for singing the psalms, unaccompanied and in unisono, with dignity and gravely. Missing quavers and semiquavers the music notation avoids any display of bravura and adornment, even in the less frequent used sorts such as clefs, repeats or directs. The simplicity of these musics and their lack of fanfare makes them hard to differentiate from the work of other engravers, except when an archival record or the solmization notation supports the identification. Haultin seems to have cut only music types, which Krummel calls 'linear', i.e. avoiding the technique of 'nesting'.⁶⁴ But definitely here is room for more research.

58. Paris, Archives nationales, MC 65: 229; Morison, 1957.

59. Carter, 1967, II, n.6.

60. Carter, 1967.

61. Early inv., 1960, 27, ST 46.

62. Carter-Vervliet, 1966, 65.

63. Fournier, 1765, 5–6.

64. Krummel, 1975, 50–1.

Conspectus of Types

Roman typefaces

1. Nonpareil [R 41] (1553)
2. Minion [R 45] or *Mignonne* (1555)
3. Brevier [R 55] or *Petit-texte* (1555)
4. Long Primer [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1557)
5. Second Small Pica [R 72] or *Philosophie* (1561)
6. First Small Pica [R 76] or *Philosophie* (1549)
7. First Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1548)
8. Second Pica [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1557)
9. English [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1559)
10. First Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1555)
11. Second Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1569)
12. Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4]
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553)
13. Titling on Two-line Bourgeois [R 5.2]
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1577)
14. Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1571)
15. Seven-line Pica [R 600] or *Sept points de Cicéro*,
possibly by Haultin (1581)

Italic typefaces

16. First Nonpareil [It 41] (1553)
17. Second Nonpareil [It 43] (1572)
18. First Brevier [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1551)
19. Second Brevier [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1552)
20. First Long Primer [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1550)
21. Second Long Primer [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1591)
22. First Pica [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1549)
23. Second Pica [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1557)

Greek typefaces

24. Brevier [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553)
25. Small Pica [Gk 76] or *Philosophie* (1549)
26. English [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560)
27. Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 4]
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553)

Single-impression mensural music typefaces

28. First Great Primer [M 4.9] or *Gros-romain* (1554)
29. Second Great Primer [M 4.9] or *Gros-romain* (1561)
30. Great Primer [M 5.1] or *Gros-romain*,
possibly by Haultin (1561)
31. First Double Pica [M 6.2] or *Gros-parangon* (1562)
32. Second Double Pica [M 6.6] or *Gros-parangon* (1563)
33. First Two-line Pica [M 7] or *Palestine* (1559)
34. Second Two-line Pica [M 7] or *Palestine* (1565)
35. Two-line English-Bodied music [M 8.2]
or *Petit-canon* (1551)
36. Solmization notation to Petreius's Two-line Great
Primer [M 9.2] or *Trismégiste* (1556)
37. First Two-line Great Primer [M 9.4]
or *Trismégiste* (1549)
38. Second Two-line Great Primer [M 9.8]
or *Trismégiste* (1565)
39. Third Two-line Great Primer [M 9.8]
or *Trismégiste* (1575)

A table by date and place of first appearance concludes this study.

1. Haultin's Nonpareil Roman [R 41] (1553)

A Nonpareil body size was a rarity in early sixteenth-century typography and only owned by the better equipped printers. In France, I noted early uses by Vidoue (1522), Colines (1533) and Estienne (1533). Haultin's type is a bit smaller (though its capitals are bigger) than the Estienne's Nonpareil (Vervliet, 2004, no. 5). In the seventeenth century its minuteness was surpassed by the even smaller 'Sédanoise', 'Parisienne', 'Perle' and 'Robijn' of respectively Jean Jannon, Jacques II de Sanlecque, Nicolas Briot and Christopher van Dyck (all measuring about 35–32 mm), but these faces never had the wide distribution which Haultin's Nonpareils, Roman and Italic alike, enjoyed.

These very small body sizes challenge the frontiers of legibility and printability. In Geneva, Jean Crespin started to use this type in 1553 and 1554 for a series of compact octavo bibles (Black, 1961, 24). Echoing the 'O mirificam' introduction in Estienne's 1546 sedecimo Greek bible, Crespin praises the new format and portability of his bibles 'ea magnitudine qua commodissime ferri possit' (Gilmont, 1981, 36) in the introduction of his 1553 Greek Gospels (see below, 24). A year later the message was repeated in Lyons by Michel Du Boys in a *Biblia sacrosancta*, published by Jean Frellon (Baudrier, 5: 231). Du Boys praised the minuteness of the face and the pocket size of the publication as follows: 'minutioribus, quam antea umquam characteribus ... ea forma, qua citra grauem circumferri possent'. Later the Haultin type was mainly used for marginal notes and annotations in small-sized bibles and psalters. Concurrently, Haultin engraved an Italic on the same body size, to which this Roman Nonpareil (16) was mated. The 'letre non pareille antique et coursiue' mentioned in the contract of 20 November 1561 of the Geneva publisher Antoine Vincent with the type-founder Pierre Bozon probably refers to them (Chaix, 1954, 235–6).

Its attribution rests on its first occurrences in Geneva and Lyons, while Haultin was residing there and its use in Haultin's Paris and La Rochelle imprints from 1567 on. Punches for it (but no matrices) were mentioned in the 1624 sale of the Hertmann-Haultin firm (Desgraves, 1960, xx). The attribution is enforced by the Plantin and Le Bé inventories (Early inv., 1960, 12, MA 67; Morison, 1957, 20). It was reported there as 'Nomporeille' or 'Petite nompareille', the adjective being used to differentiate it for the slightly bigger typeface described below as (2).

The 'Peerle romeyn' of the c.1695 Widow Voskens specimen has perhaps wrongly been attributed to Haultin (Dreyfus, 1963, 13; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 18).

SIZE Nonpareil (*Nomporeille*); 20 41 x 0.8 : 1.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1553, Geneva, J. Crespin (*La Bible*; Philadelphia, University Library, 214.51-1553; Gilmont, 1981, 35–6, no. 532; Chambers, 1983, 194, no. 171).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1554, S. Du Bosc & G. Gueroult; 1556, N. Barbier; 1558, M. de La Roche, A. Rebul & J. Poullain; 1559, J. Bonnefoy; 1560, J.-B. Pinereul; 1562, E. Anastase, J. Du Pan, F. Jaqui; 1563, F. Perrin & J. Durant; 1565, Fr. II Estienne; 1568, J.-B. Pinereul; 1588, J. Des Planches; Lyons: 1555, M. Du Boys & J. Frellon; 1563, J. de Tournes; 1564, G. Cotier; 1565, S. Barbier; Antwerp: 1557, C. Plantin; 1570, A. Tavernier; Rouen: 1561, A. Clemence; 1580, G. Pavie; Metz: 1564, J. d'Arras; Orleans: 1566, L. Rabier; Paris: 1567, P. Haultin; 1568, S. Nivelles; La Rochelle: 1572, P. Haultin; 1590, J. Haultin.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. D3 'I. Offic' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 38); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdrukkel van alle de letteren*, 'Nomporeil Romein' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 15, no. 20); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Non-pareille sur la Coronelle'; 'Non-pareille Romaine' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 71; 11, no. 74); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Rom. Non pareil' (Mori, 1955, pl. 3; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Rom. Nonpareil' (Mori, 1955, pl. 4; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, f. [9] 'Peerle Romanum' (University Library, Leyden, 743 F 44); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Perle Antiqua'; 'Non-pareil Antiqua'; lower case only (Mori, 1955, pl. 5); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Non-pareil Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Numbrel Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); c.1686, Oxford University Press, Oxford [*Christ Church Specimen*], 'Non-periel Roman' (Morison, 1967, pl. 11); 1693 [& 1695 & 1706], Oxford University Press, Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Non-periel Roman' (Hart, 1970, 27); 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Perle Antiqua no. 21' (Mori, 1955, pl. 10); 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Perel Romyn' (University Library, Leyden, 743 F 45); 1714, J.H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, 'Perle Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 21); ante 1718, P. Esclassan, Paris, *Epreuve de quelques matrices*, 'Nomporeille' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Gr. f. W 1319 T; Howe, 1951, 32); 1718, J.N. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Perle Antiqua No 28' (Mori, 1955, pl. 13); post 1725, [B. van Wolsschoten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren* 'Nompereil' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 123 [82]); 1727, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No 28 Nonpareil Antiqua'; 'No 30 Perle Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 24); post 1730, [J.J. Moretus], [Antwerp], *Ecce Dominus*, (Antwerp, Plant. Arch. 701, f. 555); 1740, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No 49 Nonpareil Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 25); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. A1 'Nomporeille petit oeil, numero i' (Johnson, 1965); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Perle romain No 33' (Mori, 1955, pl. 14); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. A1 'Nomporeille petit oeil, numero i'; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3; 1770, J. Becker, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No 51 Nonpareil Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 32); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, 3 'Nomporeille a son oeil romain'; 108 'Mignonne romain, oeil de Nomporeille' (Carter, 1969a, 40).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 65, MA 67 (Early inv., 1960, 12; 109); Oxford, University Press, Roman no. 29 (Morison, 1967, 137–8).

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capitals K and R; dog-eared M; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; big-bowled lower case g.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Nomporeille Rommaine Hautin (Plantin, 1563); [Petite Nomporeille] La Romaine de Haultin (Plantin, 1572); [Petite Nomporeille] Romaine de Pierre Haultin (Plantin, 1581); Nomporeille Romaine hautin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 12 (MA 67); Dreyfus, 1963, 5; Morison, 1967, 137–8; Carter, 1969a, 40–1; Hart, 1970, 87; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 38.

FIGURE 1a Haultin's Nonpareil Roman [R 41] (1553) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. D3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

I. OFFIC.

IN rebus magnis, memoriaeque dignis, consilia primum, deinde ad
profectum spectantur, quod dubites, equum sit, an iniquum.
Non debemus quidquam agere, cuius non possimus causam proba-
bilem reddere. 1. Offic.

Ad rem gerendam qui accedit, caueat, ne id modo consideret, quàm
illa res honesta sit, sed etiam ut habeat efficiendi facultatem in quo ipso
considerandum est illi, ne aut temere desperet propter ignauiam, aut
nimis confidat propter cupiditatem. In omnibus autem negotiis prius
quàm aggrediari, adhibenda est praeparatio diligens. 1. Offic.

Suum quisque uocet ingenium, ac remque se, & vitiorum, & bono-
rum suorum iudicem præbeat: ne scilicet plus quàm nos videatur habere
prudenter; neque infirmitas videat in scena, quod non videat sapiens in vi-
ta. 1. Offic.

FIGURE 1b Haultin's Nonpareil Roman [R 41] (1553) as cast from matrices (MA 67) in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N P R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
Æ æ & & ff ff æ ff ff
á à ä å ç è é ê ë ì í î ï ð ñ
ó ô õ ö þ ÿ ù ú û ü ü
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0
, . ; : ! ? () * + - = || § ¶ × ÷

2. Haultin's Minion Roman [R 45] or *Mignonne* (1555)

This typeface, typical for Haultin's style, appears in Geneva at the end of the Haultin's stay there. It occurs in Haultin's own printing from 1567 on. The Plantin records confirm the attribution; the printer was charged in December 1565 for the justification of the matrices and the casting by the Antwerp typefounder François Guyot of a 'lettre dicte petit Texte de Hautin entre la Breviaire et la nompareille' (Plant. Arch. 3, f. 40; 4, f. 10v). Later Plantin inventories (Early inv., 1960, 30, MA 160) and the 1575 specimen mention a 'Grosse' or 'Grande Nompareille' by Haultin, obviously to differentiate it from the true Nonpareil, described above (1).

Le Bé's inventory of ca. 1618 mentions a 'Mignonne Romaine' by Haultin (Morison, 1957, 20), which may stand for this type. But I have not yet seen it occurring in later Parisian printing.

Plantin used only the lower case of the Mignonne as this appears in Haultin's own imprints from 1567 on, matched with the slightly larger capitals (1.6 mm) of Haultin's Brevier, described below (3).

SIZE Minion (*Mignonne*); 20 45 x 11: 1.3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1555, Geneva, A. Cercia (*Le Nouveau Testament*; Bourg-en-Bresse, Bibliothèque municipale, 101.720; Chambers, 1983, 229, no. 213).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1558, N. Barbier & Th. Courteau; 1567, J. Bonnefoy & E. Anastase; Lyons: 1564, G. Cotier; 1565,

S. Barbier; Antwerp: 1566, C. Plantin; Paris: 1567, P. Haultin; La Rochelle: 1572, P. Haultin; 1589, R. Waldegrave.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. D2 'I. Offic.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 37); lower case only; 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 39 'Grosse nompareille taille de hautin' (Plant. arch. 43); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Romain. Minion' (Mori, 1955, pl. 4; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Minion Antiqua'; 'Non-pareil Antiqua'; capitals only (Mori, 1955, pl. 5); 1771, J. Kannevet, Amsterdam, *Proeve van ... Letteren*, f. C2 'Collonel Romeyn' (University Library, Amsterdam, KVB-Dv 2); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, 5 'Nompareille gros oeil romain'; 7 'Mignonne a son oeil romain'; 109 'Petit-texte romain oeil de Mignonne' (Carter, 1969a, 42);

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 160); lower case only.

KEY LETTERS Very similar to the preceding face, though a trifle bigger: steep-tailed capital R; dog-eared M; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; big-bowled lower case g.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Lettre dicte petit Texte de Hautin entre la Breviaire et la nompareille (Plantin, 1565); Lettre dicte petit texte de Hautin entre la nompareille et la Garamonde Breviaire ou Bible (Plantin, 1566); [Grosse Nompareille] La Romaine de Hautin (Plantin, 1572); Grosse nompareille taille de hautin (Plantin, 1575); Coronelle de Pierre Haultin (Plantin, 1581); Coronelle R. ou grande Nompareille de Hautin (Plantin, 1581); Mignonne Romaine hautin (Le Bé, 1618); Groote nonpareil Romeijn van Haultin, (putatur esse Jolie Romeijn (Plantin, 1652).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 30 (MA 160); Carter, 1969a, 42; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 37.

FIGURE 2 Haultin's Minion Roman [R 45] or *Mignonne* (1555) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. D2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

I. OFFIC.

NON minorem utilitatem adferunt, qui togati Reipub. praesunt, quàm qui bellum gerunt. Iraque eorum consilio se-
pe, aut non suscepta, aut confecta bella sunt: nonnunquam etiam illata. Quare expetenda magis est discernendi ratio, quàm
decerandi fortitudo: temerè enim in acie versari, & manu cum hoste configere, immane quiddam est, & belluarum simile.
Considerati hominis est iure decertare, armis non contendere. Pro Cecin.
Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ. 1. Offic.
Honestum efficitur, animi, non corporis viribus. 1. Offic.
Parua sunt foris arma, nisi est consilium domi. 1. Offic.
Non viribus aut velocitatibus, aut celeritate corporum res magnæ geruntur, sed consilio & auctoritate & senten-
tia. Cato Maior.
Maximæ Respublicæ per adulescentulos labefactatæ, à senibus sustentatæ & restitutæ sunt. Cùm enim ad gubernacula
Reipublicæ temerarij atque audaces homines accedunt, maxima ac miserrima naufragia fiunt. Cato Maior.
Dux ille Græciæ nunquam optat, ut Aiæcis similes decem habeat: at ut Nestoris quandoque. Quod si acciderit, non
dubitatur quin Troia breui sit peritura. Cato Maior.

D 2

3. Haultin's Brevier Roman [R 55] or *Petit-texte* (1555)

This typeface is attributed to Haultin on grounds of its style and appearance in the Haultin imprints of Paris and La Rochelle. The ascription is corroborated by its first occurrence in Lyons during the period Haultin stayed there and by the entry of the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 20).

Further research is needed to determine whether the Brevier Roman of Crespin in Geneva (*Pseaumes octantetrois*) and Ch. Guillard in Paris (*Biblia*), both in 1552 (and used by S. Nivelles in 1566) is a first state of this type or yet another one Brevier. It is characterized by a one-eared M and is stylistically near to the Small Pica and Pica Romans Haultin used from 1549 on; see below (5 and 7). However, it may be discerned from the Brevier Roman used by Robert Estienne and (from 1551 on) by Jean Girard.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 55 x 11: 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1555, **Geneva**, A. Cercia (*Nouveau testament*; Bourgen-Bresse, Bibliothèque municipale, 101.720; Chambers, 1983, 229, no. 213).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1556, C. Badius; 1558, M. de La Roche; [1559], M. Du Boys; 1560, A. Rebul; 1562, F. Perrin; 1563,

J. Bonnefoy, Fr. II Estienne; 1565, F. Jaqui; 1566, S. Du Bosc, Z. Durant; **Lyons**: 1556, M. Du Boys & A. Vincent; 1564, G. Cotier; **Venice**: 1557, V. Valgrisi; 1560, P. Manutius; 1573, F. de Franceschi; **Rouen**: 1561, A. Clemence; **Paris**: 1561, M. Le Jeune, J. de Marnef; 1567, P. Haultin; **Caen**: 1563, P. Philippe; **Metz**: 1564, J. d'Arras; **Saint-Lo**: 1565, T. Bouchard & J. Le Bas; 1567, J. Le Bas; **Orleans**: 1566, L. Rabier; **London**: 1577, T. Dawson; 1598, A. Hatfield; **Bordeaux**: 1582, S. Millanges; **Cambridge**: 1584, Th. Thomas; **La Rochelle**: 1588, J. Haultin.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caractères*, f. 58 'Testino'; mutilated or possibly a copy (Vervliet, 1967, 36); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caractères et les vignettes*, 15 'Gaillarde romain' (Carter, 1969a, 45).

STRIKES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 154c; incomplete set consisting of 10 capitals only; not mentioned in the Plantin inventories nor specimens).

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capitals K and R; dog-eared M; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; big-bowled lower case g.

VARIANT LETTERS One-eared capital M.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Un petit Texte romain hautin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Tinto, 1967, 33 (R 12); Vervliet, 1967, 36; Carter, 1969a, 45.

FIGURE 3a Haultin's Brevier Roman [R 55] or *Petit-texte* (1555) as it appears in C. Marot, *CL pseaumes*, Paris, P. Haultin, 1567, f. K1. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 3b Haultin's Brevier Roman [R 55] or *Petit-texte* (1555) assembled from Vergilius, *Virgilius Maro*, Venice, Manutius, 1561. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Sur les humains avecques diligence,
S'il en verroit quelqu'un d'intelligence,
Qui d'inuoquer la diuine merci
Fut en fouci.

4 Mais tout bié veu, a trouué que chacun
A foruoyé, tenant chemins damnables:
Ensemble tous sont faits abominables:
Et n'est celuy qui face bien aucun,
Non iusqu'à vn.

5 N'ont-ils nul sens tous ces pernicieux,
Qui fôt tout mal&iamais ne se chagent?
Qui côme pain mô poure peuple magét
Et d'inuoquer ne font point foucieux
Le Dieu des cieux?

6 Ils trembleront sans nulle occasion:
Car Dieu rompra les os des aduerfaires,
Et puis que Dieu m'esprife tes côtraires,
Tu leur feras ô ville de Sion,
Confusion.

7 O qui & quand de Sion sortira
Pour Israë l secours en sa souffrance?
Quand Dieu mettra son peuple à deli-
urance,
De ioye adonc Israë l iouira,
Iacob rira.

A B C D E F G H I L M N P Q R S T V X
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q s t u x y z

4. Haultin's Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1557)

The attribution of this typeface rests on stylistic arguments and the fact that it appears in Haultin's own printing and in Millanges's, a customer of Haultin at Bordeaux (Desgraves, 1960, xvi). It appears first in 1557 at the Venetian press of Paulus Manutius, which is reported to have imported types from France. See below, (8). Several of these are ascribable to Haultin. A year later the face was used in Geneva.

Some ten years later an adaptation (or was it a new version?) appears in Venice, Paris, Bordeaux, and La Rochelle at the presses of Haultin and his customers. The most obvious differences between state A and B are the capitals (in state A they are a trifle smaller; the M, R, T are of an older design). Their relation to the capitals of the first Small Pica Roman (6), deserves more research.

An earlier Long Primer appearing at Guillard's press (Justinianus, *Institutiones*, 1550) may probably be also ascribed to Haultin.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 67 x 1.3 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1557, Venice, P. Manutius (Th. Linacre, *De emendata structura latini sermones*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 19600: 5; Renouard, 1834, 171, no. 7).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1558, N. Barbier & Th. Courteau; 1559, J. Bonnefoy; M. Du Boys; 1562, M. Blanchier; 1565, Fr. II

Estienne; 1566, S. Du Bosc; Orleans: 1565, L. Rabier; 's Hertogenbos: 1566, Widow of J. Scheffer; Paris: 1566, S. Nivelle; 1567, P. Haultin; Venice: 1566, V. Valgrisi, G. Ziletti; Leipzig: 1567, E. Voegelin; Bordeaux: 1576, S. Millanges; La Rochelle: 1577, P. Haultin; 1581, A. Haultin; 1588, J. Haultin; 1589, R. Waldegrave; London: 1581, J. Day, T. East; Cambridge: 1584, Th. Thomas; Rome: 1591, Stampa Vaticana.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Garmon Romeyn [1]' (with somewhat smaller capitals; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen typorum*, f. 15, 'Garmond Antiqua [2]' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caractères*, 'Petit romain gros oeil, Numero XIX' (Johnson, 1965); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caractères*, 'Petit romain gros oeil, Numero XIX' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caractères et les vignettes*, f. 20, 'Petit romain gros oeil romain' (Carter, 1969a, 46).

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capitals K and R; dog-eared M; broad N; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; big-bowled lower case g. VARIANT LETTERS Two capitals M (the earlier one with straight stems and without right-top serif); capitals R and T differ from the earlier ones from c.1566 on.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1938, 168–9; Dreyfus, 1963, 13; Carter, 1969a, 46.

FIGURE 4a Haultin's Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1557) as it appears in D. Acciaiuoli, *In Aristotelis libros octo*, Venice, V. Valgrisi, 1566, f. 9. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 4b Haultin's Long Primer Roman [R 67] or *Petit-romain* (1557) as it appears in D. Acciaiuoli, *In Aristotelis libros octo*, Venice, V. Valgrisi, 1566, f. 279. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



E M O mediocriter doctus ignorat, philosophiam habitum quendam esse præclarum, qui nostrum perficit intellectum: Hanc cum describeret Philosophus Aristoteles eam, artium artem & scientiarum scientiam esse dixit, siue ut eius gradum, & dignitatem ostenderet, cum aliæ artes & facultates videantur à philosophia principia sumere, siue de prima philosophia loqueretur, quæ sapientia ab eo, & domina reliquarum scientiarum, maximeq; scientia in resolutionis posterioribus dicitur. Verum philosophia largo modo sumpta bifariam diuidi solet. Quædam enim speculatiua: quædam actiua communi quadam consuetudine appellatur: Nam cum intellectiua potentia duplex esse dicatur, atq; altera speculatione, altera actione terminetur: cumque obiecta duplicia sint, ea scilicet, quæ sunt, & ea; quæ aguntur à nobis, merito his duobus talis diuisio correspondere videtur. Sed cum vnusquisq; habitus, aut subiecto circa quod est, aut sine gratia cuius est, ab alio habitu præcipue distinguatur: hæc quoq; philosophiæ species subiectis & finibus suis magnopere differunt: Quippe speculatiua circa ea quæ sunt, actiua circa ea quæ aguntur à nobis communi sententia, iudicioq; consistit: præterea fines habent diuersos, cum al-

† A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z.
A a B b C c D d E e F f G g H h I i K k L l M m.

6. Haultin's First Small Pica Roman [R 76] or *Philosophie* (1549)

In the second book published in 1549 by the associates Haultin, Prévost, and the Widow Arn. Birckmann (*Dioscorides*; Renouard, 1964, 4: 61–2, no. 88), the preface of the 'Typographus' to the reader (f. aa2) was authored probably by the punchcutter Haultin, not by the printer B. Prévost. He claims that the types which he engraved ('literarum formae quas exculpsi') were well received and first used for the Scriptures. The quotation has been used to attribute the 76 mm Greek, which is its main text type to Haultin (25). But it can be used as well for the ascription of this Roman.

This typeface is stylistically very near to the Pica or Cicero Roman, described below in (7).

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 76 x 1.5 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1549, Paris, P. Haultin & B. Prevost (*Novum testamentum graece*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 25.25; Renouard, 1964, 4: 60–1, no. 87).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1552, J. Crespin; 1558, N. Barbier; **Venice**: 1562, P. Manutius.

KEY LETTERS Capital M without right-upper serif; broad N and T; big-bowled R.

VARIANT LETTERS Two-serifed M (possibly a wrong sort from Haultin's Small Pica Greek; see below, (25)).

FIGURE 6 Haultin's First Small Pica Roman [R 76] or *Philosophie* (1549) as it appears in *Dioscorides, Libri octo graece et latine*, Paris, P. Haultin, 1549, f. aa2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Typographus lectoribus.



VM DEI Opt. Max. benignitate confectus essem, ut hæc literarum formæ, quas exculpsi, multis probarentur, hoc mihi studiū fuit, ut optimum quæque librum in quamplurima exemplaria hac scribendi ratione transfunderem. Initium itaque huius rei à sacris mihi faciendum putavi: quas veluti primitias cum Deo perfoluissē, alios huius linguæ auctores præsertim bonos exprimere aggressus sum. Quam ad rem cum aliorum etiam doctorum & nobis amicorū hominum, tum Iacobi Goupyli medici opera ac iudicio vñ sumus, qui nobis ut Dioscoridis libros ita exprimeremus, ut in angustum quoddam spatium contraherentur, consilium dedit, benignissimèque pollicitus est se ea diligentia, quam maximam adhibere posset, effecturum, ut hic auctor ex multorum veterum codicum fide emendatus in manus hominum perueniret. Quod ut præstaret exemplaria ab aliis excusa cum multis veteribus libris manu scriptis contulit, locosque omnes, qui peruersè descripti, aut deficientes essent, asterisco annotavit, ut eos postea restitueret. (ea enim libros castigandi ratio potior ei visa est, quàm ut ea, quæ iam recepta essent, induceret) Id autem quanta fide ac diligētia ab eo sit præstitum videbitis in castigationibus, quas is in hunc auctorem scripsit: vos igitur his nostris laboribus interim fruimini, dum vobis expressam imaginem plantarum, de quibus in hoc auctore tractatio est apparamus. Valet.

aa ij

7. Haultin's First Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1548)

Two Pica Romans appear in the 1664 type-specimen of the Frankfurt typefounder J. Fievet (Dreyfus, 1963, 9, pl. 4). The first refers to a Garamont Roman, though headed 'Cicero Antiqua de Granlon'; the other Cicero Roman in the same specimen is simply headed 'Cicero Antiqua'; it was attributed to Granjon by Johnson (1938, 173–4; 1938a, 69–70; 1943, 58; Reed, 1952, 227–8), because its use in a 1551 Fezandat-Granjon imprint. He retraced its first appearance to Gualtherot (Paris, 1549) and its occurrence in many seventeenth-century type-specimens. However, the editors of Dreyfus (1963, 9) suggest that the style of the typeface is more Haultin's than Granjon's. Probably they are right. Fezandat used this type from 1548 on, i.e. before his partnership with Granjon started. And I think I have seen this typeface in a Haultin-Pléau imprint of 1549 (*Ordonnance sur le poix*; Paris, Ste. Geneviève, F 8° 838:8).

Dated 1548, it is the earliest typeface described in this paper; its design is very near to a Small Pica Roman (6) Haultin used from 1549 on in his earliest imprints. It was superseded from the end of the 1550s on by a rejuvenated version (8).

This typeface finally belongs to a group of half a dozen French types, bought in the mid-1550s by Paulus Manutius for use in his publications a.o. for the newly founded *Academia veneta* (1558–61). All (except a Long Primer by Garamont) are ascribable to Haultin.

The Plantin-Moretus Museum owns an incomplete set of matrices of this Roman (MA 75), which, however, it is not mentioned in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Plantin inventories. The c.1618 Le Bé inventory mentions a 'Cicero romain hautin', but I suppose this rather refers to the Pica Roman described in the next paragraph.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro; Médiane*); 20 82 x 1.6 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1548, Paris, M. Fezandat (Flavius Josephus, *Vita*; Ghent, University Library, Hist. 6750:1).

EARLY APPEARANCES Louvain: 1549, B. Gravius; Paris: 1549, V. Gualtherot, P. Haultin & N. Pléau; 1550, M. Fezandat & R. Granjon; 1551, N. Buffet, N. Du Chemin, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard; 1552, Ch. Guillard & G. Desboys; 1561, G. Merlin; G. Guillard & A. Warancore, S. Nivelle; Venice: 1552, Sons A. Manutius; 1553, G. Scoto; 1555, P. Manutius; 1558, V. Valgrisi; Antwerp: 1553, J. Loe; Cologne: 1557, J. Soter; 1561, W. Richwin; 1566, M. Jacobi; Geneva: 1558, N. Barbier & Th. Courteau; 1560, A. Rebul; Caen: 1563: P. Philippe.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1608, M. Lantzenberger, Leipzig, in: H. Hornschuh, *Orthotypographia*, Leipzig, 38 'Cicero Antiqua' (Gaskell, 1972, 38); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn no. 2' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 12); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Antiqua' (Mori, 1955, pl. 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn no. 2' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, Amsterdam, 'Gemeene Med. Rom.' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9); with diverging sorts; 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Mediaan Romyn' (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 45); post 1728, Voskes en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Mediaan Romyn no. 2' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87 [63]); c.1740, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, *A specimen of the letters*, 'Old Pica much used' [and headings]; (McKitterick, 1984, 91, no. 74); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaen Romeyn no. 2' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13); 1768, J. Enschedé, Haarlem, *Proef van Letteren*, f. F 1 'Mediaan Romeyn no. 2' (Lane, 1993, 58).


MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 75; incomplete set; lacking 20 capitals; not mentioned in the Plantin inventories nor specimens).

KEY LETTERS Capital E with longer lower arm; broad H; M without right upper serif; P smaller than other capitals; broad T.

VARIANT LETTERS Capital M with two serifs and small T, possibly borrowed from the Pica Roman described in (8).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1938, 173–5; Johnson, 1938a, 69–70; Johnson, 1943, 58; Reed, 1952, 227–8; Dreyfus, 1963, 9.

FIGURE 7 Haultin's First Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1548) as it appears in *Biblia*, Paris, Charlotte Guillard & G. Desboys, 1552, f. C4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



I factus est fermo domini ad me dicens: Fili hominis, † pone faciē tuam ad ^a montes Israel, & prophetabis ad eos, & dices: Montes Israel audite verbū domini dei. Hęc dicit dominus deus montibus, & collibus, rupibus, & vallibus. Ecce ego inducam super vos gladiū, & disperdā excelsa vestra, & demoliar aras vestras, & cōfringentur simulachra veītra, & deiiciā interfectos vestros ante idola vestra. Et dabo cadauera filiorum Israel ante faciē simulachrorū vestrorum, & dispergam ossa vestra circum aras vestras in omnibus habitationibus vestris.^b Vrbes desertæ erūt, & excelsa demolientur² & disipabuntur, & interibunt] aræ vestræ, & confringentur, & cessabunt idola vestra, & conterentur delubra vestra, & delebuntur opera vestra, & cadet interfectus in medio vestri, & scietis quia ego sum dominus. Et relinquam in vobis eos qui fugerint gladium in gentibus, cum disperfero vos in terras, & recordabuntur mei liberati vestri in gentibus ad quas captiui ducti sunt, quia³ contriui] cor eorum^c fornicans & recedens à me,^d & oculos eorum fornicantes post idola sua, & displicebunt sibi met super malis quæ fecerāt in vniuersis abominationibus

8. Haultin's Second Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1557)

In a letter, dated 28 July 1558, Manutius describes three typefaces he intends to use for the newly founded Academia Veneta; the biggest, he writes, originates from his father's stock; the next one – probably the English-sized Roman described below in (9) – he had ordered in France about 1557; finally a Pica that he had ordered to engrave a year before (Renouard, 1834, 270). In a study of Manutius's printing types, Johnson (1938, 169) refers to this type, without, however, attributing it to a type designer. Several Lyonese types started to appear in Manutius's books from 1554 on. In 1557 he ceased to use Haultin's earlier Pica (7) and changed over to this Pica Roman. The style, the date and the later distribution of the majority of the newer Manutius types point to Haultin. I guess Haultin sold them while staying in Lyons, using the traditional commercial ties of that city with Italy.

At the end of the 1560s the typeface appeared in London, where Haultin's nephew, Jerome, was working as typefounder since about 1568 (Kirk, 1900, 3: 338; Oastler, 1975, 33, n.6). The detailed study of the use of Pica Romans in Elizabethan England, published in 1989 by Ferguson, requires some circumspection as the author tends to mix up Garamont and Haultin (Weiss, 1989; Lane, 1992).

From 1571 on, the face occurs in Haultin's printing at La Rochelle and the Bordeaux press of Simon de Millanges, a customer of Haultin (Desgraves, 1960, xvi). And I presume that the 'Cicero romain' which the c.1618 Le Bé inventory ascribes to Haultin stands for this type (Morison, 1957, 19).

More research is needed to ascertain whether a very similar Roman appearing in Paris at the Vascosan press

about 1558 is a variant or yet another typeface, possibly by Haultin.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*; *Médiane*); 20 82 x 1.7 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1557, **Venice**, P. Manutius (C. Sigonius, *Emendationum libri duo*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, C 2020; Renouard, 1834, 169–70, no. 16).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1559, J. Bonnefoy; M. Du Boys; 1583, E. Vignon; **Venice**: 1560, G.A. Valvasori; 1563, G. Ziletti; **Basle**: 1563, J. Oporinus; **Leipzig**: 1563, E. Voegelin; 1566, A. Schneider; **Padua**: 1564, G. Perchacino; **Orleans**: 1565, L. Rabier; 's **Hertogenbos**: 1566, Widow of J. Scheffer; **London**: 1567, J. Day, J. Kingston; 1574, T. Vautrollier; 1577, C. Barker, T. Dawson; 1579, H. Middleton; 1581, T. Purfoot; 1582, H. Denham, J. Windet; 1583, H. Middleton; 1585, G. Robinson, R. Robinson; 1588, E. Bonnifant, T. Orwin; 1590, G. Bishop; 1591, J. Jackson, T. Tottell; 1592, R. Bourne; 1593, R. Waldegrave; 1597, E. Allde, Short; **Frankfurt**: 1569, Heirs of Chr. Egenolff; 1577, S. Feyerabend; **Lyons**: 1569, G. Rouillé; **Dublin**: 1571, W. Kearney; **La Rochelle**: 1571, P. Haultin; 1581, A. Haultin; 1590, J. Haultin; **Paris**: 1572, G. Julian; **Rome**: 1573, J. de Angelis; 1587, F. Zanetti; 1595, D. Basa; **Florence**: 1574, B. Sermartelli; **Urbino**: 1575, D. Frisolini; **Bordeaux**: 1582, S. Millanges; **Cambridge**: 1584, Th. Thomas; **Oxford**: 1585, J. Barnes; **Bergamo**: 1590, C. Ventura; **Cremona**: 1595, B. Zanni; **Niort**: 1596, Th. Portau.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1695, J.A. Schmidt, Amsterdam, [*Diligam te*], 'Mediaen Romeyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, 20, pl. 14); c.1700, J. Rolu, Amsterdam, *Proeven van Letteren*, 'Mediaen' (mutilated; Dreyfus, 1963, 22, pl. 15).

KEY LETTERS Narrow capitals E, H, T; dog-eared M; x-height of lower case a bit bigger than in the preceding Pica.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Cicero romain hautin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1938, 169–70; Dreyfus, 1963, 20, 22; Tinto, 1967, 32 (R 8).

FIGURE 8a Haultin's Second Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1557) as it occurs in Manutius, *Epistularum libri iii*, Venice, P. Manutius, 1560, f. A4v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 8b Haultin's Second Pica Roman [R 82] or *Cicéro* (1557) as it occurs in D. de Soto, *De iustitia et iure*, Lyons, G. Rouillé, 1569, f. ***3v. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

fecitq; ut aliquando Romam in urbe
Roma liceret agnoscere. In tua u-
ro paterna gente Cibo, & in mater-
na Malaspina, mirabilis omnium ui-
tutum in omni ætate fuit exercita-
tio. et, ne illa nimis uetera ex annali-
bus fide dignis repetamus, iam inde
ab eo tempore, cum, Græcorum Im-
peratorum ætate, oppidum Pera,
quod proxime Byzantium situm est,
Genuenses obtinebant; quo tempo-

† a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v x y z, A B C D E F G
H I K L M N O P Q R S T V, * * * * *

9. Haultin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1559)

This typeface can be attributed to Haultin on the basis of the Plantin and Le Bé inventories (Early inv., 1960, 14, LMA 62; Morison, 1957, 18), its style and occurrences in La Rochelle and at the Bordeaux press of Millanges, a customer of Haultin (Desgraves, 1960, xvi).

An earlier English-sized Roman appearing at Torrentino's press (Varchi, *Due lezioni*, 1549) may possibly be ascribed to Haultin.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 92 x 2 : 3.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1559, Venice, P. Manutius (Manutius, *Antiquitatum Romanarum liber de legibus*; after Johnson, 1938, 171, fig. 2).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1560, J. Crespin; 1562, M. Blanchier; 1563, F. II Estienne; Venice: 1561, Comin da Trino, M.A. Olmo, V. Valgrisi; 1563, Fratelli Guerra, G. Ziletti; 1567, G. Scoto; 1573, F. de Franceschi; Antwerp: 1562, C. Plantin; Rome: 1562, P. Manutius, Stamperia del Popolo Romano; 1565, A. Blado; 1593, Stampa Camerale; Frankfurt: 1563, S. Feyerabend; Naples: 1563, G.M. Scotto; 1567, G. de Boy; Padua: 1564, G. Perchacino; London: 1566, J. Day; 1575, Th. Vautrollier; 1577, R. Newberry; 1582, H. Denham; 1583, H. Middleton; c.1590, H. Garnet; 1598, A. Hatfield; Orleans: 1566, L. Rabier; Paris: 1566, J. Bienné; 1572, R. Granjon, G. Julian; 1582, J. Mettayer; 1598, D. Binet; Leipzig: 1570, E. Voegelin; 1572, A. Schneider; Dublin: 1571, W. Kearney; La Rochelle: 1572, P. Haultin; 1581, A. Haultin;

1588, J. Haultin; Cremona: 1574, C. Draconi; Bordeaux: 1576, S. Millanges; Milan: 1576, G.A. de Antonii; 1581, G. Paccaglia; 1592, G.R. Cologno; Cagliari: 1580, F. Guarneri; Bologna: 1583, G. Rossi; Oxford: 1599, J. Barnes. More references in Johnson, 1938, 169–72.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Augustine sur le Texte' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 8, no. 21); lower case only; 1608, M. Lantzenberger, Leipzig, in: H. Hornschuh, *Orthotypographia*, Leipzig, 38 'Mittel Antiqua' (Gaskell, 1972, 38); 1615, J.J. Genath, Basle, *Unterschiedliche Form: und gattungen der Schrifften*, 'Adagia...Antiqua' (Basle, University Library, VB Ms. O 12c: 166); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caractères*, f. 41 'Silvio' (Vervliet, 1967, 33–4); c.1695, J.A. Schmidt, Amsterdam, [*Diligam te*], 'Augustijn Romeyn' (Dreyfus, 1963, 20, pl. 14); c.1700, J. Rolu, Amsterdam, *Proeven van Letteren*, (Dreyfus, 1963, 22, pl. 15).

KEY LETTERS Narrow capitals M (dog-eared) and R; big-bowled P.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Augustin Rommain de Hautin (Plantin, 1561); Augustin Rommain Hautin (Plantin, 1563); L'Augustine Romaine de Haultin (Plantin, 1572); Augustine Romaine de Pierre Haultin (Plantin, 1581); Saint Augustin rommain hautin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1938, 169–72; Early inv., 1960, 14 (LMA 62); Dreyfus, 1963, 20; Vervliet, 1967, 33–4, no. 41; Tinto, 1967, 30–1 (R 7); Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 8, no. 21.

FIGURE 9 Haultin's English-Bodied Roman [R 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1559) as it appears in Aristoxenus, *Harmonicorum elementorum libri iii*, Venice, V. Valgrisi, 1562, p. 165. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

melle est, eius enim dicitur esse uas, quod continet & locati corporis locus, quemadmodum Aeschines dixit eandem officinam à fabro ærario, eam inhabitante ærariam dici: à fullone fullonicam: semperq; nomen mutare pro re. Minimè enim inest ipsi acti æris fabrilis officina, neque fullonica: sed cum ipsa est, quamobrem quando cum ipsa extiterit, etiam ab ipsa nomen obtinet: ars uero nunquam separatur ab artifice, undè manet æris fabri nomen: neque dulcedo separatur à melle, quocirca ubiubi fuerit mel, accidit ei, ut sit dulce. Differunt igitur quod proponebamus esse in aliis & cum aliis, utque compendio dicatur, Minerva pulchra est in Parthenone (sic uocant locum uirginibus dicatum) etenim pulchritudo in ipsa, Parthenon uero cum ipsa existit. Porrò iam dictorum nonnulla contingentia sunt, quæq; dimittere liceat, alia secus habent. stare enim & canescere contingit & contra, sicut sedere & non canescere: uerum enim uero fimo, uerbi gratia, non contingit & accidere limitatem, & non accidere. Ad hæc in accidentia quædam secundum quietem accidunt, quædam secundum actionem: ac quiescere constant accidentia hæc Quantum & Quale & Ad aliquid: neq; enim cubitale, aut bicubitale in motu uersatur, neque album, neque nigrum, neque dextrum, neque sinistrum: sed horum sane cubitale ad quantum, album uero ad quale, dextrum ad aliquid aliud pertinet, nihilque horum in motu est: sed immobiliter accidunt. Agere uero aut pati, & positum esse, aut habere, secundum actionem perhibentur. Album profecto licet esse, quamuis non moueatur: similiter uero & cubitale: agere uero & pati sine effe-

10. Haultin's First Great Primer Roman [R 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1555)

The genesis of this typeface is hard to elucidate. Johnson (1938, 168) related it to one used by Valgrisi in 1549 and by Manutius in 1554. In fact, Valgrisi used a new (of unknown origin) Great Primer already from 1544 (cf. J. Tagaultius, *De chirurgica institutione*) to about 1558, when he changed over to the type described here. During the same years Paulus Manutius similarly utilized yet another Great Primer. Both printers changed over to the face described here, in 1557–58; it began to appear in Geneva about 1555 and its style mostly is in Haultin's line. The capitals M and R are atypical but they appear in Haultin's own Lyon and Paris imprints in 1565–67.

To complicate matters, the face appears with several variants. Two forms of M (one a bit broader than the other) can be seen in Haultin's Paris imprints. A variant lower case small-bowled g, a feature which one does not expect to originate with Haultin, appears about 1560. But its spread (it can be seen in the printing of Badius, Trino, Marnef, Macé) and, perhaps, the repetition of the same form in a late Paragon (12) militates against the hypothesis of a locally made replacement sort.

A third form of the capital M, entirely in Haultin's manner, occurs in Paris from about 1569 and in La Rochelle from 1572 on. More research is needed to ascertain whether only one or a few letters were changed or a

complete new set of punches were engraved. For convenience, this later variant has been treated apart in the next paragraph.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 114 x 2.2 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1555, **Geneva**, A. Cercia (*Le nouveau testament*; Bourg-en-Bresse, Bibliothèque municipale, 101720; Chambers, 1983, 229, no. 213; capitals only).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1556, C. Badius, N. Barbier; 1558, M. de La Roche; 1560, C. Badius, A. Rebul; 1568, J. Bonnefoy & E. Anastase; 1588, J. Des Planches; **Venice**: 1557, P. Manutius; 1558, Academia Veneta, V. Valgrisi; 1559, G. Ziletti; 1560, Comin da Trino; 1590, B. Barezzi; **Poitiers**: 1560, E. de Marnef; **Lyons**: 1562, Heirs of S. Gryphius; 1565, G. Cotier, P. Haultin; 1566, Michel; 1590, B. Rigaud; **La Rochelle**: 1564, B. Berton; **Rouen**: 1565, A. Clemence; **Orleans**: 1566, L. Rabier; **Paris**: 1567, P. Haultin; **Caen**: 1572, B. Macé; **Urbino**: 1575, D. Frisolini; **Bordeaux**: 1576, S. Millanges; **Rome**: 1578, Stampa Vaticana; 1585, D. Basa.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. 36 'Soprasilvio' (Vervliet, 1967, 33); mutilated.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capitals K and T; broad N and R; big-bowled lower case g.

VARIANT LETTERS Two capitals M (broad/narrow); two lower case g's (big/small bowled).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS See (11).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1938, 168; Vervliet, 1967, 33.

FIGURE 10a Haultin's First Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1555) as it occurs in A. Oliviero, *La Alamanna*, Venice, V. Valgrisi, 1567, part 2, p. 217. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 10b Haultin's First Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1555) as it occurs in Justinianus, *Rerum venetarum ab urbe condita historia*, Venice, Comin da Trino, 1560, f. 489. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

P iu che potrem uicina a gl'inimici:
A ccio che ogn'hor pofsiam seco azzuffarci,
S i che restino un dì del tutto uinti.
Q ueft'io: ma se altrimenti alcuno crede,
D ica liberamente il suo parere.
A quel parlar ciascun stupido stette,
T al che tutti taceuan ragionando
S olamente fra lor de la uirtute,
D el saper, de l'ardir del suo Signore:
P enfando come ben tutte le cose
E gli ordinato hauea ne la sua mente:

† † † † † A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

A a B b C c D d E e F f G g H h I i K k L l M m N n
O o P p Q q R r S s T t V v X x Y y Z z.

11. Haultin's Second Great Primer Roman [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1569)

Most sorts are identical to or very similar with those of the typeface described in the preceding paragraph. Style and occurrences of this later version, both in Paris and La Rochelle at the time of his sojourn there, point to Haultin; the references in the Plantin and Le Bé inventories confirm the attribution, although Plantin never used the face. Cf. Early inv., 1960, 8 (LMA 63); Morison, 1957, 18. It was also used by Millanges in Bordeaux who in 1572 bought founts from Haultin (Desgraves, 1960, xvi).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 114 x 2.2 : 3.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1569, Paris, M. Le Jeune (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 7.11; Voet, 1980, 5: 2086–8, nos. 2208–9) and 1569, Paris, F. Prevost

for Du Pré (Appianus, *Des guerres des Romains*; Brussels, Royal Library, VB 8806.

EARLY APPEARANCES **London**: 1570, Th. Vautrollier; 1583, H. Middleton; 1591, J. Jackson; **La Rochelle**: 1572, P. Haultin; 1588, J. Haultin; **Bordeaux**: 1576, S. Millanges; **Oxford**: 1599, J. Barnes.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 34 'Saint Augustin a gros oeil rom.' (Carter, 1969a, 54);

KEY LETTERS Dog-eared capital M; broad capital T; big-bowled lower case g.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [*Gros Texte*] La Romaine de Haultin (Plantin, 1572); Text Romeyn hautin (Plantin, 1588); Text Romain hautin (Plantin, 1589); Text Romaine de Haultin (Plantin, 1612); Gros Romain hautin (Le Bé, 1612).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 8 (LMA 63); Carter, 1969a, 54.

FIGURE 11 Haultin's Second Great Primer [R 114] or *Gros-romain* (1569) as it appears in Appianus, *Des guerres des Romains*, Paris, Fleury Prevost for P. Du Pré, 1569, f. bb6v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

HELVIN DV LIN AV LECTEUR.

Il pense bien, que tu t'esbahyras,
Qu'un autheur Grec nous ayt laissé memoire
Des faicts Latins: Mais aussi tu croiras,
Que Rome vn temps attentive à victoire
Ne pretendoit par lettres auoir gloire,
Ains augmenter l'Empire des Romains:
Lesquels, ayans faict vertu de leurs mains,
L'ont toutesfois tref-bien voulu descrire:
Et nous ont teuleurs gestes inhumains:
Ce qu'Appian, par Seyssel, te faict lire.

12. Haultin's Roman Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553)

Style and distribution justify an attribution to Haultin at least of the capitals. Apparently Haultin engraved them in two weights. As far as I know the lighter one occurs only from 1565 on. It can be seen in the *Pseaumes* of Bouchard and Le Bas (Saint-Lo, 1565) and in Haultin's 1567 *Nouveau Testament*. The set of matrices preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum are for this version; it is not mentioned in the Plantin inventories.

The mention in the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 18) of a 'Gros Parangon Romain hautin' is puzzling. I failed to notice a fount including a lower case of this size before the end of the century, when the Haultin press at La Rochelle matched the capitals with a lower case, so divergent from Haultin's manner that it hardly can have been cut by him. More research is needed to determine whether it derives from the lower case of Guyot's Paragon Roman (Vervliet, 1968, 248–9, R 17) or was cut by another La Rochelle engraver, who perhaps was also involved in a Petit-canon Roman (190 x 3.5 : 6 mm), appearing at the Haultin press about the same time.

SIZE Two-line Brevier (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte*): 4 mm.
 FIRST SEEN IN 1553, **Geneva**, J. Crespin (J. Oecolampadius, *In librum Iob exegetica*; Lausanne, University Library, 2 U 1461; Gilmont, 1981, 1553⁹; capitals only).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1554, A. & J. Rivery; 1555, A. Cercia; 1558, M. de La Roche; 1559, J. Bonnefoy; 1563, F. II Estienne; 1566, Z. Durant; 1568, E. Anastase; **Venice**: 1558, Academia Veneta; 1560, P. Manutius, G.B. & M. Sessa; 1590, B. Barezzi, G.B. Bonfadino; **Lyons**: [1559], M. du Boys; 1565, G. Cotier; **Rome**: 1562, P. Manutius; J. de Angelis; **Saint-Lo**: 1565, T. Bouchard & J. Le Bas; **Paris**: 1567, P. Haultin; **London**: 1570, Th. Vautrollier; **La Rochelle**: 1571, P. Haultin; 1581, A. Haultin; 1590, J. Haultin; **Cambridge**: 1584, Th. Thomas; **Oxford**: 1599, J. Barnes.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 98 (capitals only of the second, lighter variant; not mentioned in the Plantin inventories nor specimens).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; dog-eared M; doubly-bracketed serif of bar of T;

VARIANT LETTERS Capitals exist in two weights: the bold and earlier one is broader than the lighter and later one.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Gros Paragon Romain haultin (Le Bé, 1618).

FIGURE 12a The bold capitals of Haultin's Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553) assembled from G. Saluste du Bartas, *Les Trophees*, La Rochelle, J. Haultin, 1591 and id., *La seconde semaine*, Antwerp, H. Mersman [= La Rochelle, J. Haultin], 1591. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 12b The lighter capitals of Haultin's Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (MA 98). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

ABCDEFILM
NOPRSTVY

ABCDEFGHIJKLM
NOPQRSTUVWXYZ

13. Haultin's Roman Titling on Two-line Long Primer [R 5.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1577)

I hesitate to attribute the 5.5 and 6 mm Roman titlings occurring in Geneva imprints of the 1550s to Haultin. The same reservation applies to the 5.5 titling in the Haultin edition of Calvin's Institution (Lyons, 1565). But the 5.2 mm titling used in La Rochelle from 1577 is certainly in his style.

An earlier titling in the same size appearing in Dioscorides (Paris, P. Haultin & B. Prevost, 1549) may probably also be ascribed to him.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); 5.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1577, **La Rochelle**, P. Haultin (*Les Pseaumes de David*; Geneva, Collection J.-D. Candaux; Desgraves, 1965, 304, no. 31).

EARLY APPEARANCES **La Rochelle**: 1581, A. Haultin; 1589, J. Haultin; **Cambridge**: 1584, Th. Thomas; **Oxford**: 1585, J. Barnes; **London**: 1591, J. Jackson.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; strong lower arm of capital E; dog-eared M; big-bowled R; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T.

FIGURE 13 Haultin's Titling on Two-line Bourgeois [R 5.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1577) assembled from G. Saluste de Bartas, *Les peres*, Antwerp, H. Mersman [= La Rochelle, J. Haultin], 1591. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

ABCDEFGHILM
NOPQRSTUVWXYZ

14. Haultin's Two-line Double Pica Roman
[R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1571)

Style, imprints and dates are fitting for an attribution of this typeface to Haultin. Its first occurrence in London may be linked to his nephew Jerome, who reportedly was active in London as a typefounder from about 1568 to 1587, and then returned to La Rochelle to head the press of his aging uncle (Kirk, 1900, 3: 338; Carter, 1961, 242; Carter, 1969b, 536–7).

SIZE Two-line Double Pica (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 5 : 9.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1571, **Orleans**, E. Gibier (Rabelais, *Voyage*; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 8°BL 19598; Rawles-Screech, 1989, no. 141).

EARLY APPEARANCES **London**: 1574, J. Day; **La Rochelle**: 1575, P. Haultin; 1581, A. Haultin; **Oxford**: 1585, J. Barnes; **Maillé**: 1616, J. Moussat; **Bordeaux**: 1618, S. Millanges.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1773, Lyons, L. Delacolonge, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 49 'Gros Canon romain oeil maigre' (Carter, 1969a, 59).

KEY LETTERS Low bar and cupped top terminal of capital A; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; narrow lower case u.

LITERATURE Carter, 1969a, 59.

FIGURE 14 Haultin's Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or *Gros-canon* (1574) as it appears on the title-page of part 2 of L. Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'Histoire de France*, La Rochelle, Abraham H[aultin], 1581. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

Enrichie des plus notables occurrances

suruenues ez Prouinces de l'Europe & pays voisins, soit en Paix soit en
Guerre: tant pour le fait Seculier qu'Eclesiastic:
Depuis lan 1550 iusques a ces temps.

TOME SECOND.

AVEC SA TABLE.

A la Royne

Mere du Roy.

15. The 'La Rochelle' Seven-line Pica Roman
[R 600] or *Grosse Nonpareille*,
possibly by Haultin (1581).

Apart from 18 mm capitals appearing first in Haultin's Lassus editions of 1575, there occurs at the Haultin press in 1581 a large display letter (21 mm.), one of the biggest in French sixteenth-century typography, complete with capitals and lower case.

As far as I know, the new face appears in only in two Haultin editions, in H. Voisin de La Popelinière's controversial history of contemporary France (1581) and S. de La Broue's sumptuous treatise on horsemanship (1593). It is debatable whether these faces were woodcut or cast types. But the identity of the same sorts used on one page seems to suggest that they were cast, presumably sand-cast from wooden or copper punches. This technique was used for producing printing types larger than, say, Two-lines Double Pica (*Gros-canon*) and is well documented (Vervliet, 1968, 81–5; 216; Carter, 1969, 15–16; Lane, 1993, 51–2; Mosley, 2002, 64).

In French typography a large Roman titling probably by Peter II Schoeffer (14.5 mm.) occurs from the

1530s onwards (Renouard, 1964, 2: 268, no. 679); it was followed by a large De Tournes Roman (perhaps by Granjon; Vervliet, 1998a, 69–70) and later in the century by this type and that of Guillaume I Le Bé. They must not be confused with woodcut lettering, mostly weakly designed – except for, of course, some superb title lines of André Wechel (1554), Charles Estienne (1556), and Sebastian Nivelles (1566).

There is no certainty that Haultin cut or even designed these types. But their quality, date and distribution make it conceivable that he had a hand in them. However, for a firm attribution it may be preferable to wait for a thorough study of the French large-sized types and initials.

SIZE Seven-line Pica (*Grosse Nonpareille*); 20 600 x 13 : 21 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1581, **La Rochelle**, A. H[aultin] (H. Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'histoire de France*; Ghent, University Library, Hist. 4785; Desgraves, 1960, 22–6, no. 45.

EARLY APPEARANCES **La Rochelle**: 1593, J. Haultin.

FIGURE 15 Seven-line Pica [R 600] or *Sept points de Cicéro*, possibly by Haultin (1581) as it appears on the title page of L. Voisin de La Popelinière, *L'histoire de France*, La Rochelle, Abraham H[aultin], 1581. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

L'Histoire de
France

17. Haultin's Second Nonpareil Italic [It 43] (1572)

I failed to see this rejuvenated Nonpareil outside the Haultin press in La Rochelle. Stylistically it is very near to the second Long Primer and Pica (21 and 23). I suppose that the punches (but not matrices) mentioned in the 1624 sale of the Hertmann-Haultin firm (Desgraves, 1960, xx) were for this typeface.

SIZE Nonpareil (*Nonpareille*); 20 43 x 0.8 : 1.3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1572, La Rochelle, P. Haultin (*Les CL. Pseaumes*; Paris, Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, 8° Rés. 1074; Desgraves, 1960, 4, no. 4).

EARLY APPEARANCES La Rochelle: 1590, J. Haultin.

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals N and Q; duplicate swash capitals C, E, M, R; round lower case v; bulbous top of terminal of ampersand.

FIGURE 17 Haultin's Second Nonpareil Italic (It 43) as it appears in *Les CL. pseaumes de David*, La Rochelle, P. Haultin, 1572, f. 4. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, Paris.



Petit troupeau qui en ta petitesse,
Tus surmontant du monde la hauteur,
Petit troupeau le meubras de ce monde,
Et seul threor de la machine ronde:
Tu es celui auquel gist mon ouvrage,
Pour te donner ce mien petit ouvrage:
Petit te dy, en ce qui est du mien:
Mais au surplus si grand, qu'il n'y a rien
Affect exquis en tout cest vainuers
Pour egaler au moindre de ses vers.
Voyla pourquoy chose tant excellente,
A toy, sur tout excellent, te presente:
Et suis trompé si te la dedier,
N'est à son point la chose approprier.
Arrière Rois & Princes reuefins
D'or & d'argent, & non pas de vertus:
Rois qui serues d'arguments aux flatteurs,
Qui remplissent les foyers des menteurs:
Ce n'est à vous que s'addresse cecy:
Non pas qu'à vous parlé ne suit icy,
Mais vous n'auez d'oreilles pour entendre,
Encores moins le cœur pour y apprendre.
Mais c'est à vous, & vrais Rois & vrais Princes,
Dignes d'avoir Royaumes & Provinces,
Qui défendez sous l'ombre de vos aïlles,
La oïe, hélas, de maints peuples fideles.
C'est (dy-je) à vous auquel parle & s'adresse
Du grand David la harpe chanteresse,
Puis qu'entre tous Dieu vous fait l'avantage
De bien sçavoir entendre son langage.
Or d'aucuns Rois, oyez parler un Roy
Et vous bergers, oyez non pas de moy
Mais d'un berger la muflète sonner,

é iiii

18. Haultin's First Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1551)

Only date and style advocate for an attribution of this fount; it is rather badly cast from irregularly justified matrices, evidently related to the shortage of manpower which beset British typefounding before, say, the mid 1550s. Its user was the refugee printer Thomas Gaultier (active 1550–53) who specialized in Bibles and liturgical books in French, directed at French-speaking Protestants in London and the Channel Isles. In 1553, he was nominated 'Imprimeur du Roy en la langue françoise pour les Isles de sa Mageste'. See Chambers, 1977 and 1979. The Italic used by Gaultier is a small sized fount so similar to Haultin's later style that it can be considered as a first state of the Italic described in the next paragraph. Apart from the manifest inadequate casting of the Gaultier fount, it is hard to tell whether or not a part of both types originate from the same punches. I have noted the most obvious differences above and assumed that two different sets were engraved.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 54 x 1.1 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1551, London, Th. Gaultier (*Le nouveau testament*; Atlanta, Ga., Pitts Theological Library, 1580 Bibl. A2; STC, 2957.6; Chambers, 1983, 181–2, no. 159); and 1551, London, E. Whitchurch, (*Le nouveau testament*; Bibliothèque municipale, Caen, Rés. A 1549; STC, 2957.8; Chambers, 1983, 183, no. 161).

KEY LETTERS Distinguishable from the similar typeface described in the following paragraph: Capital A without right bottom hook and with top curl, broader C, smaller bowl of R; lower case a and v are less pointed, straight tail of z.

FIGURE 18 Haultin's First Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1551) as it occurs in *Le nouveau testament*, London, E. Whitchurch, 1551, f. 6v. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Caen.

L'ORDRE DES LIVRES du nouveau Testament.

<i>Le S. Euangile selon S. Mathieu.</i>	chap. 28.
<i>Le S. Euangile selon S. Marc.</i>	16.
<i>Le S. Euangile selon S. Luc.</i>	24.
<i>Le S. Euangile selon S. Iean,</i>	21.
<i>Les Actes des Apostres,</i>	28.
<i>Les Epistres.</i>	
<i>S. Paul aux Romains,</i>	16.
<i>La 1. aux Corinthiens,</i>	16.
<i>La 2. aux Corinthiens,</i>	13.
<i>Aux Galatiens,</i>	6.
<i>Aux Ephesiens,</i>	6.
<i>Aux Philippiens,</i>	4.
<i>Aux Coiosiens,</i>	4.
<i>La 1. aux Theſſaloniens,</i>	5.
<i>La 2. aux Theſſaloniens,</i>	3.
<i>La 1. à Timothée,</i>	6.
<i>La 2. à Timothée,</i>	4.
<i>A Tite,</i>	3.
<i>A Philemon,</i>	ſeul.
<i>Aux Hebreux,</i>	13.
<i>L'Epistre de S. Iaques.</i>	5.
<i>La 1. Epistre de S. Pierre,</i>	5.
<i>La 2. Epistre de S. Pierre,</i>	3.
<i>La 1. Epistre de S. Iean,</i>	5.
<i>La 2. Epistre de S. Iean.</i>	ſeul.
<i>La 3. Epistre de S. Iean,</i>	ſeul.
<i>L'Epistre de S. Iude,</i>	ſeul.
<i>La Reuelation, ou Apocalypſe de S. Iean,</i>	22.

19. Haultin's Second Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1552)

Style, dates and places of occurrence are the basis for the attribution of this face to Haultin. However, it does not appear in his own Paris and La Rochelle imprints, where he uses Granjon's *Petit-texte* (Vervliet, 1998, 30–1, no. 14). The capital A with top curl, the bowled Q, and the pointed v of Haultin's Italic are the main discriminating letters.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 54 x 1.1 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1552, **Geneva**, J. Crespin (*Pseaumes octantetrois*; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 78 X 74; Gilmont, 1981, 21–2, No.52¹).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1554, S. Du Bosc & G. Gueroult, A. & J. Rivery; 1555, A. Cercia; 1563, H. II Estienne; 1566, S. Du Bosc, **Paris**: 1566, S. Nivelle; **London**: 1585, J. Windet.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caracteri*, f. 59 'Coursiveto Testino' (Vervliet, 1967, 36); 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Petit Cursiv No 12' (Mori, 1955, pl. 10); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen typorum*, [fo.10] 'Petit Cursiv'; [f. 16] 'Petit Cursiv [1 & 3]'; 'Minion Cursiv [1 & 3]' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, 'Gaillarde italique' (Carter, 1969a, 45).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with top curl and hooked right terminal, long-tailed swash K and R, short-tailed swash N, link of bowled Q protruding; pointed lower case v.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 1967, 36; Carter, 1969a, 45.

FIGURE 19 Haultin's Second Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1551) as it occurs in *Indice et concordance des choses contenues en la Bible*, Geneva, J. Crespin, 1554, f. Aiv. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

I E A N C R E S P I N

A V L E C T E U R
Chrestien

S.

C'est eſt toujours vne choſe vtile & bien neceſſaire en grãde abondance & variété de mots & de ſentences, d'auoir les matieres diſpoſées par Tables & Indices, & de les reduire comme ſous lieux communs: à fin d'auoir vn moyen plus prompt & mieux à la main pour les trouuer quand il en eſt beſoin. Or ſi en aucune eſtude il eſt neceſſaire de faire Tables & Indices, c'eſt ſingulierement en l'eſtude du ſainct & ſacré volume de la Bible, qui eſt comme vn theſor, voire vn abyſme profond de toutes richesses, ou il ſe trouue iournellement de quoy enrichir & amplifier Tables & Indices. En quoy il m'a ſouuenu que en la Bible par nous imprimée l'an M. D. L. I. il te fut preſenté vn Indice des choſes cōtenues eſ livres tant du Vieil que du Nouveau Teſtament, en attendant qu'autre plus ample & mieux ordonné ſe dreſſeroit. Parquoy, ami Lecteur, pour ſatisfaire aucunement à ceſte attente, nous te preſentons ceſt Indice comme vne Concordance & Table, non ſeulement des Noms propres, Hiſtoires & Lieux, mais auſſi des ſentences & paſſages qui ſe preſentent communement à traicter comme par lieux communs. Et pour intereſt de l'attente, nous auons adiouté en pluſieurs lieux l'interpretation d'aucuns mots, phraſes & manieres de parler difficiles du Vieil & Nouveau Teſtament, que tu trouueras inferex aux mots en leur ordre. Et pour la fin, nous y auons auſſi adiouté l'interpretation des lieux & places denominées en la ſaincte Eſcriture, extraictes des Hiſtoriographes, Geographes, & autres auteurs, qui ont donné lumiere à telles deſcriptions contenues en la Bible.

Bien t'e ſoit.

20. Haultin's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1550)

This Italic can be attributed to Haultin on the basis of its style, date and appearance at the press of his Paris associate, Benoit Prevost (Renouard, 1964, 4: 60–5). Contrary to the expectation, I failed to see it occurring at Geneva presses; with a few sorts changed, it appears in Venice together with other Haultin material. A further developed Long Primer Italic, appearing in La Rochelle in the 1580s is described below (21).

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 67 x 1.2 : 1.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1550, **Paris**, B. Prevost (Lagnerius, *Ex M.T. Cicerone ... sententiarum ... compendium*; Ghent, University Library, Phil. 892).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Venice**: 1560, G.B. & M. Sessa; 1564, D. Cavalcalupo; 1566, P. Manutius, V. Valgrisi; **Rouen**: 1562, A. Clemence; **London**: 1582, H. Bynnenman, H. Denham; 1589, R. Field.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1615, J.J. Genath, Basle, *Unterschiedliche Form: und gattungen der Schrifften*, 'Garamont Cursif' (University Library, Basle, VB Ms. O 12c: 166); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen typorum*, [f. 1, line 20] "Omne opus..." (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum);

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, N, P, Q, R; pointed lower case v.

VARIANT LETTERS Prevost (1550) uses a shorter swash N, a small-bowled swash Q, a P without swash, and a very peculiar lower case g (small-upper bowled; broad-lower bowled).

LITERATURE Tinto, 1972, 87.

FIGURE 20a Haultin's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1550) as it appears in D. Acciaiuoli, *In Aristotelis libros octo*, Venice, V. Valgrisi, 1566, p. 72. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 20b Haultin's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1550) assembled from D. Acciaiuoli, *In Aristotelis libros octo*, Venice, V. Valgrisi, 1566, p. 72. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

pter cognationem: erant enim Lyctij Lacedæmoniorum coloni: ſuſceperant autē ij qui in eam coloniam venerant, inſtituta legum, quæ tunc in antiquis habitatoribus obtinuerant. quapropter & nunc accolæ eodem modo illis legibus vtuntur, quomodo eas Minos conſtituit primus. Videtur autem hæc inſula ad principatū Græciæ nata, ac perclarè ſita. cuncto namq; imminet mari cum ferè Græci omnes, circum mare ſint poſiti: ab eſt. n. hinc modicū à Peloponneſo, illinc verò ab Aſia, a loco qui circa Triopium & Rhodum. Quare imperium maris obtinuit Minos, ac inſularum alias ſubegit, alias verò dudum incultas habitari fecit. tandem Siciliam agreſſus, circa Camerinam deſunctus eſt. Habet autem conuenientiam Creticæ inſtitutio cum Laconica: nam agriculturam exercent, apud hos quidem Ilotes, apud illos vero Perieci, id eſt accolæ. Et comēſſatio nes ſunt apud vtroſque: & antiquius nuncupabant Lacedæmonij hæc non Phidivias, ſed Andria: quemadmodum Cretenſes. ex quo palam eſt inde proueniſſe. Inſuper autem & reipub. inſtitutio. Ephori namq; eandem vim habent, quam in Creta ij qui Coſmi ap-

A C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n p q r s t u v x y æ & et ij ß ſt

21. Haultin's Second Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1581)

This new and more frivolous Long Primer has a greater x-height than the previous one. I failed to see it appearing before 1581, but I suspect that a more thorough search will disclose uses, both earlier ones and in books printed by Pierre Haultin. Stylistically this face is very much like the second Nonpareil (17) and the second Pica Italic (23). These typefaces share a bigger x-height compared to their earlier versions; they also depart from Haultin's usual sober design; they seem to follow the more lively style of Granjon's Italics (Vervliet, 1998, 30–1, no. 14).

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 67 x 1.2 : 1.9 mm.

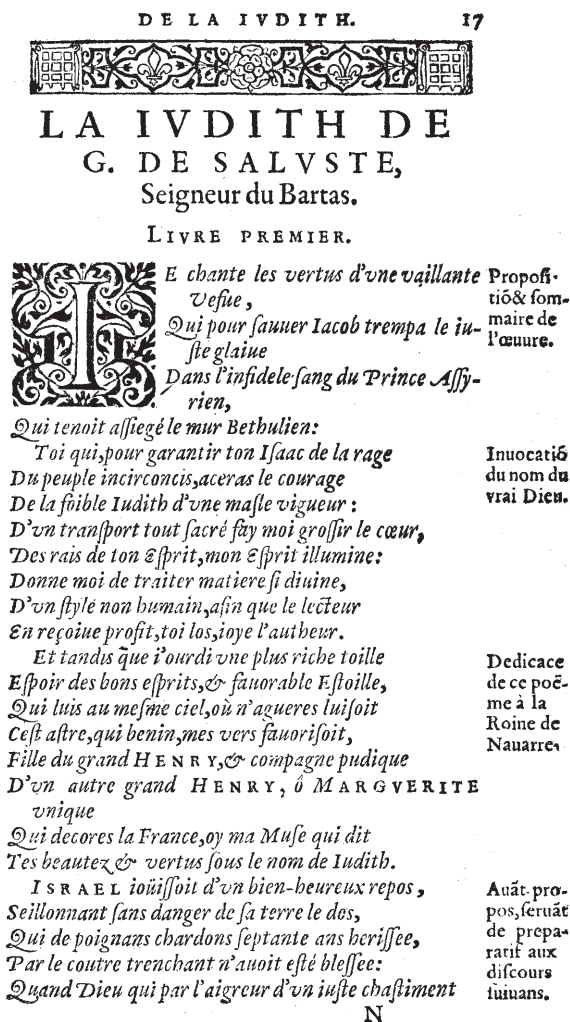
FIRST SEEN IN 1581, La Rochelle, A. H[aultin] (L. du Voisin de La Popelinière, *Histoire de France*; Ghent, University Library, Hist. 4785; Desgraves, 1960, 22–6, no. 45).

EARLY APPEARANCES La Rochelle: 1589, J. Haultin; London: 1581, H. Bynneman; 1598, A. Hatfield; Cambridge: 1584, Th. Thomas; Bordeaux: 1593, S. de Millanges.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capital N; 2-shaped swash capital Q; duplicate swash capitals A, B, C, D, E, M, N, P, R, V; round lower case v; bulbous terminal of ampersand.

FIGURE 21a Haultin's Second Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1591) as it appears in G. Saluste du Bartas, *Judith*, La Rochelle, J. Haultin, 1591, f. N1. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 21b Haultin's Second Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1591) assembled from G. Saluste du Bartas, *Les Trophées*, La Rochelle, J. Haultin, 1591. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



22. Haultin's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1549)

This typeface does not occur in Haultin's printing, but its earliest appearance in a Bible printed for Charlotte Guillard by Haultin's associate, Benoit Prevost, enforces the attribution. Stylistically it is wholly Haultin's. It is, I presume, his first Italic.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.7 : 2.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1549, Paris, Ch. Guillard (*Biblia sacra*; University Library, Ghent, 160 A 24) and 1549, Paris, P. Gaultier (*Cinquante deux psealmes de David*; Copenhagen, Royal Library, Rom. 81100-8°).

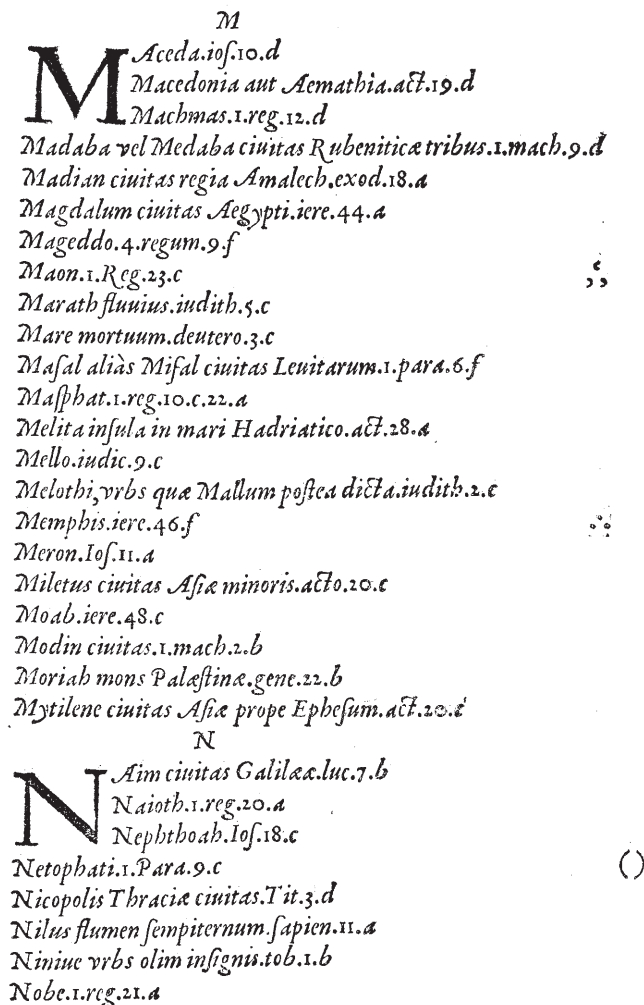
EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1550, M. Bonhomme; Paris: 1550, G. Corrozet, G. Desboys, A. Langelier, Ch. Langelier, M. Menier,

B. Prevost, V. Sertenas; 1552, S. Nivelles; 1553, J. Ruelle; 1555, B. Turrison; 1556, A. Langelier; 1559, G. Guillard & A. Warancore; 1569, G. Cavellat; Poitiers: 1550, N. Peletier; London: 1553, R. Caly; R. Tottell; 1557, T. Marshe (on body 79 mm); 1569, W. Seres (with phonetic sorts); more references in Johnson, 1936, 79–80; Alcalá de Henares: 1561, A. de Angelo (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 996); Caen: 1572, R. Macé (adulterated); Niort: 1596, T. Portau.

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, M, N, P, Q, R; small-bowled Q.

FIGURE 22a Haultin's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1549) as it appears in *Biblia sacra*, Paris, Heirs of C. Guillard, 1558, Index Locorum, f. C6. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 22b Haultin's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1549) assembled from *Biblia sacra*, Paris, Heirs of C. Guillard, 1558. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



23. Haultin's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1557)

This face is assigned to Haultin on the basis of the Plantin inventories. Stylistically it is a development of the earlier Pica Italic we ascribed to Haultin. Cf. above (22). The whole lower case is heavier – ‘grasse’ in the terms of Plantin – and has a larger x-height. In the capitals more swash forms are introduced. Later in the century some capitals of the earlier Pica are mixed to this fount.

It does not occur in Haultin's printing but it may be a fount he supplied to Paulus Manutius in 1557 together with his Romans (Johnson, 1938). The fount was very popular in Italy. Whether the ‘Corsivo commune dalla Vaticana’ shown in the 1628 Vatican specimen (Vervliet, 1967, 34–5, no. 47) is a copy or an adulterated version with some original sorts preserved, deserves more research.

It is unclear whether the matrices of a ‘Italique Cicero droite Rochelle’ mentioned in the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 19) refers to this face or to the earlier one.

On a Great Primer (Gros-romain) Italic (115 mm) ascribed to Haultin by the 1561 and 1563 Plantin inventories (Early inv., 1960, 12, MA 81) but more likely attributable to Robert Granjon, see Vervliet, 1998, 28, no. 11.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.8 : 2.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1557, **Venice**, P. Manutius (Th. Linacre, *De emendata structura latini sermonis*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 19600:5; Renouard, 1834, 171, no. 7; only lower case; and 1558, **Venice**, Academia Veneta [P. Manutius] (Syrianus, *In II. XII. et XIII. Aristotelis libros Metaphysices commentarius*; Ghent, University Library, Phil. 94; Renouard, 1834, 272–3, no. 13).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Milan**: 1559, G.A. degli Antonii; 1566, V. Girardoni; 1568, M. Tini; 1569, da Ponte; 1577, G.A. da Ponte;

1581, G. Piccaglia; 1597, F. Paganello; **Venice**: 1559, G. Giolito; 1560, D. & G.B. Guerra; G.B. & M. Sessa; V. Valgrisi, G.A. Valvasori; 1561, Comin da Trino; 1564, G. Ziletti; 1565, G. Bonadio, G. Varisco; 1567, F. de Franceschi; G. Scoto; 1569, N. Bevilacqua; 1581, Heirs of F. Rampazetto; 1582, Dusingelli; 1592, B. Barezzi; **Cremona**: 1561, V. Conti; 1574, C. Draconi; 1595, B. Zanni; **Naples**: 1562, G.M. Scotto; 1567, G. de Boy; 1572, A. Bax; 1584, H. Salviani; 1593, F. Stigliolo; 1595, G.G. Carlino; **Brescia**: 1563, L. da Sabbio; 1576, G. Turlini; 1596, M. Marchetti; **Leipzig**: 1563, E. Voegelin; **Camerino**: 1564, A. Gioioso; **Mantua**: 1564, F. & C. Filoponi; 1580, G. Ruffinelli; 1587, F. Osanna; **Padua**: 1564, C. Griffio; **Cagliari**: 1566, V. Sembenino; 1580, F. Guarneri; **Parma**: 1567, S. Viotti; **Turin**: 1568, F. Dolce; 1588, G.B. Bevilacqua; 1593, A. Bianchi; 1598, G.B. Tarino; **Rome**: 1573, J. de Angelis; 1574, Heirs of A. Blado; 1579, L. Zanetti; 1585, F. Zanetti; **Florence**: 1574, B. Sermartelli; 1595, D. Manzani; **Lyons**: 1574, J. II de Tournes; **Urbino**: 1577, B. de Bartoli; **Lisbon**: 1582, M. de Lyra (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 997); **Casalmaggiore**: 1581, A. Canacci; **Ferrara**: 1585, V. Baldini; **Lucca**: 1587, V. Busdragio; **Reggio**: 1591, H. Baroli; **Frankfurt/Oder**: 1594, N. Voltz; **Pavia**: 1598, A. Viano; **Bergamo**: 1599, C. Ventura.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1707, P. Cot, Paris, *Essais de caracteres*, f. [7–8], inc. ‘L'on donnera’ (McMurthrie, 1924).

MATRICES AND STRIKES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA III (Early inv., 1960, 13).

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, N, Q, R; duplicate swash A and M (all but identical with those of the previous Pica); big-bowled Q; two V (round/pointed); pointed lower case v; two z.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Italique median Haultin (Plantin, 1561); Italique grandeur median Hotin (Plantin, 1563); Italique grasse de Haultin (Plantin, 1572); Italique grasse de Pierre Haultin (Plantin, 1581); Mediaen Cursiue haultin (Plantin, 1589); Mediane point juste de Haultin (Plantin, 1590).

LITERATURE Renouard, 1834, 408, no. 11; Early inv., 1960, 13 (MA III); Tinto, 1967, 34, no. C 2; Tinto, 1972, 86–7.

FIGURE 23 Haultin's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1557) as it appears in Vergilius, *Virgilius Maro*, Venice, P. Manutius, 1561, f. 134v–135. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

*Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumæa sibylla
Horrendas canit ambages, antroq. remugit,
Obscuris uera inuoluens: ea fræna furenti
Concutit, & stimulos sub pectore uertit Apollo.
Vt primum cœsit furor, & rabida ora quierunt;
Incipit Aeneas heros, non ulla laborum,
O uirgo, noua mi facies, inopina ue surgit:
Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.
Vnum oro; (quando hic inferni ianua regis
Dicitur, & tenebrofa pãlus Acheronte refuso)
Ire ad conspectum cari genitoris, & ora
Contingant; doceas iter, & sacra ostia pandas.
Illum ego per flammæ, & mille sequentia tela
Eripui his humeris, medioq. ex hoste recepi:
Ille meum comitatus iter, maria omnia mecum,
Atque omnes pelagiq. minas, caliq. ferebat
Inualidus, uires ultra, sortemq. senectæ.
Quin, ut te supplex peterem, et tua limina adirem,
Idem orans mandata dabat. natiq. patrisq.
Alma precor miserere. potes nanque omnia: nec te*

non, penitus recepit, fol, cœpit imminui.

pro lacu po fuit. nam Auernum significat.

forsenim se neq. quies est, atque otium, ut pueritiæ ludus.

24. Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553)

In 1553 Jean Crespin, a regular customer of Haultin, issued a Greek Gospel (Gilmont, 1981, 35–6, no. 53³); its introduction alludes to the new format in a small octavo and its enhanced portability. It exhibits two Greek body sizes: the main text is set in Haultin's Small Pica, described below in (10); the marginal notes are set in a Brevier. It is a new type entirely in Haultin's style. With new, slightly smaller capitals Crespin used this smaller size as the main text type of his 1560 and 1567 Homer editions. It differs from the Brevier Greek which Henri II Estienne uses in his Aristotle & Theophrastus edition of 1557, but is identical to Estienne's later Brevier Greek used, for instance, in his 1566 Pindar or 1569 edition of the Greek comics.

In the Plantin inventories a set of matrices (probably MA 59–60) is attributed explicitly to Garamont. Thus the 1566 inventory mentions a 'Lectre grecque iustifiée par Garamont sur le Breviaire' (Early inv., 1960, 29) and this attribution is repeated in the later inventories. Plantin's Ghent typefounder Hendrik van den Keere quotes a 'Grec de Garra[mont]' in his 1574 casting bills (Plant. Arch. 42, f. 1 v–2; 153, f. 155).

Stylistically however this Greek is wholly in Haultin's manner. We suppose Plantin was mistaken or (less likely) that he referred to a set not cut but merely justified by Garamont. Moreover the Plantin inventories record two other small-sized Greeks; one, a Minion (described as a Brevier), was attributed to Haultin in Early inv., 1960, 23 (MA 140–141); apparently it was shown in the 1567 specimen of Plantin, f. B1 under the heading 'Eurip.'; the other, a Brevier, is shown in the c.1585 Folio Specimen; it seems to match the sets of matrices MA 59–60 and 104a. But for a firm attribution of these sets a thorough study of the small-sized Greek types, especially these appearing in Paris in the 1560s, remains a necessity. The c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 22 and 25) mentions small-sized Greeks by Granjon, Villiers, Picard and Haultin. Apart from their capitals, they are not easily distinguishable.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 54 x 11: 1.5/1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1553, Geneva, J. Crespin (*Kainè diathèkè*; Ghent, University Library, Theol. 3219; Gilmont, 1981, 35–6, no. 53³).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1566, H. II Estienne; **Antwerp**: 1567, W. Silvius; 1571, C. Plantin; **Frankfurt**: 1572, A. Wechel; **London**: 1581, H. Bynneman; 1598, A. Hatfield; **Oxford**: 1586, J. Barnes; **London**: 1592, Regius Typographus.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Bible Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 66); 1666, J. Janssonius,

Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. B1 'Brevier Griex' (Oxford, Bodlian Library, Marshall 148); 1670, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen*, 'Petit Graecum' (Mori, 1955, pl. 8); 1682, J.D. Fievet, *Iehova*, Frankfurt, 'Petit Graecum' (Mori, 1955, pl. 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, f. B 3 'Galjard Grieks' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Brevier Griex' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9; 13; wrongly attributed to Garamont); c.1714, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Brevier Griex', (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Fol. Var. ix, 110); post 1728, Voskens en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Epreuve de caracteres*, 'Brevier Griex', (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2, f. 65 [90]); post 1728, Voskens en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, Amsterdam, 'Brevier Griex', (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87 [63]); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Grec Petit Texte de Gran: No 20' (Mori, 1955, pl. 14); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Griex' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13; 18; there attributed to Garamont); 1764, P.-S. Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, t. 2, 163 'Grecs de Petit-texte'; except capitals (Fournier, 1995, 2: 163); c.1767, J.-F. Fournier, Paris, *Caracteres grecs*, 'Grec de Petit Texte' (Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. NAF 22434, f. 228); 1768, J. Enschedé, Haarlem, *Proef van Letteren*, f. o 2 'Brevier Grieks' no. 2' (Lane, 1993, 70); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 99 'Grec de Petit-texte' (Carter, 1969a, 73–4; attributed to Jean Picard le Jeune); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Grieks' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102; 1782, J. James, London, *Catalogue and specimen*, f. 13 'Brevier' (Mores, 1961, 110, no. 45); 1785, A.G. Mappa, Delft, *Epreuves de caracteres orientales*, 'Grec, Gaillarde. N: 9' (McMurtrie, 1924a, 62); 1812, Binny & Ronaldson, Philadelphia, *Specimen of printing types*, 'Brevier Greek' (Philadelphia, Library Company, Am 1812Bin/Tq40 B516[HSP]); 1822, J. Ronaldson, Philadelphia, *Specimen of printing type*, 'Brevier Greek' (Philadelphia, Library Company, Am 1822Ron/54151.O).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 59–60, 104a (Early inv., 1960, 29; attributed to Garamont); Haarlem, Museum Enschedé, Greek 584 (Enschedé, 1978, 107); and (after Lane, 1996, 112–13) Sheffield, Stephenson Blake.

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, small N, doubly-bracketed serifs of T; duplicate lower case φ.

VARIANT LETTERS From about 1560 on slightly smaller capitals (: 1.5 mm) succeed to the earlier capitals (: 1.6 mm).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [Breuiare] Grec de Hautin (Plantin, 1563); Lectre grecque grandeur de Breviaire Hotin (Plantin, 1563); [Byble] Grecq de Pierre Haultin (Plantin, 1581); Grec de petit Texte hautin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 29 (MA 59–60), 23 (MA 140–141), 17 (LMA 1); Mores, 1961, 110, n.45; Carter, 1969a, 73–4; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 15; 10, no. 66; Enschedé, 1978, 107, n.5; Lane, 1996, 112–13.

FIGURE 24a (opposite) Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553) as it appears in *Novum ... testamentum* [graece], Geneva, J. Crespin, 1553, p. 6. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 24b (opposite) Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553) as shown in Enschedé, 1978, p. 107. Courtesy of the Museum Enschedé, Haarlem.

6 EPISTOLA.

optimus ac benignissimus Deus illustre suæ
paternæ in nos voluntatis & charitatis testi-
monium extare voluit: in eadem etiam ap-
pareat huiusmodi disciplinæ & salutaris &
laudabilis nostra professio, ex qua nos gra-
tos, memores ac pios, omnes homines intel-
ligant ac cognoscant.

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

Κατὰ { Ματθαῖον.
Μάρκον.
Λουκᾶ.
Ἰωάννην.

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Γ Α Υ Λ Ο Υ Ε Π Ι Σ Τ Ο Λ Η

Πρὸς {

Ρωμ. αὐτοὺς.	Θεσσαλονικεῖς β.
Κορινθίους β.	Τιμόθεον β.
Γαλάτας.	Τίτην.
Εφεσίους.	Φιλήμονα.
Φιλιππησίους.	Εβραίους.
Κολοσσαεῖς.	

ΑΙ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

Ιακώβου. Ιωάννου γ.
 Πέτρου. Ιούδα.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

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 ୬୧ ୬୨ ୬୩ ୬୪ ୬୫ ୬୬ ୬୭ ୬୮ ୬୯ ୭୦ ୭୧ ୭୨ ୭୩ ୭୪ ୭୫ ୭୬ ୭୭ ୭୮ ୭୯ ୮୦ ୮୧ ୮୨ ୮୩ ୮୪ ୮୫ ୮୬ ୮୭ ୮୮ ୮୯ ୯୦
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• , ; -

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α/ξ

7a 7ay 7aw 7d 7p 7as 7au 7f 7g 7h 7i 7j 7k 7l 7m 7n 7o 7p 7q 7r 7s 7t 7u 7v 7w 7x 7y 7z
 7aa 7ab 7ac 7ad 7ae 7af 7ag 7ah 7ai 7aj 7ak 7al 7am 7an 7ao 7ap 7aq 7ar 7as 7at 7au 7av 7aw 7ax 7ay 7az
 7ba 7bb 7bc 7bd 7be 7bf 7bg 7bh 7bi 7bj 7bk 7bl 7bm 7bn 7bo 7bp 7bq 7br 7bs 7bt 7bu 7bv 7bw 7bx 7by 7bz
 7ca 7cb 7cc 7cd 7ce 7cf 7cg 7ch 7ci 7cj 7ck 7cl 7cm 7cn 7co 7cp 7cq 7cr 7cs 7ct 7cu 7cv 7cw 7cx 7cy 7cz
 7da 7db 7dc 7dd 7de 7df 7dg 7dh 7di 7dj 7dk 7dl 7dm 7dn 7do 7dp 7dq 7dr 7ds 7dt 7du 7dv 7dw 7dx 7dy 7dz
 7ea 7eb 7ec 7ed 7ee 7ef 7eg 7eh 7ei 7ej 7ek 7el 7em 7en 7eo 7ep 7eq 7er 7es 7et 7eu 7ev 7ew 7ex 7ey 7ez
 7fa 7fb 7fc 7fd 7fe 7ff 7fg 7fh 7fi 7fj 7fk 7fl 7fm 7fn 7fo 7fp 7fq 7fr 7fs 7ft 7fu 7fv 7fw 7fx 7fy 7fz
 7ga 7gb 7gc 7gd 7ge 7gf 7gg 7gh 7gi 7gj 7gk 7gl 7gm 7gn 7go 7gp 7gq 7gr 7gs 7gt 7gu 7gv 7gw 7gx 7gy 7gz
 7ha 7hb 7hc 7hd 7he 7hf 7hg 7hh 7hi 7hj 7hk 7hl 7hm 7hn 7ho 7hp 7hq 7hr 7hs 7ht 7hu 7hv 7hw 7hx 7hy 7hz
 7ia 7ib 7ic 7id 7ie 7if 7ig 7ih 7ii 7ij 7ik 7il 7im 7in 7io 7ip 7iq 7ir 7is 7it 7iu 7iv 7iw 7ix 7iy 7iz
 7ja 7jb 7jc 7jd 7je 7jf 7jg 7jh 7ji 7jj 7jk 7jl 7jm 7jn 7jo 7jp 7jq 7jr 7js 7jt 7ju 7jv 7jw 7jx 7jy 7jz
 7ka 7kb 7kc 7kd 7ke 7kf 7kg 7kh 7ki 7kj 7kk 7kl 7km 7kn 7ko 7kp 7kq 7kr 7ks 7kt 7ku 7kv 7kw 7kx 7ky 7kz
 7la 7lb 7lc 7ld 7le 7lf 7lg 7lh 7li 7lj 7lk 7ll 7lm 7ln 7lo 7lp 7lq 7lr 7ls 7lt 7lu 7lv 7lw 7lx 7ly 7lz
 7ma 7mb 7mc 7md 7me 7mf 7mg 7mh 7mi 7mj 7mk 7ml 7mm 7mn 7mo 7mp 7mq 7mr 7ms 7mt 7mu 7mv 7mw 7mx 7my 7mz
 7na 7nb 7nc 7nd 7ne 7nf 7ng 7nh 7ni 7nj 7nk 7nl 7nm 7nn 7no 7np 7nq 7nr 7ns 7nt 7nu 7nv 7nw 7nx 7ny 7nz
 7oa 7ob 7oc 7od 7oe 7of 7og 7oh 7oi 7oj 7ok 7ol 7om 7on 7oo 7op 7oq 7or 7os 7ot 7ou 7ov 7ow 7ox 7oy 7oz
 7pa 7pb 7pc 7pd 7pe 7pf 7pg 7ph 7pi 7pj 7pk 7pl 7pm 7pn 7po 7pp 7pq 7pr 7ps 7pt 7pu 7pv 7pw 7px 7py 7pz
 7qa 7qb 7qc 7qd 7qe 7qf 7qg 7qh 7qi 7qj 7qk 7ql 7qm 7qn 7qo 7qp 7qq 7qr 7qs 7qt 7qu 7qv 7qw 7qx 7qy 7qz
 7ra 7rb 7rc 7rd 7re 7rf 7rg 7rh 7ri 7rj 7rk 7rl 7rm 7rn 7ro 7rp 7rq 7rr 7rs 7rt 7ru 7rv 7rw 7rx 7ry 7rz
 7sa 7sb 7sc 7sd 7se 7sf 7sg 7sh 7si 7sj 7sk 7sl 7sm 7sn 7so 7sp 7sq 7sr 7ss 7st 7su 7sv 7sw 7sx 7sy 7sz
 7ta 7tb 7tc 7td 7te 7tf 7tg 7th 7ti 7tj 7tk 7tl 7tm 7tn 7to 7tp 7tq 7tr 7ts 7tt 7tu 7tv 7tw 7tx 7ty 7tz
 7ua 7ub 7uc 7ud 7ue 7uf 7ug 7uh 7ui 7uj 7uk 7ul 7um 7un 7uo 7up 7uq 7ur 7us 7ut 7uu 7uv 7uw 7ux 7uy 7uz
 7va 7vb 7vc 7vd 7ve 7vf 7vg 7vh 7vi 7vj 7vk 7vl 7vm 7vn 7vo 7vp 7vq 7vr 7vs 7vt 7vu 7vv 7vw 7vx 7vy 7vz
 7wa 7wb 7wc 7wd 7we 7wf 7wg 7wh 7wi 7wj 7wk 7wl 7wm 7wn 7wo 7wp 7wq 7wr 7ws 7wt 7wu 7wv 7ww 7wx 7wy 7wz
 7xa 7xb 7xc 7xd 7xe 7xf 7xg 7xh 7xi 7xj 7xk 7xl 7xm 7xn 7xo 7xp 7xq 7xr 7xs 7xt 7xu 7xv 7xw 7xx 7xy 7xz
 7ya 7yb 7yc 7yd 7ye 7yf 7yg 7yh 7yi 7yj 7yk 7yl 7ym 7yn 7yo 7yp 7yq 7yr 7ys 7yt 7yu 7yv 7yw 7yx 7yy 7yz
 7za 7zb 7zc 7zd 7ze 7zf 7zg 7zh 7zi 7zj 7zk 7zl 7zm 7zn 7zo 7zp 7zq 7zr 7zs 7zt 7zu 7zv 7zw 7zx 7zy 7zz

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[illegible]

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πα παυ παν παρ ωρι πας παυ πε ωρ
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९१ ९२ ९३ ९४

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25. Haultin's Small Pica Greek [Gk 76] or *Philosophie* (1549)

In the second book published in 1549 by the associates Haultin, Prévost, and the Widow Arn. Birckmann, the Dioscorides (Renouard, 1964, 4: 61–2, no. 88), the preface of the 'Typographus' to the reader (f. a2r) was probably written by the punchcutter P. Haultin, not by the printer B. Prévost. He claims that the types he had cut ('literarum formae quas exculpsi') were well received and first used in the Scriptures, i.e. the Greek New Testament quoted above. In his 1643 Memorandum, Guillaume II Le Bé relates that Haultin worked for a long time on its punches, starting on them in 1530 – an improbably early date (Carter, 1967, 31).

This attribution is confirmed by the Plantin inventories (Early inv., 1960, 13, MA 142–143) and a passage in a letter of C. Plantin, dated 7 July 1567, to his Paris friend and associate, Pierre Porret. Apart from the reference to Haultin it throws an interesting light on the ways matrices were commercialized in the mid-sixteenth century; it runs as follows:

'Dauantage ie vous prie aussi de macheter de Hautin vne frappe bien complete de son grec que nous appellons Cicero ou median qui est celuy dont iay imprimé la gramaire de Clénard in 8° et diuerses autres sortes. Or me seroit il besoing que ieusse le tout dedans la fin de ce mois de Juillet ou au commencement d'Aoust, ou au plus tard deuant la myAoust, dautant qu a la dernière foire de franckfort, ie me suis obligé denuoyer ou de porter moymesmes audict franckfort vne frappe dudict grec de Hautin ce que toutefois il n est pas besoing de declarer audict Hautin de peur qu il ne se tint trop fier et cher' (Plant. Arch. 7, 27v; Rooses-Denucé, 1883, 1: 119).

[‘Moreover I also beg you to buy from Hautin a very complete strike of his Greek which we call cicero of median, which is the one with which I have printed the grammar of Clénard in 8° and several other items. And I ought to have the whole before the end of the month of July or in the very beginning of August, or at latest before mid-August, because at the last Frankfurt Fair I have obliged myself to send or to bring myself to the said Frankfurt a strike of the said Greek of Hautin, which, however, is not to be told to the said Hautin for fear that he becomes too presumptuous and expensive.’]

Despite the ascription of this typeface to Granjon in the 1592 Berner specimen, its style, dates of occurrence and distribution a.o. in Geneva and La Rochelle corroborate fully the attribution to Haultin by Plantin.

Technically the face is a Small Pica (72/76 mm), but it was usually cast on a Pica gauge and referred to in that way. In this size, it had to compete with the Garamont and Granjon Pica Greeks. Ostensibly it was modelled after the second Grec du Roi (a Pica or *Cicéro*) cut by

Garamont and used by Robert Estienne from 1546 onwards. Haultin borrowed from the latter the example to inaugurate the new type with the publication of the Gospels. It was presumably this typeface that M. Ant. Muretus praised in a letter to Paolo Manuzio, dated 6 May 1558 (Muretus, 1580, 7).

Except for its capitals (which betray Haultin's hand) the lower case is hard to distinguish from Garamont's Pica Greek. They are so similar that Renouard (1843, 73, no. 1) and Proctor (1905, 107) were misled to think them identical. I found the smallish β and φ the best letters for Haultin's lower case, together with the non-descending iota in the *ée*-ligatures.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 76 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1549, Paris, P. Haultin & B. Prevost (*Novum testamentum graece*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 27.27; Renouard, 1964, 4: 60–1, no. 87).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1549, Widow of A. Birckmann; 1557, G. Gourbin; 1558, M. Vascosan; 1561, G. Cavellat; Geneva: 1553, J. Crespin; 1594, Heirs of E. Vignon; Venice: 1557, P. Manutius; 1570, A. II Manutius; 1575, J. Varisco; Antwerp: 1562, C. Plantin; 1569, W. Silvius; Leipzig: 1563, E. Voegelin; 1572, A. Schneider; Strasbourg: 1572, T. Rihel; London: 1578, J. Day (more references in Proctor, 1905, 116); Oxford: 1586, J. Barnes; Naples: 1590, H. Salviani; La Rochelle: 1591, J. Haultin; Eton: 1610, J. Norton; Cambridge: 1619, C. Legge.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. B 1 'Menander apud Plut.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 13); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 55 'Median Grecq' (Plant. arch. 43); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdruksel van alle de letteren*, 'Mediaen Griecx' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 15, nr. 18); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Philosophie Grecque'; 'Mediane Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9–10, nos. 42 and 51); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. Cicero de GranIon' (Mori, 1955, pl. 3; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2); 1608, H. Hornschuh, Leipzig, *Orthotypographia*, p. 36 'Cicero Graecum' (Gaskell, 1972, 36); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. R2 'Greco Filosofia'; f. R4 'Greco Garamone' (Vervliet, 1967, 37, no. 66); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. A 4vo 'Mediaen Griex' (diverging sorts; Oxford, Bodl., Marshall 148); c.1686, Oxford University Press, Oxford, [*Christ Church Specimen*], 'Pica Greek' (Morison, 1967, pl. 10); 1693 [& 1695 & 1706], Oxford University Press, Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, f. 23, 'Pique Greek' (Hart, 1970, 179); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. 4v 'Grec de cicero Numero XXXVI' (mutilated; Johnson, 1965); c.1757, Oxford University Press, Oxford, *A Specimen of several sorts*, 'Pica Greek' (Simmons, 1956); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. 4v 'Grec de cicero Numero XXXVI' (mutilated; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); 1764, P.-S. Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, t. 2, p. 164 'Grecs de Petit-romain'; p. 166 'Grecs de Philosophie' (Fournier, 1995, 2: 164, 166); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 101 'Grec de Philosophie'; f. 102 'Grec de Cicero' (Carter, 1969a, 74–5); 1782, J. James, London, *Catalogue and specimen*, f. 12 'Small Pica' (Mores, 1961, 110, no. 42).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 142–143; Early inv., 1960, 13).

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, broad N, doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; smallish Φ; small lower case β and φ.

VARIANT LETTERS Before 1553 Haultin added a doubly twisted ξ to the originally thrice twisted ξ one and a broader φ.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [Mediane] grec de Hautin

26. Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560)

The attribution of this Greek by Plantin to Haultin (Early inv., 1960, 10, MA 32–33) is confirmed by its use by Manuzio and Crespin, both known customers of Haultin and by the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 21). I failed to see it in Haultin's own imprints, but the style of its capitals are manifestly his. In his 1618 inventory, Le Bé lists three Greeks on English – by Haultin, Granjon, and Villiers. The lower cases of all three obviously are based on the Vergikios-Garamont design of the Grecs du Roy (1543) and they are hard to differentiate. Apart from their capitals, the best letters for identification are Haultin's ϕ , which has a short right arm and his simple δ , ending on a straight flat horizontal stroke.

The attribution to Haultin of Fell's Great Primer Greek no. 1 (Morison, 1967, 102–3) and Enschedé's *Augustyn Grieksch* no. 2 (Lane, 1993, 69–70) is disputable. As far as I know, the Fell type first occurs in 1556. It could have been cut by Villiers (22). Conversely, a Great Primer, appearing in 1590 at the press of F. Giuliani in Venice (Layton, 1994, 168, fig. 143) could be Haultin's.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 96 x 1.7 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1560, **Venice**, P. Manuzio (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thucydidis historia iudicium*; Amsterdam, University Library, 2370 D33; Renouard, 1834, 181, no. 15); and 1560, **Venice**, A. Rartouros (A. Rartouros, *Didachai*; after Layton, 1994, 165, fig. 141a).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Antwerp**: 1562, C. Plantin; 1568, W. Silvius; **Geneva**: 1562, J. Crespin; 1580, J. des Planches; **Venice**: 1562,

C. Zanetti; 1573, F. de Franceschi; 1590, F. Giuliani (more references in Layton, 1994, 54, n.138); **Bordeaux**: 1576, S. Millanges; **Zurich**: 1579, Chr. II Froschauer; **Lyons**: 1581, A. Gryphius; **Rome**: 1581, F. Zanetti; 1591, Stampa Vaticana; **Franker**: 1588, G. van den Rade.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. B 1 'Qualis hominum vita' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 12); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdrukkel van alle de letteren*, 'Augustijn Griecx' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 15, no. 17); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Augustine Grecque'; 'Petite Augustine Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, nos. 29, 35); c.1740, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, *A specimen of the letters*, 'English Greek much used' (McKitterick, 1984, 91, no. 74); c.1767, J.-F. Fournier, Paris, *Caracteres grecs*, 'Grec de Saint Augustin' and the lower case of 'Grec de Gros Texte' (Paris, Bib. nation., ms. NAF 22434); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 103 'Grec de St. Augustin' (Carter, 1969a, 75); c.1790, B. Franklin Bache, Philadelphia, *A specimen of printing types*, [f. 4] 'English Greek' (McMurtrie, 1925).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 32, 33 (Early inv., 1960, 10).

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, broad N, doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; smallish Φ ; small-bowled lower case β ; simple π ending on a straight flat stroke.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Grec [augustin] dudit Haultin (Plantin, 1561); [Augustin] Grec de Haultin (Plantin, 1563); Grec St Augustin Haultin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 10, MA 32–33; Carter, 1969a, 75; Vervliet-Carter, 3, no. 12; Layton, 1994, 41, 307; Lane, 1996, 125.

FIGURE 26a Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560), cast on a Great Primer body, as it occurs in *Lexicon sive dictionarium graecolatinum*, Geneva, J. Crespin, 1562, f. 42. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

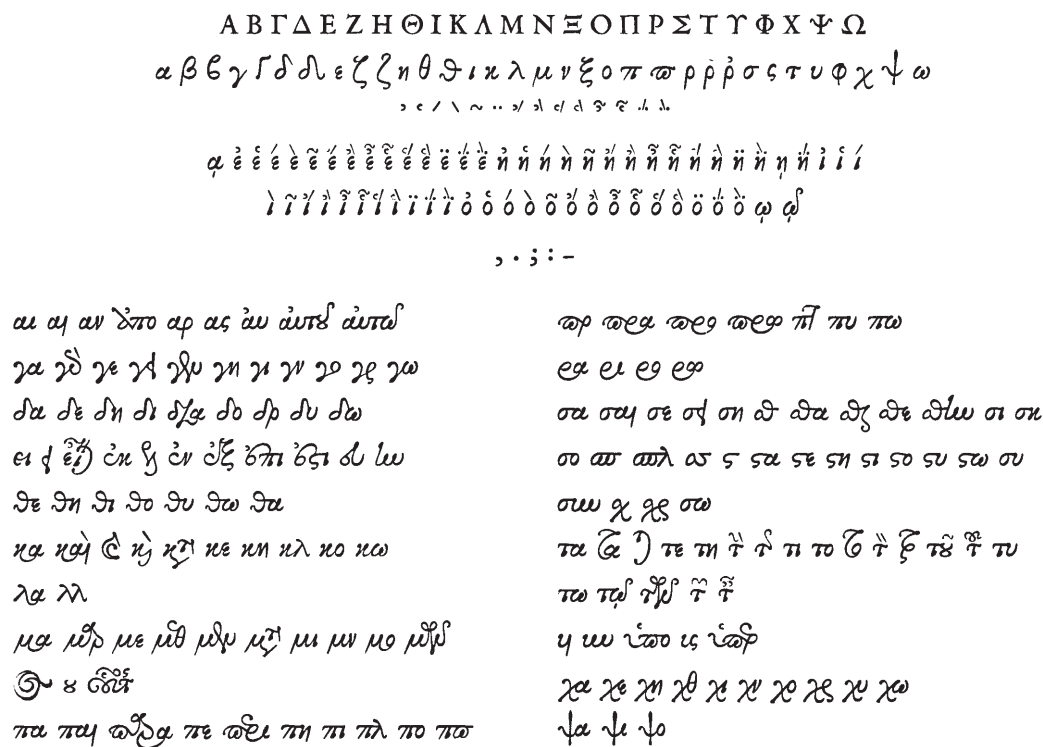
FIGURE 26b (opposite, above) Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (MA 32–33). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Ρ. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΑΤΡΟΣ

ΕΤ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ.



ΓΣ, δύο, ξεῖς ἐνιαυτοὶ, καὶ δὴ ἑτέταρτον ἔτος, ὀλίγη δὲ ἡμεῖς, ἥδη μοι πάρελθον, ὡς φιλοφίλτατε Κύριε, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἀρχολούμην ἐχὼ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν συνταγματικὴν πραγματείαν, ὥστε δύναισθαι μόνον τῇ ταύτης χαλκογραφούντων πολυχειρὶα χαρακτηρίσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ὑποτιπάζουσα ἅπερ καὶ πρόωπαλα, ἡ ἀποδαίως γράφειν ἐπεχειρησάμεν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐχὼ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐργαστοφασίζεσθαι, ὃ καὶ οὖν ἐμοὶ βελομένῳ ἀνείη, ταῦτα δὲ ὑπογράψαι καὶ παρημελημένως ἀπεχιδιόσθαι. Αἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ δεινῶν ῥητόρων, οἱ τινες δὲ ἀπειραν ἐκ παντὸς διώκοντες, καὶ τοῦ γλαφυρῶς μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦ ἀφελῶς ἡ ἀληθῶς λέγειν σοχάζοντα. Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀνεὺς ὑποβολῆς, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἀληθὲς αἰὶν ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐ χύδην, καὶ ὑπερβαλῶς ὡς αὐτοχρηδίασμα ἐστὶ φιλεῖ, ταῦτα τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἡμεῖς ἐχιδιόσμεν, οὕτως ὡς φιλοπονεῖν τὸ σύνγραμμα τὸ, καὶ δι' ὄνυχον ἀκριβοῦν οὐχ' οἷόν



27. Haultin's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553)

The Greek titling, which Crespin uses as first title line of his delicious 1553 *Kainè Diathèkè*, is wholly in Haultin's style; no doubt these capitals were the companion sorts for his Roman titling on the same size, likewise introduced by Crespin in 1553. However, I doubt whether Crespin's Greek titling of 5.5 mm is Haultin's.

SIZE Two-line Brevier (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte*); : 4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1553, Geneva, J. Crespin (*Kainè Diathèkè*; Ghent, University Library, Theol. 3219; Gilmont, 1981, 35–6, no. 53³).

EARLY APPEARANCE 1560, Venice, A. Rartouros (after Layton, 1994, 165, fig. 141a).

TYPE-SPECIMEN c.1770, W. Haas, Basle, *Epreuves des caracteres d'usage ordinaire*, f. 13 'Gros-parangon' (Basle, Schweizerisches Papiermuseum).

KEY LETTERS Cupped terminal of capital A; steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, broad E; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T.

FIGURE 27 Haultin's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553) as shown in *Lexicon sive dictionarium graecolatinum*, Geneva, J. Crespin, 1562, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

ΙΑΚΩΒΩ ΤΩ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΥΞΕΜΒΟΥΡ-
ΓΙΩΝ, ΚΩΜΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΝΝΙΟΥ,
ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΜΕΡΣΕΤΟΥ ΛΙΓΕΡΙΣΚΟΥ
ΚΥΡΙΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ,

28. Haultin's First Great Primer

single-impression mensural music [M 4.9]
or *Gros-romain* (1554)

This music type may be attributed to Haultin on the basis of its occurrence in Geneva in the 1550s and its similarity with the next music type of the same size. Apart from its different C time signature and space direct, the heads of the minims and semi-minims of the latter are designed more forcefully and its C clef is somewhat narrower.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 4.9 : 4.3 mm.⁶⁵

FIRST SEEN IN 1554, **Geneva**, S. Du Bosc & G. Gueroult (*Liber primus (-secundus) motetorum*; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Mus. SA 78 F 47; RISM, 1554^{12–13}; Guillo, 1991, 445, nos. 8–9).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1558, M. de La Roche; c.1559, M. Du Boys; 1566, J. Bonnefoy (more references in Guillo, 1991, 395–6, no. 139).

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with short bar inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines; space direct reaching the second line.

LITERATURE Guillo, 1991, 395–6, no. 139

FIGURE 28 Haultin's First Great Primer music [M 4.9] or *Gros-romain* (1554) as it occurs in [Clemens non Papa], *Quintus liber modularum*, Geneva, S. Du Bosc, 1556, p. 16–17. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.



29. Haultin's Second Great Primer

single-impression mensural music [M 4.9]
or *Gros-romain* (1561)

This music appears first in an unsigned Psalter attributable to the Rouen Protestant printer, Abel Clemence (Gilmont, 1972, 176, n.2). The type is ascribed to Haultin on the basis of the style of the solmization letters (see below, 36) and its occurrence at presses of known customers of Haultin and later at his own La Rochelle press. It is all but identical with the music described in (28), easily discernible differences being the G clef and the C time signature. More research is needed to ascertain whether the 1562 Le Jeune music, cited above in the rubric 'Early appearances' differs from this type (as Noailly, 1988, 2: 355, no. 3 maintains) or not.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 4.9 : 4.3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1561, **Rouen**, [A. Clemence] (*Pseaumes de David*; Paris, Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, André 155).

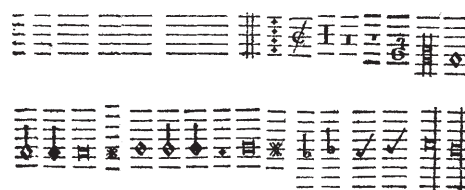
EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1562, F. Perrin; 1568, J.-B. Pinereul (more references in Guillo, 1991, 391, no. 134); **Paris**: 1562, M. Le Jeune; **Lyons**: 1564, G. Cotier; **La Rochelle**: 1572, P. Haultin; 1590, J. Haultin.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1764, P.-S. Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, t. 1, 45–6 'Musique des Huguenots'; t. 2, 176 'Musique des pseaumes, pour les Protestants' (Fournier, 1995).

KEY SORTS: G clef with 3-shaped upper curl; barred-C time signature with bar inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines, nearly meeting the first and fifth staff line; space direct nearly meeting the third staff line; solmization letters M and R.

LITERATURE Noailly, 1988, 2: 353–4, no. 2; Guillo, 1991, 319, no. 134.

FIGURE 29 Haultin's Second Great Primer music [M 4.9] or *Gros-romain* (1561), named 'Musique des Huguenots', as it appears in P.-S. Fournier, *Manuel typographique*, Paris, 1764–66, vol. 1, p. 46. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



65. For the music types, the height in mm of the staff of five lines is given (measured from the middle of the tickness of the top and

bottom lines), followed by that of a (not-nested) minim falling on a line and preferably not projecting from the staff (Heartz, 1967, 704).

30. The 'Le Royer' Great Primer
single-impression mensural music [M 5.1]
or *Gros-romain* (1561)

This music appears at first in 1561, in a psalter without imprint. It exhibits an uncommon, newly cut civilité type (Carter-Vervliet, 1966, 62, type B3), which solely Le Royer used in the years 1561–63. The publication has been assigned to the press of Le Royer, acting with the royal calligrapher Pierre Hamon and the engraver Philippe Danfrie. The music type appears also in 1562 in a psalm book published jointly by Le Royer and the bookseller Le Preux and in another one by Richard Breton, also a known customer of Danfrie.

Noailly (1988, 2: 356) attributes this music to Haultin on the basis of its style and Haultin's presence in the 'Communion' of 1562, a contract of the Geneva publisher Antoine Vincent and nineteen Paris printers to publish the 'Pseaulmes de David mis en rigme et musique' (Droz, 1957, 282). The attribution is debatable; Philippe Danfrie,

a punchcutter too, was also within the agreement and this music typeface appears only at the presses of two known customers of Danfrie, viz. Le Royer and R. Breton.

A firm attribution to Haultin certainly needs more confirmation. Whether it is shown in the 1742 Lamesle specimen as 'Musique de Gros Parangon' (Johnson, 1965, f. Aa) deserves more research.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 5.1 : 4.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1561, [Paris, J. Le Royer], *Pseaumes de David*; Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, Et. Pat. Rés. xvi A-34.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1562, R. Breton, J. Le Preux & J. Le Royer.

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with bar inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines, nearly meeting the first and fifth staff line.

LITERATURE Noailly, 1988, 2: 356, no. 4.

FIGURE 30 A Great Primer music [M 5.1] or *Gros-romain*, possibly by Haultin (1561) as it occurs in *Les cent et cinquante pseaumes de David*, Paris, R. Breton, 1562, f. A1. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire Neuchâtel.



Beatus vir qui non abiit.

P S E A V M E I. C L. M A.

Ce Pseume chante, que ceux sont bien-heureux, qui
reiettant les mœurs & le conseil des mauuais s'adon-
nent à cognoître & mettre à effect la Loy de Dieu : &
mal-heureux ceux qui font au contraire.

Vi au conseil des malins n'a e-
sté, Qui n'est au trac des pecheurs arresté
Qui des, moqueurs au banc place n'a
prise: Mais nuit & iour la loy contem-
ple & prise De l'Eternel & en est desireux:
A

31. Haultin's First Double Pica
single-impression mensural music [M 6.2]
or *Gros-parangon* (1562)

The attribution of this music rests first on its distribution and dates of occurrences, secondly on the style of its solmization letters (see below, 36), that are wholly in Haultin's style.

This type can be distinguished from an all but identical music (6.2 : 5.6), used in Lyons and Geneva, a.o. by Michel Du Boys, from 1555 on (Guillo, 1991, 383-4, no. 126). The bar of the C time signature of the latter is shorter and slightly more inclined to the right and the tail of its line direct is less slanted. While the music proper of the Du Boys face could be by Haultin (the flat could be his), the substandard solmization syllables are definitely not in his style.

SIZE Double Pica (*Gros-parangon*); 6.2 : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1562, Rouen, A. Clemence (*Les CL. Pseaumes de David*; Moulins, Bibliothèque municipale, Res. 8° 24899 b).

EARLY APPEARANCES Orleans: 1565, L. Rabier; Paris: 1566, A. Vincent; 1567, P. Haultin; La Rochelle: 1577, P. Haultin; 1589, J. Haultin.

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with bar inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines; very slanted and short tail of line direct, extending just over one staff line; solmization letters M and R.

LITERATURE Noailly, 1988, 2: 356, no. 6.

FIGURE 31 Haultin's First Double Pica music [M 6.2] or *Gros-parangon* (1562) as it occurs in *Les CL. Pseaumes de David*, Paris, P. Haultin, 1567, f. H8v. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

P'SEAVME XLVII. TH. BE.

ARGVM.
Câique de resouit-
fance, châté quand
l'Arche fut pose
en Ierusalem, la-
quelle estoit le tes-
moignage de l'alli-
ce faite avec le Sei-
gneur, & par mes-
me moyen figure de
la venue de Iesus
Christ en son Egli-
se, par lequel Dieu
est recôcilie aux hom-
mes. Parquoy le
Propheie passe plus
oultre, declaré que
en ceste alliance se-
royent compriés nō
seulement les iuis,
mais aussi les Em-
pires & plus puis-
sants Royaumes de
la terre, qui cognoi-
ssoynt le vray Dieu
pour leur souverain
Seigneur & Roy.
Omnes gentes.
1 Au maistre Châ-
tre des enfans de
Coré Pleume.
2 O^{es} peuples
claquez des
mains, & chantez
hautement à Dieu
en voix gaye.
3 Car le Seigneur
est souverain & ter-
rible, & grand Roy
sur toute la terre.

R fus tous humains, Frappez
en vos mains: Qu'oye sonner, Qu'oye
oye entonner Le Noī solennel
de Dieu en cel. 3 C'est le Dieu
tres haut, Que crâdre il n'o^u faut: Le
grand Roy qui fait Seoir en effect,
Sa force au trauers De tout l'uniers.

4 Sous

32. Haultin's Second Double Pica
single-impression mensural music [M 6.6]
or *Gros-parangon* (1563)

This type is only attributed to Haultin on the basis of its date, the style of its solmization letters and its appearance at the press of Cotier, an associate of Haultin.

SIZE Double Pica (*Gros-parangon*); 6.6 : 5.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1563, Geneva, Fr. II Estienne & A. Vincent (*Les Pseaumes mis en rime françoise*; The Hague, Royal Library, 489 G 6: 2; Guillo, 1991, 389).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1564, G. Cotier, N. Perrineau.

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with bar inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines; solmization letters M and R.

LITERATURE Guillo, 1991, 389, no. 132.

FIGURE 32 Haultin's Second Double Pica music (M 6.6) as it occurs in *Les pseaumes mis en rime françoise*, Geneva, Fr. II Estienne, 1563, p. 1. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.



PSEAVME. I. CL. MA.

Ce P seauue châte, que ceux sont bien-heureux qui
reietans les mœurs & le conseil des mauuais, s'adon-
nent à cognoistre & mettre à effect la Loy de Dieu: &
mal-heureux ceux qui font au contraire.

VI au cōseil des malins n'a este, Qui
n'est au trac des pecheurs ar resté, Qui des mo-
queurs au banc place n'a prise, Mais nuit & iour
la Loy cōtemple & prise De l'Eternel, & en est
desireux: Certainemēt cestuy-la est heureux.

a.j.

33. Haultin's First Two-line Pica
single-impression mensural music [M 7]
or *Palestine* (1559)

This music type is assigned to Haultin on the basis of the style of its solmisation syllables and the date and place of its first occurrence. Guillo (1991, 396, no. 142) seemingly fails to discriminate it from a smaller and as yet unattributed music occurring in Geneva in the same years.

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Palestine*); 7 : 6.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1559, Geneva, J. Bonnefoy (*Octanteneuf pseumes de David*; Leipzig, Musikbibliothek, II.1.8°.4; Guillo, 1991, 451, no. 40).

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with bar slightly inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines; solmisation letters M and R.

FIGURE 33 Haultin's First Two-line Pica music [M 7] or *Palestine* (1559) as it occurs in *Octanteneuf pseumes de David*, Geneva, J. Bonnefoy, 1559, p. 32. Courtesy of the Musikbibliothek der Leipziger Städtische Bibliotheken.

32 P S E A V M E X V.

O qui & quand de Sion sortira
Pour Israel secours en sa souffrance?
Quand Dieu mettra son peuple à deliurâce,
De ioyc adonc Israel iouira,
Iacob rira.

Domine quis habitabit.

P S E A V M E X V. C L M A R.

¶ Ce Pseume chant: de quelles mœurs doivent estre ornez les vrais citoyen
des ciens.

Q V T O

Vi est-ce qui conuer sera, O

Seigneur, en ton tabernacle? Et qui est

celui qui sera Si heureux q par grace au-

ra Sur ton sainct môt seur habitacle?

Ce fera celuy droictement
Qui va rondement en belongne:
Qui ne fait rien que iustement,
Et dont la bouche appertement
Verité en son cœur tesmoigne.

Qui par sa langue point ne fait
Rapport qui los d'autruy efface,

34. Haultin's Second Two-line Pica
single-impression mensural music [M 7]
or *Palestine* (1565)

This type is only attributed to Haultin on the basis of its date and its appearance at the press of a customer of Haultin's. See above (3) and (12), s.v. 'Early appearances'.

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Palestine*); 7 : 6.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1565, **Saint-Lo**, Thomas Bouchard & Jacques Le Bas (*Les Pseumes de David*; Emden, Lasco Bibliothek, Theol. 8aa 799 R).

EARLY APPEARANCE **Saint-Lo**: 1567, Jacques Le Bas.

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with bar inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines.

FIGURE 34 Haultin's Second Two-line Pica music [M 7] or *Palestine* (1565) as it occurs in *Les pseumes de David*, Saint Lo, Th. Bouchard & J. Le Bas, 1565, p. 17. Courtesy of the St.-Bernards Abbey, Bornem.

17

P S E A V. V I. C. M.

Domine, ne in furore tuo.

David affligé de la main de Dieu, recognoist auoir par
sa coulpe prouoqué l'ire d'iceluy, & afin d'estre soulagé,
demande pardon de ses pechez, se complaint qu'il ne le
pourra pas louer, s'il ne le retire du danger de mort: puis
s'estant fortifié, magnifie la grace de Dieu, & tourne son
propos vers ses ennemis qui se refouissoient de ses maux.

N E V U E I L L E P A S, Ô S I R E, M E

repandre en ton ire, Moy qui t'ay

irrité: N'en ta fureur terrible

Mepunir de l'horrible Tourment qu'ay

merité.

¶ S E I G N E U R n e
me repren
point en ton ire,
& ne me cha
stie point en ta
fureur.

ANNOY. a Il ne se plaint pas que Dieu le traite en trop
grande rigueur, mais il desire que la peine qu'il a meritee soit adoucie, &
combien qu'il soit digne d'estre reduit à neant, que toutefois il ne pour-
roit porter la seuerité de Dieu, s'il estoit traité selon ses demerites.

B. i.

35. Haultin's Two-line English-Bodied
single-impression mensural music [M 8.2]
or *Petit-canon* (1551)

The attribution of this type to Haultin is secured by a letter, dated 5 September 1551, of the Geneva printer Jean Crespin to Christopher Fabri, author of a small musical treatise, titled 'Le petit sentier de musique'. Crespin apologizes for being late. 'Votre sentier, he writes, seroit ia manumissus si Me Pierre le tailleur m'avoit rendu le tout qui est besoing d'y faire' (Droz, 1970, 2: 218–22; 3, 373; Gilmont, 1981, 11–20, nos. 51⁶ and 51^{16*}). The *Petit Sentier* has been lost; the *Pseumes octantetrois* cited above and dating from December 1551 contain the earliest music type used by Crespin. Haultin's somewhat bigger type is well designed and rather more advanced than the music typefaces which Jean Girard used in 1542 and 1550 for respectively, Calvin's *Forme des prieres* (Pidoux, 1959) and the *Doict chemin de musique* of Loys Bourgeois (Gaillard, 1954).

From 1552 on the Paris printer Fezandat uses a music fount, which is all but identical to Crespin's type though a bit bigger (8.6/7.8 mm); this may have been cut by Granjon (Noailly, 1988, 2: 363, no. 10). Apart from its dimensions, the distinctive features of the 'Granjon' type are the C time signature whose bar is slightly inclined to the right and its directs whose double ticks are joined.

SIZE Two-line English (*Petit-canon*); 8.2 : 6.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1551, **Geneva**, J. Crespin (*Pseumes octantetrois de David*; Rutgers, New Brunswick, N.J., University Library, XBS 1443.F8332; Johns, 1973; Gilmont, 1981, 11–13, no. 51⁶).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Lausanne**: 1556, J. Rivery (after Guillo, 1991, 395, no. 138); **Geneva**: 1557, J. Girard (id.).

KEY SORTS: C time signature with perpendicular bar over 3 staff lines.

LITERATURE Guillo, 1991, 385, no. 138.

FIGURE 35 Haultin's Two-line English-Bodied music (M 8.2) as it occurs in *Octante trois pseumes de David*, Geneva, J. Crespin, 1555, p. 154–5. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, Paris.

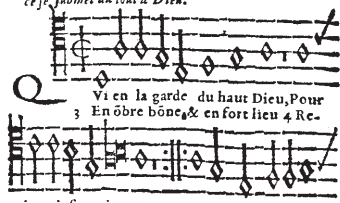
154 PSEAVME XCI.

Combien est court le cours de nostre vie,
A celle fin que nous n'ayons enuie
De l'employer qu'à ta sagesse apprendre.
Retourne hélas, combien languirons nous
Et sur tes serfs appaise ton courroux.
Dès le matin ta bonté nous remplit
A celle fin qu'en liesse & en joye
Le cours entier de nos iours s'accomplisse:
Et tout plaisir maintenant nous otroye,
En lieu des ans & iours tant doloireux,
Qu'auons senty ton courroux rigoureux.
En tes seruans soit ton œuvre apparente,
Et ta grandeur en leurs enfans reluise:
Entour de nous soit la gloire excellente
De nostre Dieu, & nos œuvres conduise,
Voire, Seigneur, de nous, pource humains,
Conduy toujours & l'ouvrage & les mains.

Qui habitat in adiutorio Altissimi.

PSEAVME XCI CL. MA.


Le Prophete chante en quelle foye, & de com-
bien de maux est exempté celui qui d'une ferme foy
se fuyt du tout à Dieu.



Vi en la garde du haut Dieu, Pour
3 En oïre bone, & en fort lieu 4 Re-

jamais se re ti re, Cœlu donc en l'eten-
ti re se peut di re: demer,

PSEAVME XCI. 155



demer, Dieu est ma garde seure, Ma hau te
tour & fondement, Sur lequel ie m'asseu re.
Car du subtil laqs des chassours,
Et de toute l'outrance
Des pestiferes oppresseurs,
Te donra deliurance,
De ses plumes te couvrira,
Seur feras sou: son aile,
Sa defense te seruira
De targe & de rondelle.
Si que de nuit ne craindras point
Chose qui espouuante,
Ne dard ne fagette, qui poind
De iour en l'air volante:
N'aucune peste cheminante
Lors qu'en tenebres sommes,
Ne mal soudain excommunié.
En plein midi les hommes,
Quand à ta dextre il en chatoie
Mille, & mille à l'enfer.
Leur mal de roy n'approcheroit,
Quelque mal que puisse estre,
Ains, sans effroy, deuant tes yeux
Tu les verras desfaire,
Regardant les pechieux
Recevoir leur salaire.
Et tout pour auoir dis à Dieu,
Tu es la garde micenne,

36. Haultin's Solmization notation to Petreius's
Two-line Great Primer single-impression
mensural music [M 9.2] or *Trismégiste* (1556)

As an aid for the less educated singer, the Geneva printer Jean Girard introduced in 1550, the technique of printing the words or syllables of the text within the staff next to each note (Gaillard, 1954). A further step was to print the syllable of the note (in Geneva) or its first letter (elsewhere) next to it. The system is known as solmization; it became the hall-mark of Protestant psalters (Krummel, 1975, 71–3). Its invention is commonly credited to Pierre Vallette, the then Geneva cantor: it was first used in the *Octanteneuf Pseaulmes* printed by Du Bosc in 1556 (Guillo, 1991, 90). Du Bosc's music notes proper seem to originate from Germany and possibly were engraved about 1537 by their first user, Johann Petreius of Nuremberg; they were used in Lyons by the Beringi brothers and occur in their inventory as 'noctes grandes d'Allemaigne' (Baudrier, 3;

37). But the design of the newly invented solmization syllables definitely points to Haultin (the solmization letters preserved in MA 74 of the Plantin-Moretus Museum do not belong to this set, *pace* Guillo, 1997, 213).

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Trismégiste*); 9.2 : 7.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1556, Geneva, S. Du Bosc (*Octanteneuf pseaulmes*; The Hague, Royal Library, 1703 H 5:1; Guillo, 1991, 448–9, no. 29).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1562, M. Blanchier.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 92a; only music types; no solmization notation; not mentioned in the Plantin inventories).

KEY SORTS: Capitals M and R of the solmization notation in typical Haultin style.

LITERATURE Krummel, 1985, 83–4, no. 3; Guillo, 1991, 381, no. 124; Guillo, 1997, 213–14.

FIGURE 36 Haultin's solmization notation to Petreius's Two-line Great Primer music [M 9.2] or *Trismégiste* (1556) as it occurs in *Octanteneuf pseaulmes mis en rithme françoise*, Geneva, S. Du Bosc, 1556, f. A2v-A3. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

PSEAVLME II.

murmurer les mei ne? Pour-

quoy font tant les peuples di li gens

A mettre sus vne en tre-

pri se vai ne? Bandez se

font les grans Roys de la ter re,

Et les primats ont bien tant pre-

PSEAVLME II.

fu mé, De con spi rer & vou-

loir fai re guerre, Tous contre

Dieu & son Roy bien ay mé.

Difans entreux, desrompons & brifons
Tous les liens dont lier nous pretendent,
Au loing de nous iettons & mesprifons
Le ioug lequel mettre sur nous s'attendent.
Mais cestuy-la qui les hauts cieux habite
Ne s'en fera que rire de là haut:
Le Tout-puissant, de leur facon despite
Se moquera: car d'eux il ne luy chaut.

Lors, s'il luy plaist, parler à eux viendra
En son courroux, plus qu'autre espouantable,
Et tous ensemble estonnez les rendra.
En sa fureur terrible & redoutable.
Roys, dira-il, dont vient ceste entreprise?
De mon vray Roy i'ay fait election:
Le l'ay sacré, la couronne il ha prise

A 3

37. Haultin's First Two-line Great Primer
single-impression mensural music [M 9.4]
or *Trismégiste* (1549)

This music is the first typeface we can attribute with confidence to Pierre Haultin; in August 1546 he sold the punches and matrices to Nicolas Du Chemin, who was, as far as I know, its sole user (Lesure, 1953, 270–1; Parent, 1974, 70; 74, n.1). As a music publisher the Paris bookseller Du Chemin (1549–76) was a competitor of the aging Pierre Attaignant, the earliest user and perhaps the inventor of single-impression music notes. P.-S. Fournier (1765, 5–6) ascribed Attaignant's music types (1528–) to Haultin, but that seems a personal deduction rather than a proven fact; it is nowadays considered as faulty (Hartz, 1969, 52–5).

Punches and matrices of a 'moienne musique maigre' or 'vielle' are attributed to Haultin in the c.1618 inventory (Morison, 1957, 23; 26) of the younger Le Bé, who, probably in 1617, acquired the Du Chemin typefoundry (Fournier, 1765, 6).

The long slanted barred-C time signature is the main characteristic of this fount; it differentiates this type from Du Chemin's second typeface on this size (1554–;

Noailly, 1988, 2: 368, no. 15; Guillo, 1991, 392, no. 136) as well as from other sixteenth-century 'moienne musique', a.o. by Attaignant, Petreius, Granjon, Van den Keere and Haultin himself (see 38 and 39).

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Trismégiste*); 9.4 : 9.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1549, Paris, Nicolas Du Chemin (Cl. Janequin, *Premier livre contenant xxviiij Pseaulmes de David*; Orleans, Bibliothèque municipale, Rés. 8° C 3459(d); Lesure, 1953, 288–9, no. 1).

KEY SORTS: C clef slanted downwards; barred-C time signature with diagonal bar extending over whole staff; G clef extending over three spaces; double tick directs; left tick of space direct raised.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Une notte de musique que ledit Hautin taille de present (contract Haultin-Du Chemin, 1546); promet led. Avril imprimer pour led. Haultin de lad. notte une rame de papier par chascun jour (contract Haultin-Avril, 1546); vente de poinçons et matrices d'une notte de musique [...] nagueres taillees par ledit Haultin (id., 1547); Musique moienne hautin maigre, 86 m[atrices]; Musique moyenne hautin, Vielle [number of punches not indicated] (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Noailly, 1988, 2: 364, no. 11.

FIGURE 37 Haultin's First Two-line Great Primer music [M 9.4] or *Trismégiste* (1549) as it occurs in *Premier livre contenant xxx. chansons*, Paris, N. Du Chemin, 1549 [1550], f. xxiiij. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Orléans.

Bassus. xxiiij

V Rais amateurs du plaisir de Venus, Qui pour neuf fois ne vous faictes que rire, Les ennieux toutefois à mesdi-
Puis qu'à ce point estes si bié uenus, On doit de vous tout bié & hōneur dire.

re Pas ne fauldrōt, car ilz n'ōt le coura ge D'ēfaire autāt à si gētil ouurage. Besōgnez dōc et de iour, et de nuict vo^o
les ferez tous uifz creuer de rage, si de neuf fois uenez à dix huit. ii

I Ay d'un costé l'honneur tant estimé ii Deuāt les yeulx, leq̃l ie uueil auoir ii
I'ay d'autre part un amy tant aymé ii Dedās mō coeur, que ie n'ay le pouoir ii

De l'en oster, et si ne les puis uoir To^o deux en moy, dōt fort ie me tourmēte. Las ie ne sçay duq̃l me rēdre absēte. Car lū m'est

38. Haultin's Second Two-line Great Primer
single-impression mensural music [M 9.8]
or *Trismégiste* (1565)

This typeface was used by Loys Rabier, a customer of Haultin in Orleans; it has also been seen at Vautrollier's press in London, another customer of Haultin. Its date and use by Haultin customers are the arguments for attributing it.

This face is very near to a music type of the same size which occurs at Haultin's own press in La Rochelle from 1575 on and which is described in 39 below.

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Trismégiste*); 9.8 : 9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1565, Orleans, L. Rabier (J. Servin, *Les cent cinquante Pseaumes de David*; Paris, Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, André 5)

EARLY APPEARANCES London: 1570, T. Vautrollier; 1588, T. East.

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with bar inclined to the right and extending over three staff lines; double tick directs; disjoined ticks of space direct.

LITERATURE Krummel, 1975, 84; Noailly, 1988, 2: 367, no. 14.

FIGURE 38 Haultin's Second Two-line Great Primer music [M 9.8] or *Trismégiste* (1565) as it occurs in *Les cent cinquante Pseaumes de David*, Orleans, L. Rabier, 1565, f. Ar. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, Paris.



Pŕeaume I.



Vi au conseil des malings n'a esté, Qui n'est au trac
des pecheurs ar re sté, Qui des moqueurs au banc place n'a
pri se, Mais nuit & iour la Loy con temple & pri se. De l'E ter-
nel, & en est de fi reux: Certai nement cestuy la est heureux.

A

39. Haultin's Third Two-line Great Primer
single-impression mensural music [M 9.8]
or *Trismégiste* (1575)

This music seems a development or a 'second state' of the type described in the previous paragraph, differing from it in a few sorts. Krummel (1975, 84) and Noailly (1988, 2: 367) treat it as being identical with the music of the same size described above in (38). I have only spotted the present music in Haultin's part books of the mid 1570s.

FIRST SEEN IN 1575, **La Rochelle**, P. Haultin (O. di Lasso, *Mellange ... contenant plusieurs chansons: tenor*; Paris, Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, André 6; Desgraves, 1960, 7–8, no. 9).

KEY SORTS: barred-C time signature with bar inclined to the right and almost covering the whole staff; single tick directs.

FIGURE 39 Haultin's Third Two-line Great Primer music [M 9.8] or *Trismégiste* (1575) as it occurs in O. di Lasso, *Moduli quatuor et octo vocum*, La Rochelle, P. Haultin, 1576, f. A1. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque du protestantisme français, Paris.

Secunda pars. O R L A N D V S.

P Ecceui. Quid faciam tibi ô custos hominū? Quare posuisti . me Qua-

re po- suisti me contrarium tibi .ij. contrarium tibi

contrarium tibi: & factus sum mihi metipſi grauis? Cur nō tol- lis peccatum me-

um, & quare non aufers iniquitatem me- am iniquitatem me- am? Ecce nunc in pulue-

re dormio, & si manē me quæſieris .ij. non ſubiſtam.

Table 1: Haultin's Typefaces in Order of Date and Place of First Appearance

1548 Paris	1560 Venice
7. First Pica [R 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1548)	26. English [Gk 96] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1560)
1549 Paris	1561 Venice
6. First Small Pica [R 76] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1549)	5. Second Small Pica [R 72] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1561)
22. First Pica [It 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1549)	1561 Rouen
25. Small Pica [Gk 76] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1549)	29. Second Great Primer [M 4.9] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1561)
37. First Two-line Great Primer [M 9.4] or <i>Trismégiste</i> (1549)	1561 Paris
1550 Paris	30. Great Primer [M 5.1] or <i>Gros-romain</i> , possibly by Haultin (1561)
20. First Long Primer [It 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1550)	1562 Rouen
1551 London	31. First Double Pica [M 6.2] or <i>Gros-parangon</i> (1562)
18. First Brevier [It 54] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1551)	1563 Geneva
1551 Geneva	32. Second Double Pica [M 6.6] or <i>Gros-parangon</i> (1563)
35. Two-line English-Bodied music [M 8.2] or <i>Petit-canon</i> (1551)	1565 St.-Lo
1552 Geneva	34. Second Two-line Pica [M 7] or <i>Palestine</i> (1565)
19. Second Brevier [It 54] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1552)	1565 Orleans
1553 Geneva	38. Second Two-line Great Primer [M 9.8] or <i>Trismégiste</i> (1565)
1. Nonpareil [R 41] (1553)	1569 Paris
12. Titling on Two-line Brevier [R 4] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i> (1553)	11. Second Great Primer [R 11.4] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1569)
16. First Nonpareil [It 41] (1553)	1571 London
24. Brevier [Gk 54] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1553)	14. Two-line Double Pica [R 280] or <i>Gros-canon</i> (1571)
27. Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 4] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i> (1553)	1572 La Rochelle
1554 Geneva	17. Second Nonpareil [It 43] (1572)
28. First Great Primer [M 4.9] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1554)	1575 La Rochelle
1555 Geneva	39. Third Two-line Great Primer [M 9.8] or <i>Trismégiste</i> (1575)
2. Minion [R 45] or <i>Mignonne</i> (1555)	1577 La Rochelle
3. Brevier [R 55] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1555)	13. Titling on Two-line Bourgeois [R 5.2] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i> (1577)
10. First Great Primer [R 11.4] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1555)	1581 La Rochelle
1556 Geneva	15. Seven-line Pica [R 600] or <i>Sept points de Cicéro</i> , possibly by Haultin (1581)
36. Solmization notation to Petreius's Two-line Great Primer [M 9.2] or <i>Trismégiste</i> (1556)	1591 La Rochelle
1557 Venice	21. Second Long Primer [It 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1591)
4. Long Primer [R 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1557)	
8. Second Pica [R 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1557)	
23. Second Pica [It 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1557)	
1559 Geneva	
33. First Two-line Pica [M 7] or <i>Palestine</i> (1559)	
9. English [R 92] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1559)	

The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance

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The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance

Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces

Hendrik D.L. Vervliet

Volume 2

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Leiden · Boston 2008

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISSN 1874-4834
ISBN 978 90 04 16982 1

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Typography: Marij Hereijgers, Antwerp
PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Early Paris Italics; 1512–1549

Italic, as a typographical term, denotes a cursive Roman letter, slightly sloping for the most part and introduced as a typeface in 1500. It was derived from the current hand used from the last half of the fifteenth century onwards by Renaissance writing masters and calligraphers for their more informal manuscripts. As was the case for its Roman counterpart, the introduction of the Italic letter was a collateral effect of the humanists' struggles against what they considered as obsolete scholasticism, corrupt text transmission, unpolished Latin and, in the field of art, the use of unclassical and barbarous forms, patterns, and designs.

In the first century of its existence Italic evolved into the preferred medium for the fashionable publication of classical, Neo-Latin and even vernacular Renaissance literature. As such it was an independent competitor to the formal Roman letter, until, a century later, it was relegated to the minor role it plays today as the latter's auxiliary.

Aldus Manutius, the well-known Venetian printer, introduced this new type family in the years 1500/1501 for a series of reasonably priced 'portables' or pocket books in an octavo format.¹ Both format and type^a proved a commercial success. Despite Venetian and papal privileges, counterfeit editions appeared both in Italy and Lyons from 1502 onwards, leading to the sharp rebuke by Aldus in 1503. Early Italian and Lyons Italics have been thoroughly studied, the first by Balsamo-Tinto, the second by Shaw and Kemp.²

This paper endeavours to describe all 'Aldine' Italics that originated in Paris during the first half of the sixteenth century. It charts twenty-nine cursives. Some of them, engraved or used by eminent typographers, such as Colines, Estienne, Garamont, and Granjon, have received due attention. Others have up to now hardly been described or singled out and no overview currently exists.^b

The types described here belong to the Italic letter families which palaeotypographers call Aldine and Chancery.³ Both letter families exhibit upright capitals but the Chancery letter reproduced a more deliberate and formal handwriting. It has longer ascenders and descenders, sometimes with curved or bulbous terminals, and habitually was only available in the bigger sizes.⁴ The distinction between both families gradually faded away.

In Paris early Italics remained broadly within the Aldine tradition, only a few being in the Chancery style. The Estienne, Garamont and Chiffin designs were explicitly appreciated as close copies of the Aldine archetype. To quote Estienne: 'characteres elegantissimi Italicos Aldi Manutij characteres proximè referentes'.⁵ Whatever their quality, they were only used in the local market and did not enjoy the worldwide distribution of the next generation of Italics in the Old-face fashion (with sloped capitals), engraved by Paris type designers such as Granjon or Haultin. Nevertheless, a study like this may be useful to enhance our insight into the commercial changes which gradually occurred in the largely unorganized market of sixteenth-century type provision and in the subsequent development of the Parisian pre-eminence in Roman and Italic letter design.

Summary.

This paper describes twenty-nine 'Aldine' Italics (with upright capitals) that originated in Paris during the first half of the sixteenth century. Some of them, engraved or used by eminent typographers, such as Colines, Estienne, Garamont, and Granjon, have received due attention. Others have up to now hardly been described or singled out and no overview currently exists. These early Paris italics did not enjoy the worldwide distribution of the next generation of Italics in the Old-face fashion (with sloped capitals), engraved by Paris type designers such as Granjon or Haultin.

Revision of a paper that appeared in the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 83 (2005), 5–56.

a. Aldus's Italic is shown in fig. 15c.

b. For a survey, see Vervliet, 2008, nos. 217–304.

1. Fletcher, 1988; Barker, 1998.

2. Tinto, 1967; Shaw, 1993; Kemp, 1997.

3. Johnson, 1959, 92–104.

4. Johnson-Morison, 1924.

5. 'Very elegant letters closely resembling the Italics of Aldus Manutius'.

Three periods of intensive activity in the development of the early Paris Italics can be distinguished. The first period falls in the second decade of the sixteenth century and may be distinguished by their main users, Le Rouge and Kerver. The second period occurs in the fourth decade and could be designated by the name of its principal representative, Simon de Colines. The third and final period falls in the 1540s and may be termed Garamont's. He took part in the transition to the fourth period when the Old-face Italics (with sloped capitals) were introduced mainly by Granjon⁶ and increasingly accepted.

The Le Rouge/Kerver period (1512–1521)

In 1512–13, Guillaume Le Rouge introduced four typefaces of the new fashion design into Paris typography. They were followed by three Kerver Italics in 1514–17. Different dates have been suggested for the birth of the Le Rouge Italics but the earliest certain date is 1512, when he introduced the new faces in two sizes, a Great Primer, which was outfitted with Gothic capitals while the smaller Pica had upright Roman capitals more or less in the Aldine fashion. Two other similar Italics in the sizes English and Bourgeois followed at Le Rouge's press in 1513. Denis Roce who acted as a publisher for several Le Rouge imprints in the years 1512–14, described the Le Rouge faces as 'Italico caractere', to my knowledge, the first use of the term in this sense, though earlier uses of the word exist, first by Badius in 1492;⁷ then by Jean Lemaire in 1504,⁸ both cases referring to Roman letters.

The Le Rouge Italics were rather crude and clearly engraved by a cutter with little feeling for the elegance of the *littera humanistica cursiva*. It has been proposed that the engraver of these first Italics was Guillaume Le Rouge, the son of the first Royal printer and a member of a renowned Troyes family of illuminators, calligraphers and printers. However, there is no hard proof for such a hypothesis. Le Rouge's Dati edition of 1513 exhibits a new Roman, whose capitals are quite similar to those of his Italics; the colophon describes the work as being set in a 'characteres Cesareo' but is not clear what that expression may signify; see below (2).

Two other Italics appear at Kerver's press in 1514–17. The earlier one is in the line of the Le Rouge Italics, but the second is much better designed and it seems that a more talented engraver had become available to Kerver. If so, he had no immediate successors in Paris.

In this first period are also included two very weak copies of the Le Rouge Italics, the first appearing in 1513 at Lambert's press, the second in 1521 at that of Gromors.

The Colines period (1527–1535)

In Basle early in 1520 a new Aldine Italic surfaced, which in the decades to follow grew into a bestseller, the first typeface to do so on a worldwide basis. It appeared at first in 1520 at the Basle presses of Froben and Cratander, in Cologne at Soter's press, in Strasburg and Mainz with the imprints of Johannes I Knobloch and Johannes Schoeffer respectively. In the following years it spread over Germany, France, the Low Countries, Italy, and England. The typeface,^c which seems attributable to Peter Schoeffer the Younger, has been described by Carter and Tinto.⁹

c. Shown in fig. 15d.

6. Vervliet, 1998.

7. Claudin, 1900, 4: 65; Catalogue BM, 8: 290; Carter, 1969, 77–8.

8. Wolf, 1972, 90.

9. Carter, 1969, 118; Tinto, 1972, 48–9.

In Paris it occurred at Vidoue's press from 1523 onwards.¹⁰ Vidoue printed for Conrad Resch, a wealthy publisher with ties to Basle and from 1515 to 1526 the proprietor of the Paris bookshop *Sub scuto Basiliensi*.¹¹ Resch was probably the importer of a set matrices of a Greek and an Italic, *façon d'Allemagne*, which later were in the possession of his successor, Christian Wechel.¹² This Basle Italic became the workhorse Italic of most Parisian printers up to the 1550s. In the 1530s it was adopted Badius, Morrhe, Loys, Blaubloom. It was also the Pica Italic of Garamont's printer Gaultier, and thus was often, though tentatively, ascribed to Garamont; see below (22).

A renewed sign of interest in Italic type among local engravers occurs at the end of the 1520s. Imprints of Savetier exhibit a close copy of the Schoeffer Italic. It is an inferior job, probably the only work of an amateur. In contrast, the four Italics which Colines started to produce from then onwards are forceful witnesses both of his technical expertise and his artistic independence. They are much ahead the indifferent Italics Robert I Estienne and François Gryphius engraved or had engraved in the same period.

The Garamont period (1540–1549)

Nearly half of the Aldine Italics studied here appeared in the fifth decade of the century, the last period treated in this article. It brings together four typefaces ascribable to Garamont, three to Chiffin, two to Granjon, one to Gryphius. Another two were used by Estienne and one by Bogard. At this stage Parisian type design advanced towards full maturity. With regard to balance in colour and inclination or to smoothness and fluency in readability, the typefaces of both Garamont and Granjon easily outstrip the competition. Not surprisingly, the latter's Long Primer (24) was the first of them to become available beyond regional borders, staying in use for several centuries.

Some of the Italics (21 and 23) appearing at the end of the 1540s were outfitted with a double range of capitals, both upright and sloped: a sign that some readers and printers were not ready to abandon the Aldine standard of upright capitals. This hesitancy proved to be short-lived: from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards Aldine Italics were to be superseded by the Old-face Italics, whose inclined capitals are its most conspicuous feature, a characteristic which survives up to this day. The main name associated with this change is Granjon's (Vervliet, 1998).

10. Moreau, 3: 173, no. 489.

11. Bietenholz, 1971, 33;

Benzing, 1977, 1241.

12. Coyecque, 1905, 1: 183, no. 900.

Conspectus of Types¹³

The Le Rouge/Kerver period (1512–1521)

1. The 'Le Rouge' Great Primer cursive [It 120]
or *Gros-romain* (1512)
2. The 'Le Rouge' Pica Italic [It 79] or *Cicéro* (1512)
3. The 'Le Rouge' English-Sized Italic [It 94]
or *Saint-Augustin* (1513)
4. The 'Le Rouge' Bourgeois Italic [It 57]
or *Gaillarde* (1513)
5. The 'Lambert' Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1513)
6. The 'Kerver' Bourgeois Italic [It 62]
or *Gaillarde* (1514)
7. The 'Kerver' Pica Italic [It 79] or *Cicéro* (1516)
8. The 'Gromors' Small Pica Italic [It 75]
or *Philosophie* (1521)

The Colines period (1527–1535)

9. The 'Chevallon' Brevier Italic [It 56]
or *Petit-texte* (1527)
10. Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 91]
or *Saint-augustin* (1528)
11. The 'Savetier' English-Sized Italic [It 89]
or *Saint-Augustin* (1529)
12. Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1530)
13. Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118]
or *Gros-romain* (1532)
14. The First 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1532)
15. Colines's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)
16. Gryphius's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1535)

The Garamont period (1540–1550)

17. The 'proto-Garamont' Great Primer Italic [It 114]
or *Gros-romain* (1540)
18. Garamont's First Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1541)
19. The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81]
or *Cicéro* (1542)
20. Gryphius's Great-Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1543)
21. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 96]
or *Saint-augustin première*: First State
with upright capitals (1545).
22. Garamont's Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1545)
23. Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67]
or *Petit-romain première* (1545)
24. The 'Estienne' Bourgeois Italic [It 64]
or *Gaillarde* (1545)
25. Chiffin's Pica Italic [It 83] or *Cicéro* (1546)
26. The 'Girault' Long Primer Italic [It 68]
or *Petit-romain* (1546)
27. Chiffin's Long Primer Italic [It 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1547)
28. Chiffin's Brevier Italic [It 53] or *Petit-texte* (1547)
29. Garamont's Second Great Primer Italic [It 116]
or *Gros-romain* (1549)

13. As a rule a typeface is named after its (probable) engraver or designer; if named eponymously, the given name (mostly of its commissioner, first user, author, title) is set within quotation marks.

1. The 'Le Rouge' Great Primer cursive [It 120]
or *Gros-romain* (1512)

A large upright lower case cursive, in Chancery style and mated to distinctive, ornamental, and oversized capitals, appears in Paris at Le Rouge's press from 1512 onwards. The precise date of its first occurrence is debatable, depending on the calendar style used by Le Rouge, whether *ex more gallico* or *romano*. In his *Incomparanda Genouefeuum* (Moreau, 2: 215, no. 696) he clearly uses the gallican (or Easter) style. Hence his '1512' imprints dated before Easter (falling in 1513 on 27 March) may belong to 1513 (despite Moreau, 2: nos. 273, 357, 370, 430). Similarly, the provisional dates attached to the supposedly earlier displays of this type in the *Horae* of c.1510 (Moreau, 1: 369, no. 119) and the *Persius* of c.1511 (Moreau, 2: 98, no. 185, dated 1507 by Monceaux, 1896, 383, no. 50) should be reconsidered.

Whatever the exact date of its introduction, this face is an innovative, though unsuccessful, attempt to romanise the Parisian Gothic Chancery letter or Bastarda. As far as design is concerned, it is miles away from the Aldine example; it would be strange to call such a typeface an Italic. Rather it may be considered as a cursive *fere-humanistica*. Admittedly, its decorated capitals in a high Gothic inscriptional style are reminiscent of the letter-forms used in the 110 mm *fere-humanistica* of the 1473–75 Parisian presses of Caesaris and Russangis, which remain clearly within the Gothic tradition and are related by the Catalogue BM (8: 9–14) to the Strasburg 'typi Reysneriani'.

Nevertheless and despite the angularity of its minuscules and their sheared terminals, the face has the flavour of something new. Coming some ten years before Arrighi's first 1524 Roman Chancery Italics (Balsamo-Tinto, 1967, 129), it shows a readiness to experiment and innovate on the part of Paris typographers as early as the second decade of the sixteenth century.

Le Rouge usually leaded (or cast) this face up to the body size of Paragon (136 mm), while the capitals were cast as titlings on the full body size.

This face is usually attributed to Le Rouge, on the ground of its occurrence at his press and his (supposed) skills as a punchcutter. However, some circumspection is due in this respect; see below (2).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 17/16 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 120 x 2.5 : 5.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1 April 1512, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce (Lucanus, *Pharsalia*; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, BL 8° 1509; Moreau, 2: 147, no. 400).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1516, Th. I Kerver (capitals only); Antwerp: 1531, M. de Keyser (capitals only); Ghent: 1541, J. Lambrechts (capitals only).

KEY LETTERS Oversized decorated Gothic capitals; stroked lower case i; sheared bottom terminals of strokes; strongly seriffed stems of ascenders and descenders; lozenge-shaped colon and period.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Carter, 1969, 117; Tinto, 1972, 32–3; Shaw, 1993, 122.

FIGURE 1 The 'Le Rouge' Great Primer cursive [It 120] or *Gros-romain* (1512) as it appears in Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce, 1512, f. A3v. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

Feiber
Sulpitii argumentum in
primum librum

Primus habet belli causas: vtqz actus ab ira
Præcipiti: cæsar rubiconis transfilit vndas.
Vicinumqz minax inuadit ariminum: et inde
Excipit attonita deiectos vrbe tribunos
Ad bellūqz suos animat: poscitqz cohortes
Auxiliū atqz fidem terror tū scribitur vrbis
Et fuga pompeii trepidās pauidiqz senatus
Post hæc prodigia et vatū responsa canūtur
Primus habet belli.
Primi libri præcipue partes sunt septem.

2. The 'Le Rouge' Pica Italic [It 79] or *Cicéro* (1512)

A lower case of the same design as that of Le Rouge's Great Primer cursive (1) but smaller in size and married to upright Roman capitals appears as a commentary type in Le Rouge's 1512 Lucanus. It has been ascribed to Le Rouge on the same basis as his Great Primer was. In his Plautus edition of c.1512 (Moreau, 2: 155, no. 430), the publisher Denis Roce draws attention to the 'Italico caractere', in which Le Rouge printed this work (Monceaux, 1896, 2: 385–7, no. 53).

Its capitals seem all but identical with those of a 65 mm Roman occurring in some copies of a Berosus edition with an imprint of Geoffroy de Marnef (Moreau, 1: 352, no. 27), ostensibly dated 1510. However, that date is questionable as this Roman seems only to occur in some copies of that item, which constitute a later, augmented edition (Bernard, 1865, 97; unmentioned by Moreau). The Roman face is to be found at Le Rouge's press from 1513 onwards (P. de Ponte, *Incomparanda*; Moreau, 2: 215, no. 696) and later at Nicolas Desprez's. Le Rouge seems to mention the Roman face in the colophon of the second volume (f. 04v) of his 1513–14 edition of Dati's *Orationes* (Moreau, 2: nos. 557 and 815); that work is described as being issued in 'Parisius oīa caractere Cesareo excusa ... in officina Guillelmi Le Rouge'.¹⁴

What Le Rouge meant by that expression is something of a riddle. Obviously he wished to call attention to the types. Clearly the term does not simply stand for 'In praelo Cesareo', which was the address of Robert

Caesaris. If it is a reference to the types, is it a reference to Petrus Caesaris and Russangis, who printed in Paris in the 1470s (Catalogue BM, 8: 9–14) and were mentioned in (1)? Petrus Caesaris died in 1509 and was temporarily succeeded in Paris by Robert Caesaris or De Keysere, before the latter's move to Ghent in 1513 (Renouard, 1965, 63–4); however, Robert did not use this type. Or was Martinus Caesar meant, who later printed in Antwerp, being married to a Françoise La Rouge (Vervliet, 1968, 23; Chambers, 1983, 118–19), where he used the decorated capitals of Le Rouge's Great Primer cursive, described above in (1)? Or was yet another typeface intended?

Le Rouge apparently did not introduce new types before 1512/3 and I doubt whether he himself was a letter engraver. A possible role of the printer and typefounder Martinus Caesar (Antwerp, 1526–36), allegedly Le Rouge's son-in-law (Monceaux, 1896, 274), looks conceivable.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11/10.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 79 x 1.5 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1 April 1512, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce (Lucanus, *Pharsalia*; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, BL 8° 1509; Moreau, 2: 147, no. 400).

KEY LETTERS Upright Roman capitals; oversized C; slab-serifed M; N with right hand bottom serif; stroked lower case i; sheared bottom terminals of strokes; lozenge-shaped colon and period.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Carter, 1969, 117; Tinto, 1972, 33; Shaw, 1993, 122.

FIGURE 2 The 'Le Rouge' Pica Italic [It 79] or *Cicéro* (1512) as it appears in Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce, 1512, f. A4. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

In sua victrici conuersum viscera dextra
Cognatasqz acies et rupto federe regni.
Gertatum totis concussi viribus orbis
In commune nephas infestisqz obuia signis
Signa pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis.
BELLA **P**ER. Breui quadam periphrasi qua scripturus fit poeta lucu-
 lenter proponit. **S**ENTENTIA. pōpeius, cui oriēs Caesaris occi-
 dens tota paruit: dictu horrendum ciuile bellum concuerūt quo totus
 orbis concussus intremuit: illud autem in praesentiarū dilucidatū iriten-
 tamus. **A**DVERTE. Bellum abonum deducitur: non tamen per anti-
 phrasim ut stulti somniant: sed quia boni gratia mouetur se enim non
 ad inferendam sed ad propulsandam iniuriam bella suscipere nulli nō
 affirmant: propterea in bello mori gloriosum reputatur. hinc **V**ergili-
 us. pulchrāqz petunt per vulnera mortem. **E**t iterum. Mortēqz uolunt
 pro laude pacisci. Similiter. Eumenis beniuola uel mitis interpretatur
 quia regi inferorum beniuole morem gerit. **L**ucus a luteo: quia in lu-
 A. iiii.

14. 'Printed in Paris at the press of Guillaume Le Rouge wholly with Caesar's types.'

3. The 'Le Rouge' English-Sized Italic [It 94] or *Saint-Augustin* (1513)

A new lower case, somewhat bigger than Le Rouge's Pica cursive (2) but with the same capitals, appears at Le Rouge's press from 1513 onwards. It has been ascribed to him on the same grounds as his Great Primer. The note about a counterfeit Italic in Moreau's description (2: 210, no. 671) of *Mirandula*, *Viridarium*, Paris, Roce, 1513, is probably an error. The types used and the printer's mark seem genuine.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 13.5/12.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 94 x 2 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 26 January 1513, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce (P. de Ponte, *Incomparanda Genouefum*; Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, 564a; Moreau, 2: 215, no. 696).

KEY LETTERS Upright Roman capitals; oversized C; slab-serifed M; N with right hand bottom serif; stroked lower case i; sheared bottom terminals of strokes; lozenge-shaped colon and period.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Carter, 1969, 117; Tinto, 1972, 33; Shaw, 1993, 122.

FIGURE 3 The 'Le Rouge' English-Sized Italic [It 94] or *Saint-Augustin* (1513) as it appears in P. de Ponte, *Incomparanda Genouefum*, Paris, G. Le Rouge for D. Roce, 1513, f. A3v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Bruges.

LIBER PRIMVS.

Petri de ponte Ceci brugenfis incomparanda
Genouefum quam tutelarem
totius gallie dominam inficiari nemo
potest.



Axima francicole tutrix et gloria gentis

Hoc claudi modico si iam non despicias orsu:

Plusq̃ summa tue referam miracula dextre

Hic saturingenas (quos prisca in carmina vates

Sollicitant) sperno: et sub tristia tartara mitto:

Hunc ad complendum Genouefe sola laborem

(Qui tibi perpetuos supplex moderatur honores)

Sufficis: ergo faue: vires animunq; ministra:

Atq; theoninos tua frenent vincula rictus:

Terrigenum tanto quid mentes igne cieret?

Que tam clara oculis animorum lumina virtus

Funderet: vt secreta dei misteria noscant:

Prouidus astri ferri custos et conditor orbis:

Hos plerunq; latere: quod his notescere mandat.

Nec summum primo semper decus ordine confert:

Nam si diuersas in Cristi sanguine gentes

Ablutas fileam: quo franca insignia versu

Cristus regnat
re incipit. Dicere constituam: iam nigri horrentia ditis
Regna triumphanti maiore subegerat alto

4. The 'Le Rouge' Bourgeois Italic [It 57] or *Gaillarde* (1513)

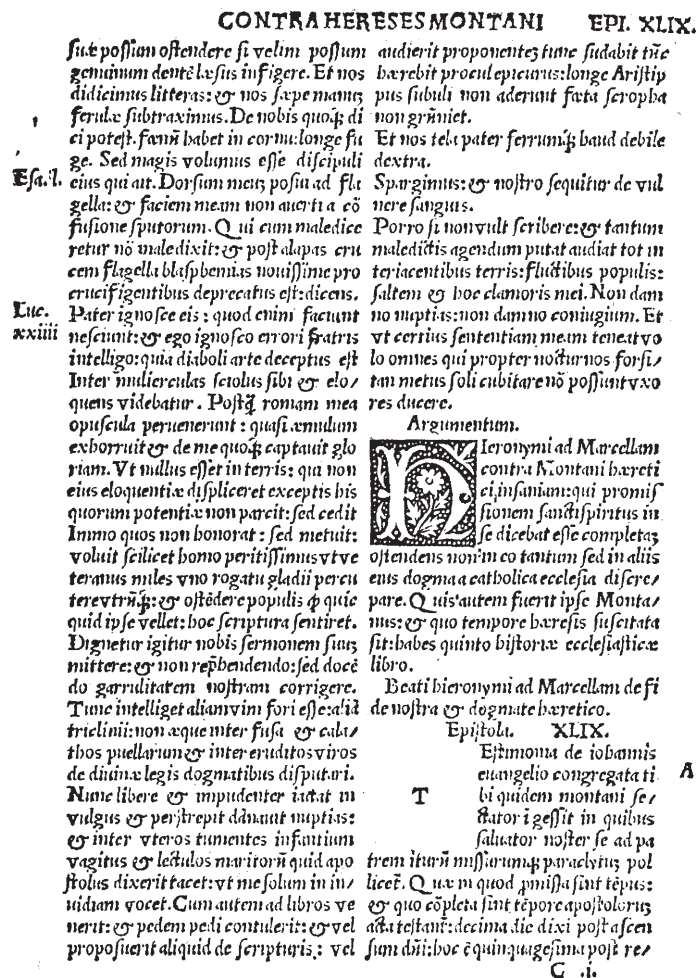
This small-sized Italic has been seen only in an imprint of Poncet LePreux. Moreau (2: 137; no. 357; dated 10 March 1512) ascribed it to Le Rouge's press because of its red fleur-de-lys device and letterpress materials. Certainly the 115 mm Textura occurring on its title-page was used by Le Rouge, but he was not its sole user. Though I failed to see the tiny Italic of the main text elsewhere in Le Rouge's production, its design is in the style of Le Rouge's other Italics and Moreau's attribution seems acceptable. Like the preceding typefaces, we do not know for sure who may have engraved it.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 8/7.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 57 x 1.3 : 1.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 10 March 1513, Paris, [G.Le Rouge for] Poncet LePreux (St. Jerome, *Epistolarum codicilli tres*; Cambridge, University Library, 3.6.1; Moreau, 2: 137, no. 357).

KEY LETTERS Upright Roman capitals; oversized C; slab-serifed M; N with right hand bottom serif; lozenge-shaped and period.

FIGURE 4 The 'Le Rouge' Bourgeois Italic [It 57] or *Gaillarde* (1513) as it appears in St. Jerome, *Epistolarum codicilli tres*, Paris, [G.Le Rouge for] Poncet LePreux, 1513, f. C 1. Courtesy of the University Library, Cambridge.



5. The 'Lambert' Pica Italic [It 81]
or *Cicéro* (1513)

Another cursive, a bit rough, occurs at an unknown Paris press, working for the publisher Jean Lambert. It is probably a copy of Le Rouge's Pica. Possibly Thomas Kees, Lambert's usual printer, was involved. Further research on other possible occurrences is required.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11/10.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 81 x 1.6 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN c.1513, Paris, J. Lambert (P. de Ponte, *Paremiarum ... contextarum secunda editio*; Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, D 2121 oct. Inc.: [11]; Moreau, 2: 215, no. 697).

FIGURE 5 The 'Lambert' Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1513) as it appears in P. de Ponte, *Paremiarum ... contextarum secunda editio*, Paris, J. Lambert, c.1513, f. A2. Courtesy of the University Library, Heidelberg.

PETRI DE PONTE CE
ci burgenſ is Pa
renne gallico &
latino ſermone
contexte

SAns l'ayde de dieu rien ne ſe peut
bien commencer ne bien finir
Celeſti ſine preſidio nihil aptius
exiit
Dien & l'atour donne toutes cho
ſes
Humano generi deus & labor om
nia preſtat

A qui dieu neult aider rien ne lui peut nuire
Cui fauet omnipotens nemo nocere poteſt
Dien ne oublie iames ſes ſervans
Conſtitēs famulos clemens non deſpicit eibet
Vng bonie fait beaucoup de bien a l'autre quant il ſe neult
employer.

Est homini deus alter homo cum robor a pādīt
Il font plaſſir a l'ung l'autre
Mutua ſe alpiunt muli frictantq; niſſim
Ceſt bonne la eſt en bien grant danger
Huic trairia homini ſe res ad menia uertit
Il aſt bien eurenx qui ſe corrige par l'exemple du mal d'au
trui.

Felix cui uirtutem aliena in ſania monſtrat
Qui dit mal des treſpaſſes il ē du tout ſemblable au diable
Non niſi tartarci cruciant poſt finere mane
Nous ne deuons point enquerir des choſes qui ſurmontent
trop noſtre entendement

Que ſupra nos eſt nihil ad nos queſtio ſpectat
Se tu prens la charge tu perdras ton labeur
Eſtimum ſi molem hanc aggrediēre fodis
Il ne dit iamaſ mot nomplus que ſil eſtoit muer
Cenſetur merita nice rana ſcripſit dīa
Comment ſommes nous ſi autāns ſe neſt rien de noſtre nie
A ii.

ex lactatili li. i.
Ex anguſti de
cinitate dei
Ex lactantili
bro. ii.
Ex benardi
primo ſermone
ex plini li. ii.
Ex auſoni epi
ſtola.
Ex linii li. iiii.
Ex tulii officia
Ex planti ora
tione ii n
Ex lactantius
ſtitutionib
Ex plini li. iiii
Ex plini li. iiii.
Ex boetii pri
li. de conſo.
Ex anlii geli
lib. iiii. cap. xii.

6. The ‘Kerver’ Bourgeois Italic [It 62] or *Gaillarde* (1514)

The earliest occurrence of this typeface is only known by a notice and illustration in Murray, 1910, 1: 305–6, no. 268. Its colophon is cited there as follows:

Hore nostre dñe secūdū usū romanū op’a et īdustria
Thiēlmāni Kerver sub hoc recēti sculpture stilo
nup’rime efformate Parisius ī uico diui Iacobi ad signū
cratis ferree. Et ibi uenales reperiuntur 1514.¹⁵

Assuming that the quotation is correct, it implies the first use of an Italic by Kerver. The face reappears a few years later in Kerver’s *Hore ad usum romanum* of 26 August 1517 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce BB 35; Moreau, 2: 434, no. 1633).

The colophon of the 1514 *Hore* is the first in a series to follow in which Kerver draws attention to his use of a new typeface. The colophon of the 1517 Hours too drew the attention of the reader to the novelty of the fount: ‘sub hoc nouo sculpture stilo exarate’.¹⁶ Analogous texts are to be found in Kerver’s Italic and Roman *Hore* of 1517 (Vervliet, 2004a, 201–3). No doubt he was pleased by the innovation. In 1516 he made use of another, much better designed Italic on a bigger size, described below (7).

As for Kerver’s Pica Italic, described below in (7), I do not know who may have engraved it, although the 1517 Hours also displays the 5,5 Le Rouge initials, described in (1). The typeface is stylistically quite similar to the earlier Le Rouge Italics and may have been engraved by the same punchcutter.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 9/8.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 62 x 1.4 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1514, Paris, Th. I Kerver (*Hore beate marie v’ginis*; no location known; cited after Murray, 1910, 1: 305–6, no. 268; Moreau, 2: 257, no. 872).

KEY LETTERS Upright Roman capitals; pointed apex of A; narrow E and N; steep-tailed R; short-linked lower case g; stroked i; strongly seriffed stems of ascenders and descenders; short bottom terminals of f and long s.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Carter, 1969, 117, n. 7.

FIGURE 6a The ‘Kerver’ Bourgeois Italic [It 62] or *Gaillarde* (1514) from the *Hore beate marie v’ginis*, Paris, Th. I Kerver, 1514, as shown by Murray, 1910, 1: 305–6, no. 268. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

FIGURE 6b The ‘Kerver’ Bourgeois Italic [It 62] or *Gaillarde* (1514) as it occurs in *Hore ad usum romanum*, Paris, Th. I Kerver, 26 August 1517, f. M8. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

pylatus foras et dixit, Ecce ad-
duco uobis eū foras. ut cognosca-
ris quia in eo nullā causam inue-
nio, Exiit ergo iesus portās co-
ronā spinē et purpureū uesti-
mentū. Et dixit eis pylatus. Ecce
homo. Cū ergo uidisset eū pōti-
fices et mistri clamabāt dicētes.
Crucifige. crucifige eū. Dixit eis
pylatus. Accipite eū uos. et cru-
cifigite. Ego enim nō inuenio ī eo
causam. Rēderūt ei iudei. Nos le-
gem habemus. et secundū legem
debet mori. quia filiū dei se fecit.
Cum ergo audisset pylatus hūc
sermone magis timuit. Et īgres-
sus est pretoriū iterū. et dixit ad
eum Vnde est tu? Iesus autē re-

Criminis ī medio si q̄s natat equo-
re forsan
Naufragus, hoc speculum perfu-
giumq̄ petat,

15. ‘Hours of Our Lady for Rome use printed and published by Thielman Kerver in this newly cut style and just now cast at Paris in the Saint James Street at the sign of the Iron Grate. And for sale there 1514.’

16. ‘printed in this newly styled cut.’

7. The ‘Kerver’ Pica Italic [It 79] or *Cicéro* (1516)

A well designed Parisian Italic, the best of those before Colines, appears in an Hours from Kerver’s press, dated 1516 on its title-page. Its colophon, however, mentions 1506, as follows:

Presentes hore peruenusto caractere exarate sunt
Parisius per Thielmānum keruer in uico diui Iacobi.
ad signum cratis, Anno dñi millesimo quingentesimo
sexto, die uero vigesimo secundo decembris.¹⁷

This earlier date is ostensibly corroborated by its calendar running from 1506 to 1530 and has been accepted by Moreau (1: 198, no. 93) and Tinto (1972, 33).

However, several clues militate against such an early date. First, there is the maturity of the type design – admittedly a weak argument. Second, the evidence of its illustrations: two of these, viz. David’s punishments (f. G2) and the *Redemptoris Mundi Arma* (f. N8v) have up to now not been seen before 1517. Third, the presence of the explicit date on the title-page, a practice which Kerver starts using only in 1516. Fourth, the decorated Gothic capitals at the beginning of the paragraphs first occur in 1512 at the press of Guillaume Le Rouge, who used them as capitals to his Great Primer cursive (1). Finally, the wording of the colophon itself, stressing the attractiveness of the typeface, represents a practice which Kerver introduced about 1514 (see above 6).

I do not know who engraved this type. Its regularity and smoothness suggest that it was not the work of a minor master. Its Roman capitals were borrowed or copied from the old Pica Roman that Kerver used from 1498 onwards (Catalogue BM, 8: 213, s.v. R 79). As rubric headings the publication also displays the Gothic 5.5 mm initials described above in (1), which suggests a link to Guillaume Le Rouge, but this Italic is so much better designed than what Le Rouge usually shows in his own imprints that we must reserve judgment.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11/10.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 79 x 1.6 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1516 [colophon: 22 December 1506], Paris, Th. I Kerver (*Horae diue uirginis Marie*; Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Rari 720; Rome, Biblioteca nazionale, 69.3 A 29; Amsterdam, University Library, 974 C 22, lacking f. A1; Moreau, 1: 198, no. 93 [1506]).

KEY LETTERS Upright Roman capitals, similar to and possibly identical with those of Kerver’s 1498 79 mm Roman (Catalogue BM, 8: 213); short-linked lower case g; stroked i; strongly serifed stems of ascenders and descenders; lozenge-shaped period.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Carter, 1969, 117, n.7; Tinto, 1972, 33; Vervliet, 2004a.

FIGURE 7 The ‘Kerver’ Pica Italic [It 79] or *Cicéro* (1516) as it appears in the *Horae diue uirginis Marie*, Paris, Th. I Kerver, 1516 [colophon: 22 December 1506], f. N8. Courtesy of the University Library, Amsterdam.

nā amen, ¶ *Oratio sancti thome post cōionem.*

¶ Ratias tibi ago dñe sancte pater om̃ipotēs
eterne deus qui me indignū peccatorē satia
re dignatus es corpore et sanguine dulcissimi fi-
lii tui dñi nostri iesu christi, et precor ut hec sacra
cōmunio nō sit michi reatus ad penā, sed interces-
sio salutaris ad ueniam, Sit michi armatura fidei
et scutum bone uolūtatis, sit omniū uiciorū meo-
rum euacuatio, cōcupiscētie et libidinis extermi-
natio, charitatis, castitatis, patientie, humilitatis,
et obedientie, om̃q; uirtutum ac totius sanctita-
tis augmentatio, Contra insidias inimicorū meo-
rum uisibiliū et inuisibiliū firma defētio, motuū
uiciorū meorū tam carnaliū q̃ spiritaliū p̃fecta
quietatio in te solo firma adhesio, atq; finis mei fe-
lix cōsummatio, Et precor ut ad illud conuiuuium
salutiferum me miserum perducere digneris, ubi
tu ipse es sanctis tuis lux uera, satietas plena, iocū-
ditas cōsummata felicitas p̃fecta, et gaudium
sempiternum. Amen,

¶ *Presentes hore peruenusto caractere exarate
sunt Parisius per Thielmānum keruer in uico di-
ui Iacobi ad signum cratis, Anno dñi millesimo
quingentesimo sexto, die uero uigesimo secundo
decembris,*

17. ‘These Hours wet set in a magnificent letter in Paris by Thielman Kerver in the Saint James quarter at the sign of the Grate in the

year 1506 on the 22th of December.’

8. The 'Gromors' Small Pica Italic [It 75] or *Philosophie* (1521)

A very clumsily designed Italic occurs in 1521 at Gromors's press, along with new Romans, most of them, poorly designed. I do not know their origin.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 10.5/10 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 75 x 1.2 : 1.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 14 August 1521, Paris, P. Gromors (G. Fichet, *Consolatio luctus et mortis Parrhiensis*; The Hague, Royal Library, 226 F 38; Moreau, 3: 76, no. 107)

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Tinto, 1972, 33.

FIGURE 8 The 'Gromors' Small Pica Italic [It 75] or *Philosophie* (1521) as it appears in G. Fichet, *Consolatio luctus et mortis Parrhiensis*, Paris, P. Gromors, 1521, f. π2. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

Q Vos luteos homines finxit natura, deauras,
Et facis eloquio, clare ficht deos,
Te digne extulerit, preclara lutea celo,
Cui tua rectiloques, lingua diferta parit,
Qua fuit obscura, sterili ruditare loquendi,
Fulgida nunc radius, arte pelita micat.
Puluerulenta fitu, & squalore volumina longo,
Exiliunt tenebris en revoluta suis.
Per cathedras Cicero verbi pater intonat acer,
Et veterum mille nomina lecta virum.
Quos equidem, si sensa, animos, retinere putandum est)
Gratari inter se nunc tibi (crede) iuuat,
Magnum autem est fama, & pulchrum memorarier actis,
Qua probet & calum, quisque leuetur humus,
Qui veniet posthac, puro sermone latinus,
Esse tuis domitum se feret auspiciis,
Inq sacros aditus (quod semper gracia fecit)
Dicendi appinget philosophia decus.
Theologi exurgent, quos tot decuisse prebaris,
Qui se hieronymis assimulasse velint.
Ergo eris in nostris, quod achivis ille prometheus,
Qui terre obstrictos ignit arte viros.
Siue opifex hominum, qui duris cotibus auras,
Indidit, illa iubens vivere deucalion,
Felix illa quidem tali sabaudia alumno,
Cuius erit gallis perpetuatus honor,
Gaude igitur doctor, habiturus nomen in guum,
Gaguinumq; magis vsq; benignius ama.

Vale, felixq; viue.

9. The 'Chevallon' Brevier Italic [It 56] or *Petit-texte* (1527)

A small-sized Aldine Italic, on Brevier but usually set on Long Primer, occurs from 1526 or 1527 onwards in Antwerp at the press of Martinus Caesar and in Paris at Chevallon's press. It has tentatively attributed to Caesar (Vervliet, 1968, 314, It 17); but its contemporaneous occurrence at Chevallon's press weakens this hypothesis. It was also used by an anonymous Paris press, printing for Joachim Ringelbergh, linked by Moreau (3: nos. 2268, 2273, 2274) to Jean Bignon (but Prigent Calvarin may also be considered because of its use of Vatel's Pica Greek). Though outmoded, it remained in use at the presses of Charlotte Guillard, Bogard, Barbé and Gaultier in the early 1540s. Some of the latter's books have a Garamont imprint (Hugo de Sancto Charo, *Postilla*; Versailles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, FA fo. O 183b; Renouard, 1964, 3: 39, no. 44).

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 9/7.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 56 x 1.1 : 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1527, Paris, C. Chevallon (Justinianus, *Digestum vetus*; Brussels, Royal Library, LP 2924 A; Moreau, 3: 338, no. 118).

EARLY APPEARANCES Antwerp: 1526, G. van der Haegen [& M. Caesar]; 1527, M. Caesar. Paris: 1530, J. Ringelbergh [& J. Bignon?]; 1541, J. Bogard; 1543, J. Bogard & J. Gazeau & J. de Roigny, Ch. Guillard & J. Bogard & J. de Roigny; 1545, P. Gaultier & J. Barbé & C. Garamont & J. de Roigny.

KEY LETTERS Upright capitals; narrow E; wide H; singly-seriffed splayed M; long-tailed R; wide lower bowl of lower case g; descending ampersand.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 1968, 314 (It 17).

FIGURE 9a The 'Chevallon' Brevier Italic [It 56] or *Petit-texte* (1527) as it appears in J. Fuchs, *De historia stirpium commentarii*, Paris, J. Bogard, 1543, f. ai. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

FIGURE 9b The 'Chevallon' Brevier Italic [It 56] or *Petit-texte* (1527) assembled from Horatius, *Odae*, Antwerp, M. Caesar, 1529. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

Absinthium officinis Romanum idem cum pontico recte
sentis, à vulgari autem id esse diuersissimum ex Galeni Me-
thodo abunde probatur.

Santonium à Santonia regione prope Burdegalam albius
Romano est, folio non multo latiore. Virunque enim & Seri-
phium est tenuifolium, cū vulgare sit latifolium. Aloine nobi-
ditum ab insigni Aloës amaritudine.

ABCDEFGHIJLMNOPQRSTV
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuxy
ſ & 2 ft

10. Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 91]
or *Saint-augustin* (1528)

In 1528 Colines introduced a new Italic in the Chancery style, probably inspired by the Arrighi and Tagliente Italics of 1524 (Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41), using it mainly for a series of Latin and neo-Latin poetry. It is a very elegant face – the first Chancery Italic on so small a size. Even more than his Romans, it reveals Colines's mastery as a punchcutter and designer. Colines engraved three more Italics, two of them in the Aldine style, appearing in 1530 and 1534, and one other from 1532 in a formal Chancery style (10, 13 and 15).

This typeface has not been seen outside the Colines and Blaubloom presses, except for an appearance with a Wechel imprint, which probably can be attributed to Blaubloom's press (Moreau, 4: 129, no. 316).

A poor copy by an unknown Low Countries letter-engraver appeared in Antwerp, London and Dublin from 1530 onwards (Johnson, 1936, 79; Vervliet, 1968, 294).

SIZE English (Saint-augustin); 13/12 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 91 x 1.6 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1528, Paris, S. de Colines (Lucanus, *Civilis belli libri* x; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 35.19; Moreau, 3: 425, no. 1548).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1529, L. Blaubloom; 1531, C. Wechel [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Capital line well below ascender line; downwards beaked G; duplicate swash capitals G, L, M, N, V; kerned lower case ascenders; cursive g; swash z; inverted-3 ampersand.

LITERATURE Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41, fig. 12; Johnson, 1928a, 19–20; Johnson, 1959, 106–7, fig. 28; Carter, 1969, 121, fig. 78; Tinto, 1972, 36–7; Barker, 1974, 9 (s.v. Cicero Italic); Amert, 1991, 34–5, fig. 11; Veyrin-Forrer, 1995, xxii; Vervliet, 2003a, 156–7.

FIGURE 10a Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) as it occurs in E. Strozzi, *Strozii poemata*, Paris, Colines, 1530, f. aiv–a2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 10b Colines's Chancery Italic on English [It 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) assembled from Silius Italicus, *De bello Punico*, Paris, Colines, 1531. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

ALDVS MAN. ROM. DIVAE
LVCRETIAE BORGIAE
DVCI FERRARIAE
S. P. D.

Um essem Ferrariae superiore anno
c diua Lucretia, adierunt me Guidus,
& Laurentius Stroza nobiliss. inue-
nes, rogaruntq; vt quae Titus pater,
& Hercules frater poemata incastigata morte pra-
uenti reliquissent, accurate recognoscerem, deinde
typis nostris imprimenda curare. Quorum alterum,
et si eram occupatissimus, nec ita affectus, vt sua-
nioribus musis delectarer culpa horum temporum,
quibus si vnquam alias, nunc maxime vicina ruptis
inter se legibus vrbes arma ferunt, sauit toto Mars
impius orbe, tamen recepi me facturum: atq; eo li-
bentius, quod & Hercules vnice me diligebat (audi-
uit. n. me puer) & nunc tota domus Stroza diligit.
Alterum vero non posse praestare respondi, cum alijs
plurimis, tum quia nondum videretur commodum,
antiquis me includere curis. cum vero illi nihilomi-
nus instarent, vt & id darem veteri amicitiae, quae
mihi cum eo ipso Hercule summa intercessit, cura-

A B C D E F G G H I L I M M N N O P Q R S T V U
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
& & &

11. The 'Savetier' English-Sized Italic [It 89] or *Saint-Augustin* (1529)

A close but rather rough copy of the 1520 Basle or Schoeffer Italic appears at the end of the 1530's at the press of Nicolas Savetier. It may have been cut by an inexperienced punchcutter, as yet unknown. I have not seen this face used except by Nicolas Savetier or in publications ascribable to him. It is also the text type of the first edition (c.1525) of Gildas (STC 11892), attributed by Rhodes (1979) to an Antwerp press. It was printed on behalf of Cuthbert Tunstall, who happened to be in France in the summer of 1527 and 1529 (Sturge, 1938, 106–9).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 13.5/12.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 89 x 1.8 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1529, Paris, [N. Savetier] (N. Berault, *Oratio de pace*; Ghent, University Library, Hist. 6630; Moreau, 3: 450, no. 1640).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1529, J. Denis.

FIGURE 11 The 'Savetier' English-Sized Italic [It 89] or *Saint-Augustin* (1529) as it appears in N. Berault, *Oratio de pace*, Paris, [N. Savetier], 1529, p. [2]. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Reuerendissimo Domino, D. Cardinali Senonensi,
si, maximo Galliarum Cancellario, Antonio Pra
to Nicolaus Beralduus. S.D.

ORATIONEM TVO IVSSV NV
per in Cameracensi conuentu de pacis ac illu
strissimum heroidon laudibus a me scriptam,
abs te probatam ad te remitto, P. obseruan
dis, sed intra eum modum conditam, quem. R. D. T. mihi sta
tuerat. Poterant assui alia permulta: quaedam certe intertexe
re erat in animo, nisi nephas uisum fuisset, quos tu mihi can
cellos circumdederas, egredi. Alioqui non ignorabam amplam
ac magnificam orationem esse eam, quae tonare ac fulgurare,
omniaque miscere ac perturbare possit: nec sine dicendi copia ac
spacio auditorem delectari ac moueri posse. Sed mihi ad audien
tium delicias ac fastidium respicienti, non ex orationis medio
ritate, sed breuitate ac angustia commendatio petenda fuit.
Quare tantum abest, ut hinc uel doctrinae uel eloquentiae laudem
mihi ipse, nullam uendicem, ut abunde magnum putem, fidei at
que obsequij gloriam affecutum esse. Vale Cameraci No
uis Augustis in augustarum congressu.

12. Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1530)

Tory's *Aediloquium* of 1530 is set entirely in Colines's English-Bodied Italic (10) except for a short note on the dangers of love: 'Vale viator, et in amoris vias, si potes, ne venito ...' appearing on the verso of f. b8. Its five lines are set in a new and smaller Italic, which reappears from 1531 onwards in Colines's editions of classic and Neo-Latin literary authors, either in the side-notes of the octavos, or as text type for the sextodecimos. An early example of the latter is the Horatius of 1531, whose colophon refers to the *typis suis* of Colines (Renouard, 1894, 181).

I have failed to spot in Colines's printing an even smaller Italic on Brevier (55 mm), which is mentioned by Carter (1969, 121). It may be a slip of the pen. I guess he is referring to Colines's Pica Italic (15).

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 9/8.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 64 x 1.2 : 1.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1530, Paris, S. de Colines (G. Tory, *Aediloquium ceu Disticha*, f. b8v; Kortrijk, Public Library, GV 12093/c; Moreau, 3: 603, no. 2308).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1548, C. Badius & R. I Estienne; 1549, R. I Estienne; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals, well below the ascender line, only a bit higher than the lower case; open lower case v.

LITERATURE Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41–4, fig. 11; Johnson, 1959, 106; Carter, 1969, 121; Tinto, 1972, 33; Amert, 1991, 34–5 (s.v. 'Petit-texte'), fig. 12; Schreiber, 1995, 70–1, fig. 70; Veyrin-Forrer, 1995, xxv–xxvi; Vervliet, 2003a, 158.

FIGURE 12a Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1530) as it appears in Martialis, *Epigrammaton libri xiiii*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1533, f. 4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 12b Colines's Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* assembled from Martialis, *Epigrammaton libri xiiii*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1533, f. 5v–7. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

L I B. I. A

Prostratum Nemees & vasta in valle leonem,
Nobile & herculeum fama canebat opus.
Prisca fides taceat nam post tua munera, Cæsar,
Hæc iam fœminea vidimus æta manu.
Pœna Laureoli.

Qualiter in Scythica religatis rupe Prometheus
Assiduam nimio pectore panit anem:
Nuda Calidonio sic pectora præbuit vrso,
Non falsa pendens in cruce, Laureolus.
Vinebant laceri membris stillantibus artus,
In que omni nusquam corpore corpus erat.
Denique supplicium dederat necis ille paternæ,
Vel domini ingulum foderat ense nocens.
Templa vel arcano demens spoliauerat auro,
Subdiderat sævas vel tibi Roma faces.
Vicerat antiquæ sceleratus crimina famæ:
In quo quæ fuerat fabula, pœna fuit.
De Dedalo.

Dædale lucano cum sic lacereris ab vrso,
Quàm cuperes pennas nunc habuisse tuas.
De rhinocerote.

Præstitit exhibitus tota tibi Cæsar arena,
Quæ non promisit prælia rhinoceros.
O quàm terribilis exarsit pronus in iras.
Quantus erat cornu, cui pila taurus erat.
De leone, qui gubernatorem offendit.

Læserat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum,
Ausus tam notas contemere manus.
a.iii.

ABCDEFGHIJLMNOPQRSTV
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y
æ & & ff fi ff ß

13. Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or *Gros-romain* (1532)

Like Colines's earlier English-Bodied Italic (10), this type was modelled after an Arrighi model, though in a more formal Chancery style, the *cancellaresca formata* of the writing-masters (Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41). Arrighi introduced it in 1526 (Balsamo-Tinto, 1967, 136, fig. 55). Colines seems to have imitated Arrighi's second Italic (1526) or its 1530 copy used by Antonio Blado (Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41; Balsamo-Tinto, 1967, fig. 52). Anyhow, the three typefaces are quite similar and all feature the inverted-3 ampersand, which became characteristic for Colines and later for the early Garamont Italics. Colines's design became quite popular in Paris. Four similar Italics originated in the years to follow. Two of them have been attributed to Garamont (18 and 29).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16.5/15.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 118 x 2.2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1532, Paris, S. de Colines (P. Anghiera, *Extraict ou recueil des isles nouvellement trouuees*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, K 6181; Moreau, 4: 133, no. 325).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1536, L. Blaubloom; 1546, R. & Cl. Chaudière, R. I Estienne; 1554, Ch. Estienne; 1565, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1555, R. I Estienne; 1561, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Upright Roman capitals; duplicate forms of Q; two lower case g (narrow/broad); pointed v with ascending lead-in stroke; two z (short/tailed); inverted-3 ampersand.

LITERATURE Johnson-Morison, 1924, 41, fig. 13; Johnson, 1928a, 20; Johnson, 1959, 106–7; Carter, 1969, 121; Tinto, 1972, 37; Amert, 1991, 35, fig. 14; Veyrin-Forrer, 1995, xxv, xlii; Vervliet, 1999, 10–12, fig. 1; Vervliet, 2003a, 159–60.

FIGURE 13a Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or *Gros-romain* (1532) as it appears in Galenus, *De causis respirationis*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1533, f. 42. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

FIGURE 13b Colines's Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or *Gros-romain* (1532) assembled from L. Alamanni, *La coltivatione*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1546. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

IOANNI RVELLIO SVESSIONENSI, VIRO INRE
Medica præstantissimo, Ioannes Vasseus Meldensis Salutem.



Aleni commentarios de causis respirationis, de ipsius usu, & de difficultate spirandi, quotidianis ab occupationibus liber, è græco sermone latinis literis madaui, vir doctissime. quos nomini tuo dicatos, vt legas, iudiciūmq̃ quod sit referas, non vehementer solū expecto, desideroque: verū quoq̃ tuum ad decretum me ipse confirmo. à quo sanè dissentire nō possum. Neq̃ id facio, vt forsitan quibusdā videbitur, simulatione. Tantū etenim doctrinæ probitatīq̃ tuæ tribuo, vt quæ velis, quæ dicas, ea mihi omnia & recta & vera videantur. nec me fallit opinio. Nam quis te non doctum, non plenū officii, non frugi hominem, ac planè virum bonum existimauit? Quis vnquam tanti factus fuit, aut fieri potuit, aut debuit à doctissimo quoq̃, quanti tu? Si de meritis agendum sit, medicinam ipsam iamdiu crassis occultatam & circumfusam tenebris per te detectam, pristinoque nitori restitutam quis negabit? non sanè Lutetiana schola. Nempe cum in ea orbis rei medicæ conuersus ita esset, vt vix sonitus audiri, vix impressa orbita videri posset (nempe penè tota perierat res medica) tu vnus maximo cum labore (Nam quamplurimi erant qui contrà niterentur) orbem hunc in meliorem reduxisti conditionem, opemq̃ occidenti medicinæ tulisti. Si de doctrina, testimonium perhibēt

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V X

a b c d e f g g h i l m n o p q r s t u z

&

14. The First 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1532)

Estienne never had the same large assortment in Italic types as for Roman, Hebrew or Greek. Up to 1542, his case in Italic was limited to this one on Pica with small-sized upright capitals in a true Aldine style. In 1542 Estienne replaced it by another Italic in the same size; a couple of years later he added another on Long Primer. We do not know who engraved this first Italic. It may have been cut by the engraver of his 1530 Romans, but except for its contemporaneity we lack any clue for this hypothesis. Its design is rather mean and it may be the work of a beginner.

I have not seen this first Estienne Pica Italic used outside Estienne's own press.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 80 x 1.5 x 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 17 June 1532, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Cicero, Epistolae familiares*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3001; Moreau, 4: 144, no. 369).

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals well below the ascender line; A with pointed apex; C and R below the capital line; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; winged Y extending above capital line; small-bowled lower case g; narrow s; short y.

LITERATURE Tinto, 1972, 34; Vervliet, 2004, 138–9, no. 10.

FIGURE 14 The First 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 83] or *Cicéro* (1532) as appearing in *Exemplaria literarum quibus Rex Franciscus ... defenditur*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1 September 1537, f. [207]. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

DE DIEV ROY DE FRANCE, AV PREVOST DE
Paris, Bailly de Rouen, Dorleans, de Touraine, Seneschal de Lyon, & a tous noz
autres iusticiers & officiers, ou a leurs lieutenans Salut.

RECEV auons humble supplication de Robert Estienne imprimeur demeurât
a Paris, cōtenant que depuis peu de temps en ca, il a eu par les mains de luy de
noz seruiteurs ung Recueil, qui a este fait de plusieurs lettres escriptes tāt par nous,
que par aucuns noz seruiteurs & bienueillars, par lesquelles sont cōfutees les calū-
nies qui par noz ennemis ont este semees cōtre uerite, & pour denigrer nostre hon-
neur. Et y sōt declarez les debuoirs esquelz nous sōmes mys tāt pour auoir que pour
entretenir la paix entre Lēpercur & nous, noz royaumes, pays, terres & subiectz.
Aussi pour mettre bon accord & unio en nostre mere sainte esglise. Lequel Recueil
& liure quil a mōstrē a plusieurs personages de grād sçauoir, loyaulte, uertuz &
literature il feroit uolūtiers imprimer: affin que la uerite des choses ne puisse estre
calūniee, mais uenir a parfaite cōgnoissance, Nous humblement requerant luy per-
mettre faire la dictē impressiō: & sur ce, luy impartir nostre grace. Pource est il
que nous ces choses cōsideries, & qui de syrōs especiallemēt que cōme dict est, chascū
soit sur ce deuement informē, & que la uerite ne soit calūniee, Inclinans a la suppli-
cation & requeste dudict suppliāt: luy auons permis & octroye, octroyōs & perme-
tons par ces presentes quil puisse imprimer & faire imprimer ledict liure, & les li-
ures par luy imprimez, uēdre ou faire uēdre par tout nostre Royaume, pays, terres
& seigneuries, sās ce que autre que luy, ou ceulx qui aurōt charge de luy, le puissent
imprimer, ne faire uēdre, ne distribuer insques au tēps & terme de six ans, a cōpter
du iour & date de cesdictes presentes. Si nous madons & cōmettons par cesdictes
presentes, & a chascun de nous en droit soy, que de nostre presente grace & permis-
sion nous faictes, souffrez & laissez ledict suppliāt, & ceulx qui auront charge de
luy, iouyr & user pleinement & paisiblement, sans leur mettre, ou dōner, ne souffrir
estre fait, mys, ou dōné aucun destourbier ou empeschement au contraire. Lequel si
faict, mys, ou dōné leur estoit: le reparer, ou faictes reparer incontinent & sans de-
lay: en faisant, ou faisant faire expressement inhibitiōs & deffenses de par nous sur
certaines & grād peines a nous a appliquer, a tous libraires & autres personnes
quelcōques de non imprimer, uēdre ne distribuer ledict liure, ledict temps durant,
sans le conge, licēce & permission dudict suppliāt. Et ce sur grand peines a nous a
appliquer, & de perdition & cōfiscation desdictz liures, si aucuns estoient par eulx
imprimez cōtre & au praiudice de ladictē prohibition. Car ainsi nous plaist il estre
faict. Madons & cōmandons a tous noz iusticiers, officiers, & subiectz que a le-
xecution de cesdictes presentes soit obey. Donné a Paris, le septiesme iour Daoust,
L'an mil cinq cent trente & sept, & de nostre regne le uingt & troisieme.

Ainsi signe Des Landes.

Seellē a simple queue de cire jaune.

15. Colines's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1534)

As were most early Italics, the Colines typeface is a close imitation of the Aldine Italic, including its small-sized, upright capitals, but the Colines lower case is sturdier than the Aldine^d and somewhat reminiscent of the Schoeffer^e design. I have not seen the Colines Pica Italic used outside his own press. The 1542 Estienne Pica Italic, described below in (19), is a very close, though in my opinion somewhat inferior, copy of this Colines face, differing only in few letters. Estienne's displays a narrow H, broad L, top serifs of T slanting to the left, winged Y, lower case g with a small egg-shaped bowl.

Amert (1991, 35) suggests that Colines had already introduced a first state of this face in 1533. No reference is quoted and I suspect that the Italic, used in Colines's 1533 Solinus (Moreau, 4: 265, no. 821; Schreiber, 1995, 96, no. 104) is referred to. As this is the Schoeffer Italic, the work was probably printed by Blaubbloom, who owned a fount of that face (Renouard, 1964, 4: 94; pl. Biii 17, no. 137).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 81 x 1.6 : 1.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN June 1534, Paris, S. de Colines (J. Günther [Jonas Philologus], *Dialogi aliquot*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 49274:1; Moreau, 4: 315, no. 1015; Schreiber, 1995, 98, fig. 107).

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals well below the ascender line; capital A with right-serifed apex; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; broad T.

VARIANT LETTER Non-serifed apex of A in 1545.

LITERATURE Amert, 1991, 35–6, fig. 17; Vervliet, 2003a, 161–2.

FIGURE 15a Colines's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1534) as it appears in Demochares, *In octo libros Topicorum Aristotelis...hypomnema*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1535, f. a1. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15b Colines's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1534) assembled from Demochares, *In octo libros Topicorum Aristotelis...hypomnema*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1535, f. a1–a4v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15c (opposite, above) Griffio's 1500 Pica Italic [It 80] as it appears in N. Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, Venice, Aldus, 1513, col. 1436. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15d (opposite, below) Schoeffer's 1520 Pica Italic [It 80] as it appears in Erasmus, *Adagia*, Lyons, Seb. Gryphius, 1528, f. 1054v. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.



Ingredientibus fertilem dialectices campū, non alienum sanè fuerit, in ipso statim limine audis omnium oculis uberrimā eiusdem frugem proponere: qua huius studiosi nō languide allesti, maiore studio & diligentia alacriore ad illum inuitentur, inuitati dignè incolant, cultum tanto tempore conferuēt, ut ab eo fructus germanā & maturam suauitatē referentes, abunde suscipiant. nec non intelligant hunc campū consitum haudquaquā uepribus esse asperis, dumetis crassantibus, neq; lolio & xixania disseminatum acribus & austeris, nec deniq; saporibus quorundam peregrinis, stupidis & nullius palato sani arridentibus inspersum: quippe qui nō occupetur tendiculis inanibus, & in perniciem ingenuorum adolescentum ad bonas disciplinas mentem attollentiū excogitatis: uerum legitima facie fructus transmittat suauissimos: quos omni melle dulciores sentiet, qui gustauerit: nec non ipsa fertilitate fecundiores perspiciet. Tanto siquidem latior dialectices expanditur campus, quanto commune particulari maius enuntiatur. Maxime itaque copiosos colligent ex eo fructus, qui paratos habuerint animos, & quandā nati fuerint solertiam ad differendum de re qualibet. ad hos nimirum percipiendos facili accessu deducit inuentionis methodus, & recta locorum perceptio. in cuius proba assequutione diligens negligentia impendatur fuerit per opportunum, ut ea directi, tutissimè per uaria & incredibilia rerum genera, & demum pro uoto admodum fructibus amœnis satiati, per omnes totius philosophiæ patentissimos com-

Dialectice
communis
omnibus.

Figure 15a.

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V Y Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x y z

æ ca æ Et & ga ge ij la ll mu

nu œ ff st ta te un

d. Shown in fig. 15c.
e. See fig. 15d.

Figure 15b.

DE PROPINQVITATE.

AESARES Dicti, qui cæsa matre nascun-
tur. Agrippæ, qui cum labore matris
eduntur, hoc est per pedes contra naturâ, non
per caput, quasi ab ægro partu. Vopiscus
qui ex duobus conceptis, uno abortu excluso,
20 ad partum legitimum deducitur. Glos appellatur mari-
ti soror, atq; eadem fratris uxor. Leuir dicitur frater
mariti, quasi leuius uir. Fratriæ appellantur fratrum in-
ter se uxores. Amitini fratrum maris, & fœminæ filij.
Patrueles marium fratrum filij. Consobrini ex dua-
bus editi sororibus, quasi consororini, de quibus exempla mul-
ta sunt in antiquis authoribus, & maxime in Afranio, & in
ris uetustissimis scriptoribus. T E ' A O Σ.

30 a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u x y z
A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S
T V X Y. Omnes sunt quaterniones.

VENETIIS IN AEDIBVS ALDI, ET AN-
DREAE SOCERI M. D. XIII.
MENSE NOVEMBRI.

Figure 15c.

CORRECTA QVAEDAM QVAE PER HV-
manam incuriam se fellerant.

Col. 90. prouerb. Corycæus auscultauit. uers. 4. non recte permixta est Strabonis. ex lib. 14. sententia cum expo-
sitione Zenodoti, cum Strabo loquatur de Coryco Lydiæ, Zenodotus. de Coryco Pamphylia, quemadmodum
& Suidas. Rursum quod idem Suidas refert ex Ephoro de Coryco, & quod citatur ex Stephano ad Lydiæ Co-
rycum pertinet. Col. 153. uers. 20. diuino, Carmen ad quod alluserit Lucianus esse Iliados ξ, quum probabilius sit
illum allussisse ad hos uersiculos qui sunt Iliados λ. ἔκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέωρ ὑπαγε ζεύς, ἔκτε κοῖνης ἑκτάρ
δ' ὀκτασίης, ἐκ δ' αἰματὶ, ἔκτε κυδοιμῶ. Col. 468. uersus penultimus non constat τότε μὲν, Sed sic
habetur in Aristotele. Col. 998. prouerbio: Alius alijs in rebus, uersum 14 iusseram mutari si uideretur, Nam
mihi hic magis aridebat. Hector non potis es deflectere pectora dictis, ut Hectori uirtutem tribuat in bello, in
concilij adimat eloquentiam. In prouerbio: ira omnium tardissime senescit, in Homeri carmine uerso, in Ate uoca-
lem eandem uelut ancipitem corripio & produco. Id non ferent qui putant alpha esse ex contractione, quanquàm
non desunt qui contendunt esse particulam priuatiuam. Itaque qui malunt longam, legant hunc in modum. Quæ
Ate à tergo ueniunt, medeantur ut illi. In paucis alioqui locis, non admodum magni momenti, erratum est, Ita
tamen quod nequicquam remorabitur cruditum lectorem.

INDEX TERNIONVM
HVIVS OPERIS.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u x y z
A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S
T V X. Omnes sunt terniones, dempto X quaternione.

Figure 15d.

16. Gryphius's Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1535)

François Gryphius, the younger brother of the better-known Lyons printer Sebastien Gryphius, has hitherto not been associated with type design (Renouard, 1965, 185–6; Kemp, 1991; Vervliet, 1998, 52). There are, however, some indications that, besides his presumed capacities as a woodcutter (Johnson, 1935, 190), he may have been active as a letter engraver. Anyhow, his scarce publications, appearing from 1531 onwards, exhibit types (mainly Romans and Hebrews) which are new and peculiar to him or to his known customers.

Among his types there occurs from 1535 onwards a rather inconsequential Italic, with a lower case really not well enough designed to ensure a long life. It faded away in the following decade. Sometimes during the 1540s sloped capitals were added, e.g. in Gryphius's 1544 *Pro Marcello* of Cicero, in his 1545 Valerius Maximus and the sidenotes in Eguiner-François Baron's *Institutiones* (Poitiers, Marnefii, 1550).

An occurrence at the press of Conrad Neobar, the first royal printer for Greek, has lead to a suggestion (quite improperly in my opinion) that Garamont may have been involved (Renouard, 1964, 5: 97, no. 79).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 81 x 1.5 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1535, Paris, F. Gryphius (B. Latomus, *Epitome commentariorum ... Agricolae*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 2027:2; Moreau, 4: 401, no. 1353).

EARLY APPEARANCES Poitiers: 1537, J. II and E. II de Marnef; Paris: 1539, J. de Gourmont, F. Gryphius & wid. C. Chevallon; C. Neobar; 1541, J. Bogard; 1544, J. de Roigny; Antwerp: 1540, J. Coccius; 1544, G. Coppens van Diest; Bordeaux: 1540, J. Mentele.

KEY LETTERS Strong capital C; one-eared M; thin diagonal of Z; strong lower case v; descending terminal of z.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 5: 93; Vervliet, 1968, 71, n.4; Tinto, 1972, 34; Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 80, n.8; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 65, n.8.

FIGURE 16 Gryphius's Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1535) as it appears in J. Ringelberg, *Dialectica*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1538, f. b2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

IOACHIMI RINGEL.

ui gesimus, centesimus, millesimus. Quippe nihil esse secundum potest, nisi aliud primum sit: nihil tertium, nisi secundum aliquid reperiatur. Eodem pertinent simplex, duplex, triplex, quadruplex. Et simplum, duplum, triplum, quadruplum dimidium. Quoniam duplum ad aliquid simplum refertur: sicut magnum ad paruum: altum ad humile: sursum ad deorsum: superius ad pronum: longum ad breue: secundum ad primum. Relatiuorum natura est, ut unum sine altero nequeat intelligi. Pater enim esse nemo potest sine filio: nec mons sine ualle: nec dux sine comite. Item relatiua se mutuo definiunt. Vt pater est, qui habet filium. Filius qui habet patrem. Maius, quo aliquid minus est. Minus, quo maius aliquid reperitur. Maritus, qui uxorem habet. Vxor, cui maritus est. Et relatiua simul aiunt oriri, consistere, definire. Siquidem eodem tempore fiunt, & definiunt esse: dominus & seruus: praeceptor & discipulus: auus & nepos: dux & comes.

Vfus praedicamentorum.

Radicamenta conducunt ad finitiones, & ad cognitionem locorum communium:

Eodem enim modo quicquid aut discimus, aut legimus, digerere debemus in capita communia, sicut hi ordines rerum à Dialecticis proponuntur.

ANTVER. DIALECTICA: 10

Quid Thema, & quot eius species.

Hema, est id de quo agitur: uel est id, ad

quod omnia orationis, seu disceptationis argumenta referuntur. Thematum duo genera sunt. Simplex thema, est uox aliqua simplex: ut deus, mundus, homo, animal. Compositum, est integra oratio, siue pronunciatum, uel axioma: Vt Clodius iurecæsus est. Mundus prouidentia regitur. Differendi ratio ad disciplinas omnes necessaria.

De Definitione nominis.

Ria Dialectices officia sunt, finire, diui-

dere, ratiocinari. Finitio & diuisio ad themata simplicia pertinent: argumentatio ad orationem. Definitio est oratio, quæ aut uocis aut rei alicuius naturam declarat. Ea duplex est, nominis & rei. Finitio nominis, est simplex etymologia, uel qualiscunque interpretatio uocabuli. Vt sacrilegium est sacræ rei ablatio. Consul, qui Reipublicæ consulit. Theologus est, qui de deo loquitur. Medicus, qui medetur. Id genus finitiones imperfectiores sunt, quàm descriptiones rerum: neque rerum naturam explicant, sed originem diutaxat uocabuli. Quoniam non continuo scimus, qui consulentes reipub. consules uocandi sint. Nam & miles in pugna Reip. consulit: & ciuis ædificans domum, consulit Reipublicæ. Sic non statim liquet, qui de diuina mente disputantes Theologi sint, siquidē & philosophi, & poetæ, & oratores crebro de deo differunt, nec ideo

17. The 'proto-Garamont' Great Primer Italic
[It 114] or *Gros-romain* (1540)

Nearly ten years after Colines's Great Primer described above in (13), a fresh face appeared in the same size. Some have attributed this face to Garamont, mainly because it has been mistakenly equated with the Great Primer Italic used by Barbé during his partnership with Gaultier and Garamont, described below in (18). Nevertheless the ascription to Garamont may be valid, given the general likeness of both faces and its occurrence at the press of Charlotte Guillard, Garamont's employer at the end of the 1530s.

This typeface is frequently dated 1539, but I failed to see it earlier than 1540 when it starts occurring at Loys's press (Renouard, 1964, S4: nos. 98, 104, 108; with a spurious illustration on p. 108). The 1539 date is inferred from its occurrence in *Le theatre des bons engins* of Guillaume de La Perrière (Morison, 1924, 160–3; Mortimer, 1964, 2: 431–2, no. 337; Carter, 1969, 122, n.6; Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, n.5; 4: 94, n.3). Denys Janot published that work *sine anno*, its privilege being dated 31 January 1539. Rawles

(1987, 381–2) showed that Janot used the Easter style and that four editions of La Perrière's may be distinguished, which can be dated 1540, 1540/41, 1542, and 1544, our typeface appearing in the third. Other Janot imprints, however, start displaying the face in 1541 (Adams, 1999, 1: 371; 2: 27–8).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 114 x 2.2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1540, Paris, J. Loys (J. Perion, *De optimo genere interpretandi*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 11132; Renouard, 1964, S4: 107–9, no. 108).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1541, M. Fezandat, Ch. Guillard, D. Janot; 1542, F. Gryphius, C. Wechel; 1546, P. Attaignant; Lyons: 1542, Frelon Frates; 1546, J. de Tournes.

KEY LETTERS Face differing slightly from the one described below in (19), mainly by its stronger and shorter f, ascending s, ff- and ascending ss-ligatures.

LITERATURE Carter, 1969, 122, fig. 82; Tinto, 1972, 37; Vervliet, 1999, 12–16.

FIGURE 17 The 'proto-Garamont' Great Primer Italic [It 114] or *Gros-romain* (1540) as it occurs in G. de La Perrière, *Le théâtre des bons engins*, Paris, Denys Janot, privilege 1539 [published c.1544], f. A3v. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

MA dame, le Philosophe Seneque Stoique
(auquel sans aulcune controuerse, les
doctes attribuēt, entre les philosophes
latins, la principaulté de morale philosophie)
dit en petites paroles, pleines de grande sub-
stance: Que Fortune n'est iamais en repos. Et
d'auātaige: Qu'elle n'est coustumiere de don-
ner ioye sans tristesse, doulceur sans amertu-
me, repos sans trauail, renommée sans enuie, &
generalemēt aulcune felicité sans infortune,
ce que i'apperçoy en moy à presēt verifié. Car
d'autāt qu'elle m'a rēdu ioyeux, en me donnāt
opportunité de faire treshumble reuerence à
vostre royalle maiesté, & veoir toute nostre
cité illustrée de vostre tāt desirée venue; de ce
qu'elle à hastée icelle, elle m'a rēdu grādemēt
marry, & fāsché, ne me dōnant loysir de pre-
parer, limer, & pfaire selon ma deliberation,
cēt Emblemes, avec aultāt de dixains declara-
tifz, & illustrez d'iceulx. Lesquelz des leur
inuenion, & commencement sont à vous seule
tresillustre princeesse, par moy vostre hum-

18. Garamont's First Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1541)

This typeface, possibly a revision of the Proto-Garamont of 1540 described in (17), was available from 1541 onwards at the press of the Widow Neobar, née Edmée Toussaint, and that of her successor and second husband, Jacques Bogard. The Neobar press is notable on several points: on the occasion of its owner's appointment as the first Royal Printer for Greek, it introduced in the same year 1540 and next to this Italic a new Greek which tentatively has been attributed to Garamont (Vervliet, 2002, 26). Both typefaces reappear in 1545 at the press of the associates Barbé, Gaultier, Garamont.

On his part Jacques Bogard, Edmée Toussaint's second husband, was the nephew of Charlotte Guillard, Garamont's employer in the late 1530s. This supports Beaujon's attribution to Garamont (1926, 139). Finally, this Italic is most probably the one meant by the 'grosse Italicque' mentioned in the 1543 contract between Garamont and Etienne Mesvière, though this typeface has not been seen in the latter's imprints (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 84–5; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 71, n.22). It shows up, however, in 1551 in imprints of Sébastien Nivelle, for whom Mesvière was working as a sub-contractor (Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, n.19; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 71, n.20).

Renouard (1964, S4: 108) mistakenly shows this face occurring at Loys's press as early as 1540. As far as I can ascertain Loys only exchanged the Proto-Garamont of (17) for this face in 1543.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 115 x 2.1 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1541, Paris, Edmée Toussaint (Alexander Aphrodisaeus, *Problemata* (Geneva, University Library, Md 709; Renouard, 1964, 5: 121–3, no. 99).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1541, J. Bogard, M. de Vascosan; 1542, J. Gazeau, J. de Roigny; 1543, J. Loys; 1544, P. II Regnault, C. Wechel; 1545, J. Barbé & P. Gaultier & C. Garamont, G. Du Pré, Jeanne de Marnef, E. Roffet; 1546, C. Bade, J. Kerver & L. Blaubloom; 1548, G. Morel; 1549, L. Begat, B. Prévost & P. Haultin; 1551, S. Nivelle; 1556, R. II Estienne. Lyons: 1544, S. Sabon; 1549, G. Rouille; Rouen: 1550, R. Le Roy; Geneva: 1551, J. Crespin; 1562, J.B. Pinereul, J. de Laon; 1564, F. Perrin.

KEY LETTERS Sheared lower terminal of capital C; one-eared M; angular bowl of lower case e; oblique bottom serifs of p and q; two forms of ampersand (one as an inverted-3).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION promect ledict Garamont de fondre ... grosse Italicque (contract E. Mesvière-Garamont, 1543).

LITERATURE Beaujon, 1926, 139; Tinto, 1972, 37; Vervliet, 1999, 16–18.

FIGURE 18a Garamont's First Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1541) as it appears in Johannes Vallensis, *Opus de prosodia*, Paris, J. Bogard, 1544, f. a2. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 18b Garamont's First Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1541) assembled from Johannes Vallensis, *Opus de prosodia*, Paris, J. Bogard, 1544. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

ADMODVM REVERENDO IN
Christo patri, domino Gabrieli Guzman, cœno-
bij Lōgi pontis abbati dignissimo. F. Iohānes Val-
lensis Hicronymianus. S. P. D.



V M multa sint, Antistes di-
gnissime, quæ mortales inter se
cælestis illius amoris (vt apud
Platonem est) vinculo coniun-
gant, nihil tamẽ illum aut cer-
tiores aut firmiores diuturnio-
remque reddit, quàm vniuscui-

ABCDEF GHI KLMNO QRST V
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
æ Æ & 3 ff α β st

19. The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81]
or *Cicéro* (1542)

Estienne introduced a second Italic on Pica in 1542. Apparently he was quite pleased with it as his bookseller's catalogues describe some of his 1543 publications as printed in 'minori forma & characteribus elegantiss. Italicos Aldi Manutij characteres proximè referentibus'¹⁸ (*Libri in officina Roberti Stephani ... excusi*, Paris, Estienne, 1546, f. B2v–B3; Leuven University Libr., 3 A 21017: 1; Maittaire, 1719, 2,2: 488; Renouard, 1843, 57). In fact, the new Pica Italic is a very close, perhaps somewhat inferior, copy of the 1532 Colines Pica Italic (15), differing only in few letters. Estienne's has a narrow H, broad L, top serifs of T slanting to the left, winged Y, lower case g with a small egg-shaped bowl.

It is also similar to, though not identical with, Garamont's 1545 Aldine Pica Italic (Johnson-Morison, 1924, 49n; Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, n.7). Garamont's has a capital C with a sheared lower terminal, a singly-eared M, a strong N, long-tailed R, Y with straight arms, horizontal terminals of p and q, a tail of y markedly overhanging to the left, two forms of z, both short-tailed. See below (22).

Johnson (1959, 97) suggests and Renouard (1964, 2: 308), Carter (1969, 123, n.4), Schreiber (1982, 71–3), Veyrin-Forrer (1987, 70, n.18) affirm that Garamont cut this second Estienne Italic. In 1542 Garamont had started cutting the *Grecs du Roy* under Estienne's supervision. The capitals of the Royal Greek on Pica, the second to be cut (appearing in 1546), are quite similar to those of

Garamont's own 1545 Italic described below in (22) but not with those of this second Estienne Italic. Of course, Garamont's ideas about their design may have changed over the years. However that may be, in fact, only the 1545 Garamont Italic (22) can be attributed on sure grounds to the master (Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, n.7; Parent & Veyrin-Forrer, 1974, 82, n.18; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 70, n.18; Veyrin-Forrer, 1996).

I have not seen this face used outside the Estienne family.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 81 x 1.5 x 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 15 November 1542, Paris, R. I Estienne (*Cicero, Tusculanarum quaestionum ad M. Brutum libri v*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 8° X 2264 Rés.; Renouard, 1843, p. 53, no. 8).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1548, C. Badius; 1552, C. Estienne; 1565, R. II Estienne; Geneva: 1553, R. I Estienne; 1554, C. Badius; 1557, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Small upright 'Aldine' capitals well below the ascender line; flagged A; pointed lower terminal of C; narrow H; broad L; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; narrow N; top serifs of T slanting to the left; winged Y; oblique terminals of p and q; long-tailed z (two forms).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1959, 97; Carter, 1969, 123; Schreiber, 1982, 71–3; Vervliet, 2004, 139–41, no. 11.

FIGURE 19a The Second 'Estienne' Italic [It 81] Pica or *Cicéro* (1542) as it appears in Dion Cassius, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1544, f. a2v. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 19b The Second 'Estienne' Pica Italic [It 81] or *Cicéro* (1542) assembled from Charles Estienne, *De re hortensi*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1545, pp. 126–41. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

COCCEIVS NERVA. 5

rēt atq; pertentarent, satisne acuti fūrēt. Re autē mēra si-
gnificabat, non admodum sibi curae esse, si uel tunc eo in
loco occideretur. Praefectus erat praetoriū Aelianus Caspe-
rius, quam praefecturam etiā sub Domitiano gesserat.
Hic tumultuantes praetorianos aduersus Nerva concita-
uit, hoc sanē consilio ut per speciem ulciscendae seditionis
quosdam eorum, cū hostes Caesaris, ad mortem posceret.
Sed Nerva Casperio talia molienti adeo restitit, ut denuda-
to collo, iugulum confodiendum porrigeret: quanquā nihil
profecit. Nā hi fere omnes quos Casperius designauerat,
interfecti sunt. Quare cum ob senectam aetatem, amissa
reuerentia, omnibus contemptui quodammodo esset, in Ca-
pitoliū ascendit: atq; Quod felix faustumque S.P.Q.R.
& mihi ipsi sit praefatus, Marcum Vlpium Traianū ado-
ptaui, moxque in curia Caesarē designat. Ad quē imperij
iura atque insignia (praerat enim tunc Germaniae) hoc

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x y z
æ au ca α ci co ci et & etu etu fa fe fi fl fr
fu ga ge gi go gu in is ll me mo mu na ne ns
nu œ sp sſ ti to tt tu ua ui um un us

18. 'In a small format and with letters quite similar to the very elegant Italics of Aldus Manutius.'

20. Gryphius's Great-Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1543)

A close copy of the Proto-Garamont Great Primer Italic (17) occurs from 1543 onwards in Poitiers at the press of the Marnefs. Its capitals A, M, R and lower case v are characteristic of François Gryphius's style. The Marnefs in Poitiers were the latter's regular customers, and an attribution to him seems admissible. He used the face himself but only occasionally, e.g. in his 1544 edition of Cicero's *Pro Marcello* (Chicago, Newberry Library, Case Y 672.C766); many of his other imprints, probably co-published with Loys, display the Proto-Garamont, mentioned above in (17).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 115 x 2.1 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1543, **Poitiers**, J. II and E. II de Marnef (G. Cailleau, *Paraphrase sur les Heures de nostre Dame*; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 8 BB 1493 inv. 1651 Rés.; Mortimer, 1964, 2: 402, no. 307).

EARLY APPEARANCE 1544, **Paris**, Fr. Gryphius.

KEY LETTERS Low-barred capital A, oblique stems of M, narrow R; lower case g with low ear; blunted vertex of v.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 1999, 19.

FIGURE 20a Gryphius's Great-Primer Italic [It 114] or *Gros-romain* (1543) as it appears in *Histoire de Theodorite*, Poitiers, Marnef, 1544, f. a3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 20b Gryphius's Great-Primer Italic [It 114] or *Gros-romain* (1543) assembled from *Histoire de Theodorite*, Poitiers, Marnef, 1544, and J. Bouchet, *Annales d'Aquitaine*, Poitiers, Marnef, 1545. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum and Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

par ses ennemys, que par gens peu feables. Or si vou-
lons regarder les anciennes bistoires Romaines, qui est
celluy si peu instruiet en langue Latine, qui soit igno-
rant, que Scipio Africain, cestuy qui a attraiet Han-
nibal hors de l'Itale, & l'a surmonté pres de Cartha-
ge, n'ait aprins d'auantage le faict de guerre & re-
gime de la Rep. par les liures de Xenophon, que par
a iiii

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V X Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

Æ & ff ss ß ſ

21. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 96]
or *Saint-augustin*: First State
with upright capitals (1545)

A Granjon Italic of this size outfitted regularly with sloped capitals is well documented by contemporary archival and bibliographic sources. It appears from 1543 onwards first in Paris and Lyons, spreading later over the whole of Europe (see below, pp. 324–5). Its sloped capitals, however, were rejected in Paris by some more traditionally minded printers such as Vascosan (1545) and Le Jeune (1549). Both printers started employing Granjon's lower case with small upright capitals. In fact, the first named used two sets of capitals. The first set is unattributed but was probably cut by Granjon. It is shown here in fig. 21. About 1549 Vascosan and Le Jeune started using it with the capitals of Garamont's 1545 Pica Italic, described below in (22), to the same purpose. The first set of upright capitals can be differentiated by the pointed top terminal of its capital A, its one-eared M, broader N and T. From

about 1550 onwards Vascosan as well as Le Jeune came to accept Granjon's sloped capitals.

The English-sized Vascosan Italic shown by Beaujon (1926, fig. 10) is presumably an erroneously reduced reproduction of the Great Primer Italic described above in (18).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 13.5/12.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 96 x 1.8 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1545, Paris, M. de Vascosan & G. Corrozet (with upright capitals possibly by Granjon: P. Bembo, *Les Azolains*; Ghent, University Library, Res. 772) and 1549, Paris, M. de Vascosan (with upright capitals of Garamont's Pica Italic: Dexippus, *In defensionem Praedicamentorum Aristotelis*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, Rar. D 2199).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1549, J. Dallier, J. Roffet, M. Le Jeune.

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 292–3, no. 1; Vervliet, 1998, 10–11, no. 1.

FIGURE 21 Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 96] or *Saint-augustin première*: First State with upright capitals possibly by Granjon (1545) as it occurs in J. Peletier, *Oeuvres poetiques*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1547, f. A3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

AV TRESCHRESTIEN ROY

François premier de ce nom .

SI LA faueur que porte ta nature
A ux gens lettrez, & leur literature
N'estoit assez notoir enuers chacū,
Roy q n'as roy audeſus de toy qu'un,
I e ne pourroye a peine m'exenter
D'auoir meſpris, en uenant preſenter
A ta hauteur mes Poeticques carmes,
E n ce temps cy que Mars par ſes allarmes
V ient faire guerre aux gracieuſes Muſes:
E t de deſpit qu'a elles tu t'amuſes,
A tout effort ueut tenir en ſouffrance
E t en deſroy ta tresloyalle France,
E t toy qui es des lettres le uray pere:
E t par cela il s'attend & eſpere
Que les lettrez n'ayans plus de ſecours,
A uſſi n'auront les lettres plus de cours.
M ais c'eſt a luy trop auant entrepris,
V ouloir gaigner par deſſus toy le prix,
S us toy qui es du plus haut Ciel parti
P our ſoutenir des lettres le parti,
E t que les Dieux par accord reſolu
E n ces bas lieux eſtablir ont voulu
L e gouuerneur & chef de ceſt affaire.

A iij

22. Garamont's Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1545)

This typeface is attributable to Garamont on the basis of the reference to two sets of matrices for a typeface of this size in the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 19). Moreover, it appears from 1545 onwards at the presses of known customers of Garamont; first, Jacques Bogard, the nephew of Garamont's formerly employer Charlotte Guillard, then of Jean Barbé the following year.

With Pierre Gaultier, probably Garamont's brother-in-law, Barbé had been Garamont's associate in a short-lived publishing 1545 venture (Renouard, 1964, 3: 30–1). However, it may be noted that in the Garamont-Gaultier-Barbé 1545 imprints the usual Italic on this size was the common Basle (or Schoeffer) Aldine and that that face has improperly been attributed to Garamont (Warde, 1926, 138; Johnson, 1959, 97–8; Renouard, 1964, 54: 19; corrected in Tinto, 1972, 49; Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, n.9).

Probably the Garamont Aldine Italic on Pica only became available at the end of the year 1545. Moreover, its capitals, so far as they are common, are all but identical with those of the second *Grec du Roy*, which is on the same Pica size and became public in 1546 (Vervliet, 2004, 150–2), which strengthens the attribution. It has plausibly been suggested that the preface, dated 18 February 1545, to Garamont's first publication, viz. the 1545 Chambellan's *Pia et religiosa meditatio* (Omont, 1888, 13; Johnson-Morison, 1924, 49) alludes to this face. Garamont mentions therein that he was busy cutting an Aldine Italic and a smaller commentary type ('glossa') of the same letter family (Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82, n.18).

This face became quite popular with Paris printers: it was excellently designed, well balanced and, no doubt, the best of the Aldine Italics available in this size on the Paris market. On its relation to the 1542 Estienne Pica Italic, see (19). In the years 1549–50 Vascosan and Le Jeune mated the capitals of this face to the lower case of

Granjon's Italic on English (Vervliet, 1998, 11), though in some imprints non-Garamont upright capitals were also used; see above (21). Apparently these printers were reluctant to follow the new fashion of sloped capitals introduced about then in Paris by Granjon.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 11.5/11 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 80 x 1.5 x 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1545, Paris, J. Bogard (*Cinquante deux pseavmes de David*; Geneva, University Library, Bb 2367 Rés.; Renouard, 1964, 5: 194, no. 202); and 1545, Paris, J. Barbé (M.A. Flaminio, *In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio*; after Renouard, 1964, 3: 39, no. 43, pl. 7).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1546, J. Barbé & J. Gazeau, J. Loys, E. Mesviere; 1547, J. Dallier, J. Roigny, T. Richard; 1548, J. Gazeau & J. Foucher; 1549, G. Cavellat, N. Du Chemin, M. Le Jeune, G. I Morel, B. Prevost & P. Haultin & Wid. A. Birckman, M. de Vascosan; 1551, R. Avril, Oudin I Petit; 1552, J. Amazeur, S. Nivelle, G. Thiboust; 1554, Wid. M. de La Porte; 1555, Ch. Chevallon; G. Le Noir, A. Wechel; 1556, R. II Estienne; 1562, C. Langelier; 1567, J. Bienné; 1572, F. I Morel; 1573, L. Breyer; 1579, M. Patisson; 1595, F. II Morel;

KEY LETTERS Flagged top of capital A; sheared lower terminal of C; singly-bracketed top serifs of M; narrow N; straight arms of Y; oblique terminals of p and q; two forms of tailed z.

VARIANT LETTERS Concave top terminal of capital A (from 1552 onwards).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Italicarum itaque proxime ad Aldinas literarum sculpo¹⁹ (Garamont's preface to Chambellan, 1545); Italicque Cicero de Garamond; Italicque Cicero telle quelle Garamond (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 3: 34, n.7; 4: 140; Veyrin-Forrer & Parent, 1974, 82, n.18; 84, fig. 4; Veyrin-Forrer, 1987, 70, n.18; Veyrin-Forrer, 1996.

FIGURE 22a (opposite, above) Garamont's Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1545) as it appears in Dexippus, *In defensionem Praedicamentorum Aristotelis*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1549, f. A4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 22b (opposite, below) Garamont's Pica Italic [It 80] or *Cicéro* (1545) assembled from Dexippus, *In defensionem Praedicamentorum Aristotelis*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1549, f. A4. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

19. 'I am engraving an Italic similar to the Aldine one.'

4

DEXIPPI PHILOSOPHI PLATO-
nici in Aristotelis prædicamenta quæstionum
Liber primus.
Seleucus discipulus. Dexippus præceptor.

LET SI pudor quidā me deterret, ò doctissi-
me præceptor Dexippe, dum honestū ad-
modum & egregium à te petere benefi-
cium studeo: quia tamē Hesiodo fidē ad-
hibeo, qui ait, Nā pudor haud bonus est
homini quando indiget ulli, eo dimisso tecū agere fiden-
ter uolo. Dexip. Sed ego equidem iam dudum mira-
bar ò bone Seleuce, quòd cum ista ætate esses, docilitate
& modestia ita præstares, ut studiosissime ad discēdum
uentitares, & quæ didicisses, stabiliter conseruares: so-
lertia uero & acumine ingenij ita esses incitatus, ut lō-
go interuallo in interrogationibus omnibus alijs ante-
celleres. Quocirca tibi nunc ita discendi cupido obsequi
in omnibus paratus sum. Nā licet ex ijs quæ ad bonam
fortunam spectant, nihil tibi deesse uideatur, & genere
& gloria ita clareas, ut nostræ huius conditionis alius
nemo: animi tui tamen ad bona & honesta omnia pro-
pensione præcipue admirandam duco: & quòd cæteris
externis contemptis, eruditionis & discendi insatiabili
quodam desiderio tenearis. Iccirco quicquid cupis, quod
ad literas attineat, iubere ne uerearis. Seleucus. Ex-
plica igitur quæ de prædicamentis Aristotelis uenire in
quæstionem consueuerunt, eorūque solutiones subiun-
ge. Dex. Magnum quidē est quod iubes ò charissime
Seleuce, quòdque non facile perfici à me in præsentia

A iiij

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN O P Q R S T V X

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x

æ as Et & ff fi ij is ll q ſ

ß ss st us

23. Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain première* (1545)

This face is firmly attributed to Robert Granjon by a sizeable number of contemporary attributions. It was outfitted with a double series of capitals, upright and sloped. Both are preserved in a set of matrices now in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. It was the first of Granjon's typefaces to enjoy an worldwide distribution over the centuries to come. For a detailed discussion, see Vervliet, 1998, 13–14, no. 2.

Veyrin-Forrer (1996, 4) mentions an Italic with upright capitals in this size cut by Garamont to go with his Old-face Italic on Long Primer but I failed to find such a face in Parisian printing. The small Italic mentioned by Renouard (1964, 5: 159, no. 140) as measuring 66 mm is in fact the Chevallon Brevier described above (9).

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 9.5/9 Anglo-American/Didot; 20 67 x 1.2 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1545, **Paris**, J. Bogard (with upright capitals: Cl. Marot, *Cinquante deux psaumes de David*; Geneva, University Library, Bb 2367 Res.); and J. Barbé (M.A. Flaminio; Renouard, 3: 39, no. 43, pl. B-II-7); and N. Du Chemin (*Cinquante psaumes de David*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Yc 1486 Rés.); and 1545, **Lyons**, J. de Tournes (with sloped capitals: *Il Petrarca*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 805432 Rés.).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Lyons**: 1546, Beringi Fratres; 1547, G. Rouillé, J. Ausoult; 1549, Ph. Rollet; **Paris**: 1546, J. Loys, Jeanne de Marnef; 1547, Ch. Guillard; 1548, C. Badius, A. Jurien, G. Morel; 1549, J. Du Puys, M. Fezandat, R. Granjon; M. de Vascosan; 1551, E. Groulleau; 1553, E. Groulleau; 1556, G. Du Pré, G. Julian; G. Cavellat; 1557, M. Le Jeune, B. Prevost, J. Ruelle; 1558, G. Desboys; 1561, T. Richard; 1562, J. Le Preux; 1566, R. II Estienne; 1574, M. de Roigny, N. Bonfons; 1576, A. L'Angelier; 1579, C. Micard; **Basle**: 1547, J. Oporinus; 1558, P. Perna; **Antwerp**: 1548, M. Nutius; **Venice**: 1549, G. Giolito; 1555, P. Manutius; **Geneva**: 1551, J. Crespin; 1552, P. Hamelin; 1553, R. I Estienne, J. Girard.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. D, 'Pro Sestio' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 32); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 47 vo 'Garamonde Cursiue' (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 43); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdruksel van alle de letteren*, 'Garmont Curciif' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 14, no. 12); c.1585, C. Plantin,

Antwerp, *Folio specimen*, 'Colineus Cursiue'; with capitals of Granjon's Valentine (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 60); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. 57, 'Corsiue Garamone' (Vervliet, 1967, 36, no. 57); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Garmond Cursyf [3]' (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); only lower case; p.1725, Antwerp, [B. van Wolsschaten], *Proef van letteren*, 'Bovrgois'; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; with diverging sorts.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 54a (Early inv., 1960, 8).

KEY LETTERS The typeface has upright and sloped capitals. One-eared upright capital M, non-serifed lower diagonal of K, small bowl of R.

VARIANT LETTERS In the upright capitals, variants occur in the H (narrower/broader) and P (larger/smaller); in the sloped capitals, there is an A without right-hand top curl and a M with/without right top serif. The lower case i, z, and the ampersand have variant forms.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Petite frappe de coursive dont lon imprime les petits poetes (? Contract Granjon-Molina, 1547); Petit ytalique en blanc de petit cicero (Contract Granjon-Hus, 1548); une frappe en matrices ... d'une petite lettre corsive appelee la nompaille (contract Rouillé-Granjon, 1550); Petite ytalique sur le même blanc [de petit romain] laquelle communément l'on fait les petits poètes [garnie de deux sortes de capitales assavoir droites et couchées] (Contract Granjon-Martinez, 1551); Petite cursive de Robert Granjon (Beringen, 1556); Petittie Italicque Grand Jonc (Plantin, 1556); Garamont petit Rommain Italicque de Granjon (Plantin, 1561); Italicque de Granjon premiere [sur la] Garramonde (Plantin, 1572); [Garmont] eerste cursyue van Granjon (Plantin, 1580); Cursiue de Robert Granjon premiere [sur] Colineus (Plantin, 1581); Colineus cursyff van robert granlon, genaemt de granlonne cursyve (letter of De Vechter to Moretus, 1592); Italicque petit Romain Granjon poettes (? Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1939, 200, no. 11; Johnson, 1941, 293, no. 2; Johnson, 1959, 112–13; Early inv., 1960, 8 (MA 54a); Vervliet, 1967, 36, no. 57; Hart, 1970, 181; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 32; 10, no. 60; Tinto, 1972, 77, pl. 23; Vervliet, 1998, 13–14, no. 2.

FIGURE 23a Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain première* (1545) as it appears in *Amour de Cupido*, Paris, Jeanne de Marnef, 1546, f. B2v. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 23b Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain première* (1545) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 54a). Last line contains later additions. Copyright of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

*La madre, è l' R é di lagrime si bagnano
Col popol suo couerti à negro manto,
Ma pur sorra il feretro l' accompagnano
Al luogo detto da l' oracol santo,
Et quasi morta fusse all' hor si lagnano
Contorci innaxi, & flebil suono è canto
Guinti del monte ne la parte estrema
La lascian sola con dolore & iema.*

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
æ as et & ff fi fl fr is ll æ fi fl ff ß st ſt us
á à â ã é è ê ë ì í î ï ò ó ô õ ö ÷ þ ÿ ù ú û
, . : ! ?) - = ~ ð

24. The 'Estienne' Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1545)

An Aldine Italic on a smaller size than his 1542 Pica Italic appears at Estienne's press a few years later. It is in the same style as the Pica and was perhaps engraved by the same punchcutter. So far as I know, it was only used by the Estiennes. At the end of the 1540s Estienne started using Colines's Bourgeois Italic (12), a curious choice because stylistically that typeface differs a lot from Estienne's own Italics. Armstrong (1986, 49) suggested that Robert Granjon was possibly involved as the type designer of this face, but that seems quite unlikely.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 9/8.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 64 x 1.1 : 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN August 1544, Paris, R. I Estienne (R. Estienne, *Les mots francois selon lordre des lettres*; London, British Library, C.28.f.3; STCf, 134).

EARLY APPEARANCE Geneva: 1560, H. II Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Flagged capital A; pointed lower terminal of C; narrow H and N; doubly-bracketed top serifs of M; two forms of z (short/tailed); short tail of ampersand.

LITERATURE Vervliet, 2004, 141–3.

FIGURE 24 The 'Estienne' Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1545) as it appears in Juvenalis, *Satyræ*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1544 [privilege 1545], p. 151. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

VARIAE EX VETVSTO IUVENALIS & Persij codice lectiones.

3	14	furtivæ	59	12	Marmoreis, at Sar-
	24	Aruncæ			rano
5	17	esse aliquid	60	21	Aphrorum epimenia
7	16	Spes hominis, Spes			bulbi, epimendia
		hominum,			bulbi,
	21	ferat	61	27	Nosse nolunt
8	8	deducis arena	64	29	Famosos equitum
	20	Hæc animæ tuba	65	30	Blande, tumes
10	18	melius, levius tor-	68	22	folium recitasse
		quetis	71	18	nec culleus
11	31	Aruncij spoliū	75	3	sane tenerum
14	7	Minentur braccæ	88	14	Irati debent:
16	15	sumit trechedipna	91	28	Cum uertere solum
21	5	Arcturi cecidit	92	7	nita, uel moribus
24	25	Crispinus adest mihi	9		sed in aure
25	21	glutisse putamus	95	30	Lacedæmonium pi-
26	22	lacus suberant			tylismate lubricat
27	27	gladijs tā festinata			aliq̃ pitylismate
28	20	In lenam cōuersus,	100	2	matutinis operitur
30	7	Mercedem solitam	105	1	mones, emittere
	18	succida nollet	109	5	fronte pudorem?
32	6	Vis tu	113	21	Alterius conchem
	8	hoc fuerit	114	6	Iumenta ad
35	22	Turbabat nitidos	115	20	puer, uigil, ac
39	25	Cæsonia	118	24	distinguitur una
41	29	& mustacea perdas	120	19	uesci liber:
42	19	Sic nolo, sic iubeo		26	Cyaneas,
45	10	collactea Mauræ.	121	11	furor uulgi,
49	6	sextarius alter	122	5	Et sana
	28	curuum sermone		28	Hic gaudere libet,
50	21	facies dicatur,	125	14	agit rapida
51	3	Præfectura domus			
52	5	xerampelinas uestes			P E R S I I.
	14	spargat in ædem			
	17	nocte loquantur.	130	24	Grianthina
	23	pæna cadurco	132	29	Felix non leuior cip-
53	9	credent a fonte			pus nunc imprimi

25. Chiffin's Pica Italic [It 83] or *Cicéro* (1546)

Since the early 1530s, Jean de Gagny (d. 1549) had been a prominent member of the Paris Faculty of Theology. In the mid 1530s, he became chaplain to François I and later his librarian. In 1546 he was appointed as Chancellor of the university and church of Paris. His scholarly work concentrated on Tertullian (Jammes, 1996, 42) and Saint Paul's Epistles (Farge, 1980, 177–83, no. 199). His main literary work is the translation in verse of the seventy five psalms of David, with learned notes on the Hebrew and Latin version as side-notes.

As a bibliophile, he was active in collecting patristic manuscripts and bindings in Grolier style (Jammes, 1996). Clearly he was interested in fine printing and the several editions of his major work with an exegesis of Saint Paul's Epistles were carefully designed and printed by Simon de Colines (1538, 1539, 1543). In 1545 he acted as a Maecenas to Garamont's brief incursion into the field of publishing (Beaujon, 1926, 137).

About the same time, he must have begun to think about having a private type and a private press. In 1546 his first private type, a Pica Italic, was used by the Paris scholarly printer, Jacques Bogard, in a thin 16-page booklet, with verses by Gagny on the Crucifixion, the same topic as he had induced Garamont to start his publishing venture with the previous year. The new typeface was undoubtedly Gagny's property and Bogard did not use it subsequently. The layout of the booklet was very simple and 'Aldine', quite different from Bogard's usual practice, but clearly preferred by Gagny, as is shown by the design of his later publications.

The following year (1547) he established a private press at his home. At its head he put his nephew, Nicolas Le Riche, a bookseller who during those years was the agent in Paris for the Aldine firm (Parent, 1974, 155). In accordance with Gagny's interest in patristic literature, the first imprint of the new press was a modest octavo of 78 leaves containing two biblical treatises by the medieval scholars Alcuin and Drogo Ostiensis. In its foreword dated 1 June 1547 Le Riche draws attention to the 'novi typi' used for what he calls the firstling of his press. The publication exhibits two Italics, respectively the 1546 Pica and a fresh Long Primer. In his forewords to Gagny's *Psalmi Davidici* and to Guerricus' *Sermones*, both of 1547 and probably the next publications of the press, Le Riche amplifies the point, praising the 'typos proximè Aldinos referentes impensis suis [i.e. Gagnaei] sculptos'.²⁰ Later imprints of Le

Riche moreover display a Roman, Italic, and Greek, all three in the size of Brevier.

Gagny had his new types engraved by a goldsmith from Tours, Charles Chiffin, as appears from his last will, dated 13 November 1549 (Paris, Archives nationales, MC Et. 33: 35, f. 326v; Coyecque, 1905, 2: 369–71, no. 5439). Chiffin, who worked at Gagny's premises, was to earn the same remuneration as that of the 'meilleur tailleur de ceste ville apres maitre Claude Garamont'.²¹ Chiffin, otherwise unknown as a typographer, delivered decent work. His three Italics (besides one Roman and one Greek) were reasonably faithful copies of Aldus's celebrated typefaces, though their rhythm and fluency are inferior to those of the contemporaneous Garamont or Granjon Italics. Major earmarks are Chiffin's forceful capitals, which are somewhat bigger than usual in Aldines, a lower case g somewhat too broad to allow a decent setting of a double g, and the colon and period, which are lozenge-shaped – possibly an indication that Chiffin had been influenced by or trained in cutting Gothic types.

It is unclear, at least to me, why Gagny did not hire Garamont, who obviously he knew well. Was Garamont too occupied? Was he too expensive? Was he unwilling to depart from his own punches? Was he loath to continue his own publication project under Gagny's editorial control? Or contrarily was Gagny unhappy with the new, trendy, Old-face Italics (with their sloped capitals much unlike the Aldines and then mostly used for 'les petits poëtes') which Garamont had begun to cut in these years? The type had been used in the 1545 Chambellan publication patronized by Gagny, and Garamont may have thought that Gagny had appreciated them.

Alternatively, if Gagny was determined to be printed in an Aldine, why did he not use the Aldine Italics, readily available at the Estienne, Bogard, and Barbé presses among others? Was he so fixed on having true Aldines for his own exclusive use as to invest a sizable amount of money in them? Why did he select a relatively unknown Tours goldsmith for the task and why did he not hire one of the other half dozen punchcutters who besides Garamont were working in Paris at the time such as Haultin, Granjon, Micart, Villiers (Vervliet, 1999, 7–8). As yet, I have no straightforward answers to such questions.

Except for its first occurrence with a Bogard imprint, I have only seen this face appearing at Le Riche's press, though Gagny's last will prescribed selling the punches and matrices to defray his debts.

20. 'Types very similar to those of Aldus cut at his [i.e. Gagny's] cost'.

21. 'The best cutter in this city after master Claude Garamont'.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 12/11.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 83 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1546, Paris, J. Bogard (J. de Gagny, *Pia et admodum religiosa peccatoris meditatio*; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 21198:9; Renouard, 1964, 5: 217, no. 237).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1547, N. Le Riche.

KEY LETTERS Pointed apex of capital A; narrow H; one-eared M; broad N; broad-bowled lower case g; short y; lozenge-shaped colon and period.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION ...ordonne payement estre faict à maistre Charles Chiffin, orfèvre, de Tours,... pour des poinçons d'imprimerie à l'imitation d'Alec, grecs et latins...(Will of Jean de Gagny, 13.xi.1549; Coyecque, 1905, 2: 369–71, no. 5439).

LITERATURE Jammes, 1996, 46.

FIGURE 25 Chiffin's Pica Italic [It 83] or *Cicéro* (1546) as it appears in Guericus of Igny, *Sermones*, Paris, N. Le Riche, 1547, f. A1. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

SERMO DE ADVENTV DOMINI.

Aluatore[m] expectamus. Vere expecta-
tio iustorum letitia, expectantium bea-
tam spem & aduentum gloria[m] magni
S Dei & saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi. Et
nunc quæ est expectatio mea: inquit iu-
stus: nonne dominus? Et conuersus ad dominum, scio,
inquit, quia non confundes me ab expectatione mea:
quia iam substantia mea apud te est, quia natura no-
stra de nobis sumpta, & pro nobis oblata, apud te
glorificata est: spem nobis tribuens, quia ad te omnis
caro ueniet: caputq; membra sequentur, ut holocau-
stum compleatur. Plenior tamen fiducia, quia tutior
conscientia, dominum expectare potest, cui dicere da-
tum est, substantia possessumcula[m] meam ô domine apud
te est: quia facultates meas, uel tibi erogando, uel pro te
contenendo, in celis thesaurizauit, & ad pedes tuos
omnia mea deposui: sciens quia potens es depositum
meum non modo seruare, sed etiam in centuplum re-
stituere, & uitam æternam adiicere. Quam beati uos
pauperes spiritu, quia iuxta consilium admirabilis
consiliarij thesauristis uobis thesauros in celo: ne si
in terra thesauri uestri remanerent, corda uestra pa-
riter putrescerent. Vbi enim, inquit, thesaurus tuus,
ibi & cor tuum. Eant igitur, eant corda post thesau-
ros suos, sursum affixa sit cogitatio, & ad dominum
suspensa expectatio, ut & uobis competat dicere cum
Apostolo: Nostra autem cõuersatio in celis est, unde

A

26. The 'Girault' Long Primer Italic [It 68] or *Petit-romain* (1546)

This nondescript Italic has only been seen at the press of François Girault. Its engraver is unknown.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 9.5/9 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 68 x 1.4 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1546, Paris, Fr. Girault for A. & C. Langelier (J. Constantin, *Commentaria ... in leges Regias*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 337334).

KEY LETTERS Upright oversized capitals; skewed descender of lower case p; diagonal of z protruding above mean line.

FIGURE 26 The 'Girault' Long Primer Italic [It 68] or *Petit-romain* (1546) as it appears in J. Constantin, *Commentaria ... in leges Regias*, Paris, Fr. Girault for A. & C. Langelier, 1546. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyons.

PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

F Rancoys par la grace de Dieu Roy de Frâce, Aux Preuost de Paris, Seneschal de Lion, Bailly de Mafcon, ou à leurs Lieutenans: Et à tous noz autres Iusticiers & officiers salut. Receu auons l'humble sup-
plication de nostre bien aymé maistre leban Constatin licencié es droictz, aduocat en nostre court de parlement à Bordeaulx, contenant que à grand traueil, peine & labeur il a commenté les ordonnances modernes, faictes sur l'abreuiation des proces. Lesquelz commentaires il feroit voluntiers imprimer sur lesdictes ordonnances: & iceulx mettre en euidence pour le bien & profit de la chose publique, si nostre plaisir estoit luy permettre: Nous humblement requerant sur ce nostre prouisiõ. Pour ce est il que nous ce considéré, desirans faire fleurir les bones lettres en nostre Royaume, & autres causes à ce nous mouuans, auons audict Constatin permis & permettons, uoulons & nous plaist qu'il puisse faire imprimer & uendre lesdictz commentaires par luy faictz sur lesdictes ordonnances, modernes, toutes & quantesfois qu'il luy plaira: & par telz Imprimeurs & Libraires que bon luy semblera. Et auons inhibé & deffendu, inhibons & deffendons à tous autres Imprimeurs & Libraires fors ceulx que ledict exposant eslira, & prédra pour imprimer & uendre lesdictz cõmentaires, qu'ilz n'ayent à imprimer ne uendre iceulx commentaires. Et ce iusques à six ans prochains ensuyuans & accompliz, sur peine de cent marcs d'argent, de confiscation de dictz commentaires qu'ilz auroient imprimez & uedus, & d'amende arbitraire. Si uous mandons, & expressement enioignons, & à chascun de uous sicomme à luy appartiendra, que de noz plaine grace, liberalité, & de tout le cõtenu en cesdictes presentes uous faictz souffrez, & laissez ledict suppliant iouyr & user plainement & paisiblement, sans luy faire, mettre ordõner, ne souffrir estre faict, mis ou donné au cun trouble, destourbier ou empeschement au contraire. Lequel si faict, mis ou donné luy estoit: reparez & mettez, ou faictes reparer et mettre incontinent & sans delay à plaine et entiere deliurâce: et au premier estat et deu: car tel est nostre plaisir. Donné à Amiens, le.xi. iour d'Octob. L'an de grace. 1544. Et de nostre regne le trentiesme.

27. Chiffin's Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1547)

A companion face to Chiffin's Pica, mentioned above in (25), in the same style and attributed to Chiffin for the same argument. This typeface has not been seen outside the Le Riche press.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 9.5/9 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 67 x 1.2 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1 June 1547, Paris, N. Le Riche (Alcuinus, *In septem psalmos poenitentiales ... expositio*; Ghent, University Library, G. 9244).

KEY LETTERS One-eared capital M; broad R; broad-bowled g; short lower case y; large swashed z.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION ...ordonne payement estre faict à maistre Charles Chiffin, orfèvre, de Tours,... pour des poinçons d'imprimerie à l'imitation d'Alec, grecs et latins ... (Will of Jean de Gagny, 13.xi.1549; Coyecque, 1905, 2: 369–71, no. 5439).

FIGURE 27 Chiffin's Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1547) as it appears in J. de Gagny, *Psalmi Davidici septuaginta quinque*, Paris, N. Le Riche, 1547, f. B2. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

A R G V M. P S A L M. 2.

Quaquam, quod ad rei spectat historiam, de Davide & Phylistæis agnato, nonnullis psalmus intelligi uidetur, tamē Pauli auctoritas loquitur illū filius meus es tu ego, & ad Heb. 1. & actor. 13. de Christo intelligentis: similiter & apostolorum testimonium actor. 4. duos primos huius psalmi uersiculos de Herode, Pilato, gentilibus ac Iudæis & Christo intelligentium, cogunt ut de Christo à Davide propheticè conscriptum psalmum intelligamus. Inanis ergo inimicorū Christi conatus describitur à propheta, eiusdemque à patre in æternū regnum inauguratio, & immensæ potestatis traditio. Obiter uerò de Iudæorum abiectione facta mentione, admonet optimates ac magistratus, potissimum uerò reges, ut æterni patris Christo filio obediant: q̄ immorigeros & incredulos ira dei perpetua, morigeros ac fideles æterna Dei beatitudo manet. Appositus est psalmus ad compescendam Regum & optimatum uolentiam.

28. Chiffin's Brevier Italic [It 53] or *Petit-texte* (1547)

Along with a new Roman and Greek, a small-sized companion face to Chiffin's Pica and Long Primer Italics, both mentioned above (25 and 27), in the same style and attributed to Chiffin for the same reason. Like the Long Primer, this typeface has not been seen used outside the Le Riche press.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 12/11.5 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 53 x 1 : 1.3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1547, Paris, N. Le Riche (J. de Gagny, *Psalmi Davidici septuaginta quinque in lyricos versus ... redacti*; Ghent, University Library, BL 1525; Farge, 1980, 182).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION ...ordonne payement estre faict à maistre Charles Chiffin, orfèvre, de Tours,... pour des poinçons d'imprimerie à l'imitation d'Alec, grecs et latins ... (Testament J. de Gagny, 1547; Coyecque, 1905, 2: 369–71, no. 5439).

FIGURE 28 Chiffin's Brevier Italic [It 53] or *Petit-texte* (1547) as it appears in J. de Gagny, *Psalmi Davidici septuaginta quinque*, Paris, N. Le Riche, 1547, f. B1. Courtesy of the Royal Library, The Hague.

1 Beatus uir qui nō
abit in consilio im-
piorum, & in uia
peccatorum non se-
dit, & in cathedra
a pestilentia non
sedet.

2 Sed in lege Do-
mini uoluntas ei u,
& in lege ei u medi-
tabitur die ac nocte.

3 Et esit tanquam
lignum quod plan-
tatum est secundum
fium aquarum, quod
fructum suum da-
bit in tempore suo.

29. Garamont's Second Great Primer Italic [It 116] or *Gros-romain* (1549)

In 1547 Garamont had brought a new Italic Great Primer on the market in the Old-face fashion, i.e. with inclined capitals (Vervliet, 1999, 22–25, no. 6). A few years later he coupled its lower case to upright capitals. The latter version occurs at Vascosan's press from 1549 onwards (*pace* the earlier date in Vervliet, 1999, 19). The Aldine version is a harmonious and well balanced face, in its regularity and fluency probably better than Garamont's Old-face Italic, whose sloped capitals were (and stayed) a weakness in his designs.

Le Bé's c.1618 Inventory mentions two different sets of matrices for a Garamont Great Primer Italic (Morison, 1957, 18), but I doubt whether one of these entries refers to this version. I have seen it only occurring at Vascosan's press, though his assortment also included a set of the inclined capitals (Mortimer, 1964, 2: 567, no. 462).

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 16/15 Anglo-American/Didot points; 20 116 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1549, Paris, M. de Vascosan (Quintilianus; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, SA fo. 816).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1549, [M. de Vascosan for?] G. Corrozet (P. Ronsard, *Avantentree du Roy a Paris*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 34.10:3).

KEY LETTERS Lower case e with rounded bowl; p and q with oval bowls and horizontal bottom serifs; long-tailed y; two forms of ampersand (narrow/broad).

LITERATURE Updike, 1927, 1: 200, fig. 141; Vervliet, 1999, 19–22, no. 5.

FIGURE 29a Garamont's Second Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1547) as it appears in J.C. Scaliger, *De plantis*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1556, f. b3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 29b Garamont's Second Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1547) assembled from Oppianus, *De venatione*, Paris, M. de Vascosan, 1555. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

IN LIB. I. DE PLANTIS.

7

uiris opera est : ut & uerecundia mea , & diligentia , & amor tam ueritatis , quàm posteritatis , cuius commodis studemus , ueniam meruisse uideatur. Hac me dicente aliud super aliud aggerabatur . At ea cuncta , post aliquantum silentij serijs iocis nonnunquam interruptum , inssit auferri Minutius . Et structori, Huc, inquit , aliquid bellariorum . Haud ita multò post satagentibus famulis : Ecce , inquam , uobis λόγι fabula . Imò uerò & σιν , Minutius ait . Nam quorsum tanta lancium multitudo , uarietas , ἐπιπλοκή ? Iam hoc de te quero . Quoniam hac πειμματα prisca perhiberent , ecquid te moueri deceat , si ijs comparaueris ἀπειμαται ? Quid hoc ? An de integro alterũ prandiũ inchoandũ ? Nam qui ista discutiat , nostrum hìc nactus es neminem . Non enim Lituanii sumus . Et hinc surgendum est , ut quantum prateritis non potuit diebus , prę turba multa , id adeò hodie faciamus : atque aliqua in re frugi hoc tam pingui otio , quod Cauri , niuiũque beneficio paratum est , perfruamur . Nemi-

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x y

æ & fl fr æ ß st ?

Table 1: Typefaces by Body Size

Brevier (<i>Petit-texte</i>)		English (<i>Saint-augustin</i>)	
9.	The ‘Chevallon’ Brevier Italic [It 56] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1527)	3.	The ‘Le Rouge’ English-Sized Italic [It 94] or <i>Saint-Augustin</i> (1513)
28.	Chiffin’s Brevier Italic [It 53] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1547)	10.	Colines’s Chancery Italic on English [It 91] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1528)
Bourgeois (<i>Gaillarde</i>)		11.	The ‘Savetier’ English-Sized Italic [It 89] or <i>Saint-Augustin</i> (1529)
4.	The ‘Le Rouge’ Bourgeois Italic [It 57] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1513)	21.	Granjon’s First English-Sized Italic [It 96] or <i>Saint-augustin première</i> : State State with upright capitals (1545).
6.	The ‘Kerver’ Bourgeois Italic [It 62] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1514)	Great Primer (<i>Gros-romain</i>)	
12.	Colines’s Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1530)	1.	The ‘Le Rouge’ Great Primer cursive [It 120] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1512)
24.	The ‘Estienne’ Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or <i>Gaillarde</i> (1545)	13.	Colines’s Great Primer Chancery Italic [It 118] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1532)
Long Primer (<i>Petit-romain</i>)		17.	The ‘proto-Garamont’ Great Primer Italic [It 114] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1540)
23.	Granjon’s First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or <i>Petit-romain première</i> (1545)	18.	Garamont’s First Great Primer Italic [It 115] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1541)
26.	The ‘Girault’ Long Primer Italic [It 68] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1546)	20.	Gryphius’s Great-Primer Italic [It 115] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1543)
27.	Chiffin’s Long Primer Italic [It 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1547)	29.	Garamont’s Second Great Primer Italic [It 116] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1549)
Small Pica (<i>Philosophie</i>)			
8.	The ‘Gromors’ Small Pica Italic [It 75] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1521)		
Pica (<i>Cicéro</i>)			
2.	The ‘Le Rouge’ Pica Italic [It 79] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1512)		
5.	The ‘Lambert’ Pica Italic [It 81] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1513)		
7.	The ‘Kerver’ Pica Italic [It 79] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1516)		
14.	The First ‘Estienne’ Pica Italic [It 80] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1532)		
15.	Colines’s Pica Italic [It 81] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1534)		
16.	Gryphius’s Pica Italic [It 81] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1535)		
19.	The Second ‘Estienne’ Pica Italic [It 81] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1542)		
22.	Garamont’s Pica Italic [It 80] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1545)		
25.	Chiffin’s Pica Italic [It 83] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1546)		

The Italics of Robert Granjon

Of type designers, the French sixteenth century knows two real great names: Claude Garamont (c. 1510–61) and Robert Granjon (1513–90). The first was a specialist of the Old-face Roman. He perfected the Roman designs which were developed in Paris around 1530 by (or under the direction of) Simon de Colines and Robert Estienne. The second was the leading artist in the development of the Old-face Italic. Both masters enjoyed a world-wide reputation, lasting over centuries. This paper deals with Granjon's Italics.

Granjon was innovative, talented, and amazingly productive. An approximate count of his production amounts to nearly ninety typefaces: thirty Italics, twenty Romans, seven civilités (a script imitating the contemporary Gothic cursive), nine Greeks, a dozen exotics, half a dozen music faces, a few Hebrews, and an indefinite number of initials, arabesque ornaments and fleurons. All were qualitatively outstanding. Granjon's punchcutting life extended from c. 1543 to 1590. Thus his average production nears two typefaces per year.^a And, besides cutting type, he was (though on a modest scale) active as publisher and bookseller. Moreover, he travelled frequently. Born and working mainly in Paris, he journeyed regularly to Lyons, where he married; stayed probably in Geneva and Frankfurt; lived for many years in Antwerp and Rome, where in 1590 he died, a trembling seventy-seven year-old still cutting marvellous punches for the printing offices of the Vatican and Medici.^b His types were distributed on an international basis. Printing types from his matrices were available in France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, the German-speaking and Scandinavian countries through the normal typefounding trade until the end of the eighteenth century.

For a more detailed introduction to Granjon's biography, the reader kindly is referred to Johnson, Carter, and Vervliet.¹ A good general survey of his work does not exist. However, besides Johnson's study on his Italics,² attention has been given to his civilités and exotics.³ This article hopes to elucidate some of the lesser researched aspects of his type production. It could not have been written without the previous researches of Morison, Parker, Dreyfus, Carter, Parent,⁴ and others named in the notes.

Apart from contemporary printed material, there are four main categories of archival sources for assessing Granjon's work on Italic types. The earliest is a series of half a dozen legal documents (1547–64), which are reported by Parent⁵ and shed a light on his earliest work as a punchcutter. Thereafter one can follow the Plantin inventories (1556–1652) and type-specimens (1567–85) which illustrate Granjon's mature years.⁶ Thirdly, there are the 1592 and 1622 Berner type-specimens with showings and ascriptions of some of Granjon's types.⁷

Finally, there are two important documents emanating indirectly from the first Guillaume Le Bé (1523–98). He was the younger colleague and (as one may guess) a friend of both Garamont and Granjon. He was instrumental in constituting a core collection of punches and matrices of these and other contemporary masters, a basis for the main French typefoundry which lasted through four generations of Le Bés and two of Fourniers until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Summary

The basic design of our Old-face Italics derives from types the Parisian punchcutter, Robert Granjon (1513–90) began to engrave about 1543. This paper attempts to identify Granjon's Italics and to ascertain the historical evidence for ascribing them. It is an update of an article of Johnson (1941), listing fourteen items. The present article describes thirty typefaces, the attribution of three of which remains uncertain pending further research.

Revision of a paper that appeared in *Typography papers*, 3 (1998), 5–59.

a. In 1569 Granjon cut 109 Syriac punches for Plantin within 55 working days, that is, on average, two letters per working day (Early inv., 1960, 38 (ST 57); Coakley, 2006, 54–6).

b. See below, p. 432.

1. Johnson, 1959, 110–20; Carter, 1967, 43–4; Vervliet, 1981, 1–11.

2. Johnson, 1941.

3. Carter-Vervliet, 1966 and Vervliet, 1981.

4. Morison, 1957, 1967; Early inv., 1960; Dreyfus 1963; Carter, 1967, 1969; Parent, 1974.

5. Parent, 1974, 71–7.

6. Early inv., 1960; Vervliet-Carter, 1972.

7. Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2–3.

A first Le Bé document is an inventory of the Le Bé typefoundry, preserved in a eighteenth-century copy in the hand of the elder Fournier. The lost original must have been written around 1618, as it includes punches from the Du Chemin heritage after the death of Jeanne Du Chemin, the youngest daughter of Nicolas Du Chemin and widow of Michel Gadouleau.⁸ The Inventory⁹ indicates that Le Bé's typefoundry owned fourteen Italics of Granjon, either as punches, or as sets of matrices, or in both forms.^c As table 2 below shows, all of them can be identified, except for a problematic Brevier or Petit-texte (13).

The second document is a Memorandum of chiefly biographical notes about French punchcutters, typefounders, and printers active in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, compiled by the same Guillaume II Le Bé about 1643.¹⁰ His father was evidently the main source for the earlier part of the story. The paragraph on Granjon is quite explicit; it stresses his importance for designing Italics and distinguishes two styles of them: the earlier one, which the author calls 'de la premiere taille' and for which he mentions a Great Primer, an English, a Pica, and a Long Primer, corresponding, as we think, to our nos. 6, 1, 8, and 2 below. For the later style ('de la derniere taille') he cites a Gros Canon (20), a Paragon (12), an English inclined (19), an English semi-inclined, probably a slip of the pen for a Pica of this kind (21); one (or more) Picas (10); one (or more) Long Primers (17 and 26); the Brevier mentioned in (13); and finally a Nonpareil (25).

Table 1 below distinguishes four styles: firstly, the more or less hesitant and experimental designs of 1540s. Secondly, from 1551 to the middle of the 1560's, the mature 'couchées' or inclined Italics designed with great panache, which became the models for our subsequent Old-face Italics. Third, the semi-inclined or 'droites', compact and economical faces, Granjon made in the mid-1560's. Lastly, his brilliant 'Baroque' Italics of the 1570's, daringly designed and perfectly executed, but never imitated before the twentieth-century revivals, with large open counters and with angular letterforms, both reminiscent of the writing examples for the cancellaresca by Palatino, Mercator, and Hamon (Osley, 1980).

Granjon laid the foundation for our image of the way an Italic should look. In Paris from 1543 onwards, he introduced an Italic with sloped capitals, of a style which is still common today and known as 'Old-face Italic'. It was an Italic to be cast on a mould of English or *Saint-augustin* (about 89/100 mm) and it was the first of a series of some thirty Italics that Granjon engraved. In France, the new style heralded the demise of the so-called Aldine Italic (with upright capitals). The typeface in question (1) represents Granjon's first try, and it represents an evident progress in design. Here, for the first time, Granjon solved successfully the problem of a balanced inclination of the capitals, a feature much ahead the designs with a more irregular slope of his Viennese and Mainz predecessors (Johann Singriener, 1524; Peter II Schoeffer, 1534¹¹) or of his Antwerp colleague (François Guyot, 1543¹²) and even compared to the experiments of a few years later (1545–7) by Granjon's more famous contemporary, Claude Garamont¹³. A proper optical harmony of the angle of slope is characteristic for all Granjon's Italics; it allowed the compositor to use whole lines of capitals without causing too much giddiness.¹⁴ Granjon also restrained the impact of the capitals by reducing their height slightly compared to the ascenders of the lower case. Were these new features totally an invention of Granjon? Strickly speaking no. It is reasonable to assume that he was influenced by the reduced

c. That is about the half of all Granjon Italics, known to us. See Vervliet, 2008.

8. Renouard, 1965, 161,

9. Morison, 1957. See also p. 164.

10. Carter, 1967.

11. Johnson, 1959, 109.

12. Vervliet, 1967, 284,

13. Vervliet, 2008, nos. 289 and 291.

14. Argetsinger & Kelly, 1991, 76–7.

height of the Aldine capitals and by the inclined capitals of the late Schoeffer Italics (which were in use in Lyons at the end of the 1530s), but a balanced inclination certainly was a Granjon contribution.

What were his sources? Was he a superior designer coming autonomously to this solution? Or was he tributary to predecessors outside the printing field? Carter suggests that Granjon's Italics 'could not have been cut unless Granjon had admired the cancellaresca corsiva, which he probably knew from the writing manuals'.¹⁵ Doubtless, this is true for the lower case and swash letters of Granjon's Italics, but the statement may be questioned for the sloped capitals. These do not occur in the writing manuals before, say, 1549. Here, therefore, is a possibility that, perhaps for the first time, punchcutters did not rely on scribal or calligraphic models and that they invented more or less autonomously their own designs. Further research is needed to determine the possible influence of lesser-known contemporary calligraphers like Jean Mallard,¹⁶ of the Fontainebleau inscriptions, or of textual examples occurring on maps, globes, goldsmithery, and possibly even of the earliest legends in Italic on copperplate engravings.

One can imagine that Granjon's departure from the accepted Aldine norm of Italic (with upright capitals) was not greeted with great enthusiasm in humanistic and scholarly quarters. These preferred to stay within the tradition that the scholarship of Aldus Manutius had made respectable. The advice of the best authority in this field, the writing-master Ludovico degli Arrighi, in his 'Operina' of 1522¹⁷ was clear:

'...& voglio che le tue Majuscule sempre siano tirate drite & e con li suoi tracti fermi & saldi senza tremoli per dentro, che altramente, a mio parer non haveriano gratia alcuna.'¹⁸

For this reason perhaps Granjon's next Italic (1545) on size Long Primer or *Petit-romain* (2) was provided with upright and sloped capitals.

Most, though not all, faces share common characteristics, which seem typical for Granjon: the middle arms of E and F somewhat heavier than the upper and lower ones; the tails of K and R without serif and, except for the swash sorts, rather short. The deliciously varied swash letters and ampersands of Granjon merit a study on their own.¹⁹ Granjon also was a specialist of the small sizes, responding thus to an increasing demand for portability and economy;^d although he engraved a Two-line Double Pica or *Gros-canon* (270–329 mm) and a Double Pica or *Gros-parangon* (136–145 mm), about the half of his production described here measures less than Pica, his smallest being a Nonpareil (40–43 mm).

d. See above, p. 245.

15. Carter, 1969, 123.

16. Fairbank-Hunt, 1960, pl.

15.

17. Morison, 1926, 18.

18. 'And I would like your capitals always to be drawn upright and the strokes to be firm and without any wavering at all, otherwise, it seems to me that they will have no beauty.' Translation Benson, 1955, 18.

19. Argetsinger & Kelly, 1991 78–9; 84, n.45.

Conspectus of Types

Two tables at the end of paper display Granjon's Italics by style and size, respectively.

1. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98]
or *Saint-augustin*: First State (1543)
 2. Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1545)
 3. Granjon's Second or 'Parisian' Long Primer Italic
[It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1546)
 4. Granjon's Third or 'Gryphius' Long Primer Italic
[It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1546)
 5. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98]
or *Saint-augustin*: Second State (1547)
 6. Granjon's First Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1547)
 7. Granjon's Fourth or 'Lyons' Long Primer [It 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1548)
 8. Granjon's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1548)
 9. Granjon's Second Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1551)
 10. Granjon's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1554)
 11. Granjon's Third Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1554)
 12. Granjon's Paragon Italic [It 130]
or *Petit-parangon* (1554)
 13. Granjon's First Brevier Italic [It 54]
or *Petit-texte* (1554)
 14. Granjon's Second Brevier Italic [It 54]
or *Petit-texte* (1555)
 15. Granjon's First or 'De Tournes' Bourgeois Italic
[It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1555)
 16. Granjon's Second or 'De Tournes' English-sized
Italic [It 97] or *Saint-augustin* (1558)
 17. Granjon's Fifth 'Immortelle' Long Primer Italic
[It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1559)
 18. Granjon's Fourth Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1562)
 19. Granjon's Third English-Sized Italic 'couché' [It 93]
or *Saint-augustin* (1563)
 20. Granjon's Two-line Double Pica Italic [It 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1564)
 21. Granjon's Third Pica Italic 'droite' [It 82]
or *Cicéro* (1565)
 22. Granjon's Second Bourgeois Italic 'droite' [It 62]
or *Gaillarde* (1566)
 23. Granjon's Small Pica Italic [It 70]
or *Philosophie* (1566)
 24. Granjon's Double Pica Italic [It 140]
or *Gros-parangon* (1571)
 25. Granjon's Minion [It 44] or *Mignonne* (1572)
 26. Granjon's Sixth or 'Valentine' Long Primer Italic
[It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1579)
 27. The Minion Italic of the Lamesle Specimen; see (13)
- Unattributed Italics, possibly by Robert Granjon**
28. Gryphius's Long Primer Italic [It 66]
or *Petit-romain* (1545)
 29. The Long Primer of Bonhomme & Rouillé; see (4)
 30. Granjon's Fourth English-Sized Italic [It 96]
or *Saint-augustin* (c.1571)



U vous supplie entendez moy,
Sans me donner peine à le dire.
Assez voyez en quel esmoy
Je suis pour couvrir mon martyre.
Helàs, vous n'en faites que rire
Et i'en ay le mal ce pendant.
Qui son mal taist, & en souffpire,
Monstre assez qu'il est evident.

*V*ostre œil à voir en iugement
Oit aussi bien, que fait l'aureille.
Le parler souuent change & ment:
Mon amour est vraye & pareille.
Qui à vous aymer s'appareille,
Et ne voy point qu'y pouruoie:

1. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98] or *Saint-augustin*: First State (1543)

An Italic of this size cut by Granjon is well documented by contemporary archival and bibliographic sources. The oldest are the Molina contract, dated 1547, summarized by Baudrier (1: 284–5) and the Hus contract, dated 1548, quoted by Parent (1974, 72, n.2). The latter agreement refers to strikes of an Italic St.-augustin ('trois frappes d'italie en blan de Saint Augustin valant 24 ecus soleil') to be delivered by Granjon to his Lyonesse respondents. In the first Granjon agrees to deliver a strike of 'une grosse coursue du blanc de saint augustin' (Lyons, Arch. départ. Rhone, 3 E 3920, f. 246v). Both contracts describe the type as being in use at the presses of De Tournes and Gryphius. And indeed, a new Italic of this size appeared from 1544 on at the De Tournes press (e.g. Bon. Des Periers; Cartier, 1: 179, no. 19) and from 1545 on at the Gryphius press (e.g. Petr. Loriot; Baudrier, 8: 197). A second state of this typeface appears in Granjon's own publications, Paris, 1550–51. See below (5).

Christopher Plantin in Antwerp used the first state from 1557 until 1572. It appears in his specimen of 1567 (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 25). In 1563 he paid the local typesetter François Guyot *fl.* 48, pat. 5 for casting a 'lecture Italique blanc de St Augustin taille de Granjon' (Arch. plant., 3, f. 1v; 36, f. 55). And in the Plantinian inventory of 1566 the face is described as 'L'italique de Granion sur l'augustin' (Early inv., 1960, 28–9, MA 27a). Later Plantinian inventories report the set without attribution.

An Italic by Granjon of this size was in 1564 in the estate of the Parisian typesetter Jacques Marc (Parent, 1974, 77). By the beginning of the next century, the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory mentions matrices of a 'Italique St Augustin premiere Granjon' (Morison, 1957, 18) and there can be little doubt that both mentions refer to our typeface, although it is unclear whether the first or second state is meant.

The new type with its novel capitals proved a great immediate success. Parisian and Lyons printers introduced it en masse from 1544 on. Later it became popular in the Netherlands, Spain and Italy. In Paris a few more traditionally minded printers rejected the sloped capitals: Vascosan and Le Jeune used, if I am not mistaken, only its lower case married to the upright capitals of Garamont's

1543 Aldine Pica Italic or to a set of capitals probably engraved by Granjon (Vervliet, 2008, nos. 279–80).

Granjon cut (three or four) other Italics on this size; see (5, 16, 19, and 30).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 98 x 1.8 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1543, Paris, J. Loys, (Caesar, *Commentariorum de bello Gallico libri viii*; Chaumont, Bibliothèque municipale, 4.378/5; Renouard, 1964, S4: 175, no. 208) and 1543, Paris, Louis Grandin (Demosthenes, *Oratio contra Philippi epistolam*; Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Oexv 290:3 Rés, p. 1; STCf, 131).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1544, F. Gryphius, 1546, J. de Marnef; M. de Vascosan, (lower case only); 1547, E. Groulleau (with phonetic sorts); 1549, M. Le Jeune (lower case only); 1550, M. de Vascosan; 1558, P. Gaultier; Lyons: 1544, J. de Tournes; 1545, S. Gryphius; 1546, Beringi Fratres, G. Rouillé; 1547, Ph. Rollet; J. Ausoult; 1548, J. Frellon; 1549, B. Arnollet; 1551, J. Temporal; 1554, Th. Payen; 1558, M. Jouve; Poitiers: 1545, De Marnef (with phonetic sorts); Louvain: 1547, B. Gravius; 1549, S. Sassenus; Zaragoza: 1548, B. de Nájera (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 988); Palermo: 1550, P. Spira & A. Anay; Zurich: 1551, A. Gessner; Venice: 1555, P. Manutius; 1556, F. Marcolini; G. Giolito; Antwerp: 1557, C. Plantin.

More references in Johnson, 1941, 292–3, nr. 1; Tinto, 1972, 67.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. C3, 'V. Tuscul.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, nr. 25); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 10 'Mittel oder Grobe Cursiv'; f. 15 'Mittel Cursif'; f. 16 'Grobe Cicero Cursif' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 27a (Early inv., 1960, 28).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with right-hand top curl; tail of Q attached directly to bowl; lining, pointed v; two ampersands.

VARIANT LETTERS From 1544 on De Tournes uses two forms of the capital A (one of which without a right-hand top curl; similar to but different from the A of the second state of this face (5); cf. Des Periers; Cartier, 1: 181, no. 19; Morison, 1924, 256–7).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Grosse coursue du blanc de saint augustin (Contract Molina-Granjon, 1547); Ytalie en blan de Saint Augustin (Contract Hus-Granjon, 1548); Italique blanc de St Augustin taille de Granjon (Plantin, 1563); Italique de Granion sur l'augustin (Plantin, 1566); Italique St. Augustin premiere Granjon (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 292–3, no. 1; Johnson, 1959, 112; Early inv., 1960, 28–9 (MA 27a); Carter, 1969, 124; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 25; Tinto, 1972, 67 (98a), pls. 10–11; Vervliet, 2008, nos. 278–80).

FIGURE 1a (opposite) Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1543): state A as it occurs in A. Du Moulin, *Deploration de Venus*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes, 1548, p. 112. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 1b Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1543): state A as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 27a). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

A B C D D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
æ as ct e ff fi ij is ll æ si sp ss st ft us
á à â ã ä å ç è é ê ë ì í î ï ò ó ô õ ö ÷ þ ÿ ù ú û ü ÿ
, . ' ; : ! ? (-

2. Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1545)

In his introduction to one of first works to be composed in this typeface, *Il Petrarca*, 1545, f. 22, Jean de Tournes implies that it was a novelty where he writes: 'Or havend' io fato tagliar' questi caratteri, et altri propri par stampar Poëti, e altre opere da piacer ...'. He does not cite a punchcutter, but Johnson (1941, 293, no. 2) assigns it to Granjon because its close resemblance in design to the type described above in (1). Johnson's attribution is fully corroborated by contemporary archival sources.

Five contracts pertaining to the delivery of matrices or punches by Granjon in the years 1547–51 were quoted by Baudrier (1: 284) and Parent (1974, 71–2). They speak of Italics previously used by Tournes or Gryphius for printing 'les petits poëtes' (which direct us to their editions of Ovid, Martial, Petrarch, etc.). However, the stipulations of the agreements are not always that clear that we for certain can deduce that Italics on size Petit-romain were meant. A first difficulty is the fact that Gryphius uses a slightly different Italic (4). Second there is the erratic denomination of the size: the contracts speak of 'petitte Italicque', or 'petite cursiue nommee la non pareille' (7), or 'petit ytalique en blanc de petit cicero'. Nompaille is a very small size: about 40 mm./20 lines. And Johnson (1941, 292) prudently concluded: 'As to Nompaille, I can find no type so small...'. Conversely the size 'petit cicero' (later Small Pica or Philosophie, about 72 mm./20 lines) is too large for our type. Carter (1969, 124) suggested that 'nompaille ... had not yet acquired a fixed meaning as a measure of a body'. Probably Carter was right. The 1551 Martinez contract speaks of a 'petit romain nommé petit cicero' and of the 'petite ytalique sur le même blanc garnie de deux sortes de capitalles, assavoir droites et couchées'. That links this contract and the size name directly to our face, the only one on this body size, as far as I know, to possess this characteristic.

Moreover, there can be little doubt that the 'Petite cursiue de Robert Granjon' in the 1556 Beringen inventory (Baudrier, 3: 35) refers to this type, used by the Beringen press from 1546 onwards.

Similarly, the Plantin archives are quite explicit. His inventory of 1556 mentions matrices for a 'Petitte Italicque Grand Jonc', which included 23 'Capitales droictes' and the same number of 'Capitales couchées' (Early inv., 1960, 8, MA 54a). It appears in Plantin imprints from 1558 on; it is shown in his 1567 specimen and (with variants) in that of c.1585 (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 32; 10, no. 60). In the subsequent Plantin inventories it returns always attributed to Granjon. They are listed above in the paragraph 'contemporary attributions'. In a 1592 correspondence the Leyden typefounder, Thomas de Vechter, refers to this face as 'Colineus cursyff ... van robert granJon, genaemt de granJonne cursyve' (Arch. plant. 81, 353).

The c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 20) mentions three sets of matrices of a 'Italique petit Romain poëttes'; this refer may to this type, though more probably to (3).

The 'Fell Long Primer Italic' at the University Press, Oxford, seems to be a close copy of Granjon's typeface (Morison, 1967, 141) or, in the opinion of Harry Carter, a mixture (Hart, 1970, 181).

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 20 67 x 1.2 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1545, Paris, J. Bogard (with upright capitals: Cl. Marot, *Cinquante deux pseumes de David*; Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Bb 2367 Rés.); and 1545, Paris, J. Barbé (M.A. Flaminio, *In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio*; Renouard, 1964, 3: 39, no. 43, pl. B-II-7); and 1545, Paris, N. Du Chemin (*Cinquante pseumes de David*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Yc 1486 Rés.); and 1545, Lyons, J. de Tournes (with sloped capitals: *Il Petrarca*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 805432 Rés.).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1546, J. de Marnef (Widow Janot), J. Loys; 1547, Ch. Guillard; 1548, C. Badius; G. Morel; 1549, J. Du Puys, M. Fezandat, R. Granjon, M. de Vascosan; 1553, E. Groulleau; 1556, G. Du Pré, G. Cavellat; 1557, B. Prevost; 1558, G. Desboys, J. Ruelle; 1574, M. de Roigny, N. Bonfons; 1576, A. L'Angelier; Lyons: 1546, Beringi Fratres; 1547, G. Rouillé, J. Ausoult; 1549, Ph. Rollet; 1553, Frelon Frères; Basle: 1547, J. Oporinus; Antwerp: 1548, M. Nutius; Venice: 1549, G. Giolito (Tinto, 1967, pl. 28; Morison, 1924, 37–24); 1555, Paulus Manutius.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. Di, 'Pro Sestio' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 32); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 47v 'Garamonde Cursiue' (Arch. plant. 43); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdrukssel van alle de letteren*, 'Garmonit Curciif' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 14, no. 12); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio specimen*, 'Colineus Cursiue'; with capitals of Granjon's 'Valentine' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 60); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri ... nella stampa Vaticana*, f. 57, 'Corsiuo Garamone' (Vervliet, 1967, 36, no. 57); c.1695, Wid. D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Garmond Cursyf [3]'; (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); only lower case; p.1725, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Bovrgois' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; with diverging sorts).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 54a (Early inv., 1960, 8).

KEY LETTERS The fount has upright and sloped capitals; the sloped capital A has a right-hand top curl, similar in design to the capital A of (1).

VARIANT LETTERS In the upright capitals, variants occur in the H (narrower/broader) and P (larger/smaller); in the sloped capitals, there is an A without right-hand top curl and a M with/without right top serif. The lower case i, z, and the ampersand have variant forms. In 1572 the Ghent punchcutter Hendrik van den Keere cut a shorter b, d, g, h, p, and q, to allow Plantin to cast this face on the smaller Bourgeois body (*Gaillarde, Colineus*; 60 mm./20 lines). This shortened version is shown in the Plantin c.1585 Folio Specimen (Early inv., 1960, 77, MA 54b; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 60). At the end of the century the lower case appears in Paris with the capitals of Granjon's Valentine (26), a.o. at the presses of Patisson and Prévosteau.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Petite frappe de cursiue dont lon imprime les petits poetes (? Contract Granjon-Molina, 1547); Petit ytalique en blanc de petit cicero (Contract Granjon-Hus, 1548); une frappe en matrices ... d'une petite lettre corsive appelee nonpareille (Contract Granjon-Rouille, 1550); Petite ytalique sur le même blanc [de petit romain] laquelle communément l'on fait les petits poëtes [garnie de deux sortes de capi-

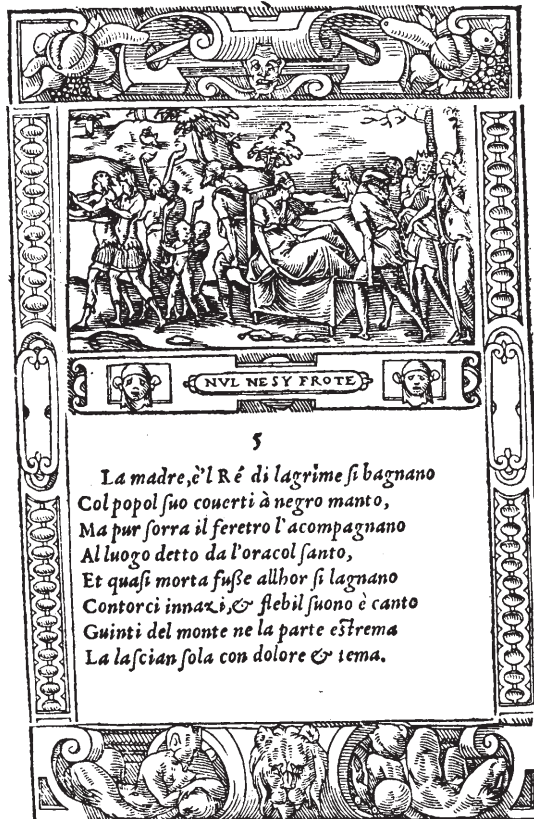
tales assavoir droites et couchées] (Contract Granjon-Martinez, 1551); Petite cursive de Robert Granjon (Beringen, 1556); Petite Italicque Grand Jonc (Plantin, 1556); Garamont petit Romain Italicque de Granjon (Plantin, 1561); Italicque de Granjon premiere [sur la] Garramonde (Plantin, 1572); [Garmont] eerste cursyue van Granjon (Plantin, 1580); Cursiue de Robert Granjon premiere [sur] Colineus (Plantin, 1581); Colineus cursyff van robert granJon, genaemt de granJonne cursyve (letter of De Vechter to Moretus, 1592); Italicque petit Romain Granjon poettes (? Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1939, 200, no. II; Johnson, 1941, 293, no. 2; Johnson, 1959, 112–13; Early inv., 1960, 8 (MA 54a); Vervliet,

1967, 36, no. 57; Hart, 1970, 181; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 32; 10, no. 60; Tinto, 1972, 77, pl. 23.

FIGURE 2a Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain première* (1545) as it appears in Apuleius, *Amour de Cupido*, Paris, Jeanne de Marnef, 1546, f. B2v. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 2b Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1545) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 54a). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
 A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
 a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
 æ as et & ff fi fl fi is ll æ si fl ff ff st st us
 á à â ã ä é ê ë ì í î ï ò ó ô õ ö ð þ ñ ò ñ ò ñ
 , . : ! ?) - = ~ 2

3. Granjon's Second or 'Parisian' Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1546)

This Italic was especially popular in Paris. It was first used together with Granjon's first Long Primer Italic (2). It is attributed to Granjon because its occurrence in Fezendat-Granjon imprints and because its stylistic similarity with the types described in (4) and (6), while its lower case may be identical to that of (2). Moreover, the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1557, 20) mentions three sets of matrices of a 'Italique petit Romain poettes' which more probably refers to this type rather than to the next or the previous one. On the term 'poettes', see also (22).

The types described in (3, 4, 6, 7) display more florid sorts than the other faces (1, 2, 5, 8) of Granjon's first period.

In the previous typefaces the calligraphic element was solely conspicuous in the sweeping forms of the capitals A and Q. Without doubt Granjon borrowed (and refined) both forms from the Italics of his predecessor Johann II

Schoeffer. However, in the typefaces of this group his calligraphic drive encompasses nearly the whole range of the capitals. It inaugurates a large series of Italics adorned with deliciously daring swash forms.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 20 67 x 1.1 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1546, Paris, J. de Marnef, widow Janot (Apuleius, *L'amour de Cupido*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BH 2305; Mortimer, 1: 41–4, no. 33).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1547, E. Groulleau; 1548, Ch. Guillard, T. Richard (after Johnson, 1941, 295, no. 10); 1549, J. de Roigny, L. Begat; 1551, M. Fezendat & R. Granjon, S. Nivelles; 1554, J. Kerver; 1561, G. Merlin, G. Desboys; 1567, H. de Marnef & G. Cavellat.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with hooked tail; broad E and F; calligraphic P, Q, R. The lower case all but undistinguishable from (2).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Italique petit Romain Granjon poettes (? Le Bé, 1618).

FIGURE 3 Granjon's Second Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1546) as it appears in *Amour de Cupido*, Paris, Jeanne de Marnef, 1546, f. C8v. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



4. Granjon's Third or 'Gryphius' Long Primer Italic [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1546)

Attributed to Granjon on the strength of the 1547 Molina (Lyons, Arch. départ. Rhone, 3 E 3920, f. 246v) and 1550 Rouillé contracts (Parent, 1974, 71); see above (3). Carter (1969, fig. 84) assigns the type to Granjon, but does not make clear whether he thinks it different from (3) or not. Apparently Gryphius, except for a sole use with a De Tournes' imprint (Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*, 1548), was the only early user of this face.

This face must be distinguished from a 1545 Long Primer Italic of Sebastian's brother, the Paris printer François Gryphius, in whose house Granjon lived. See (28) below.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 20 65 x 1.1 : 1.5 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1546, Lyons, Seb. Gryphius (A. Ambrogini Poliziano, *Operum tomus primus*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, K 260; Baudrier, 8: 199).

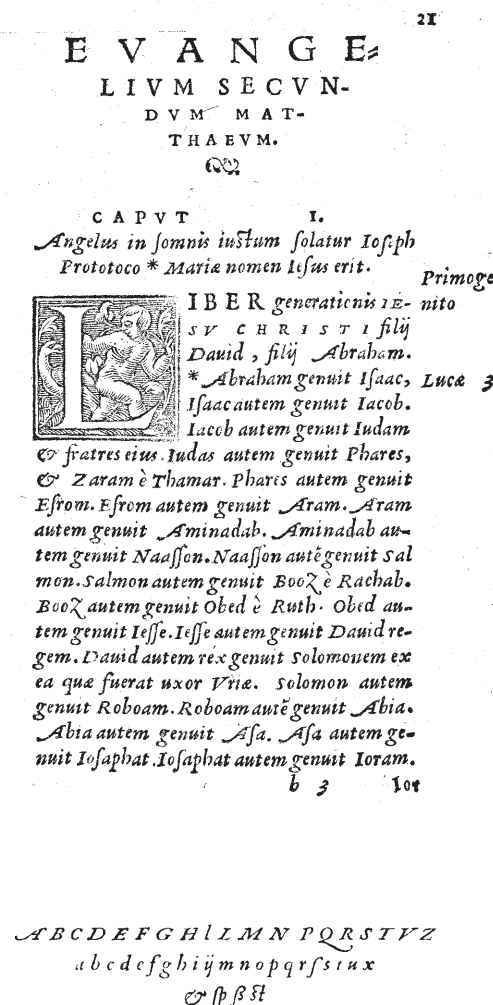
EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1551, M. Bonhomme & G. Rouillé; 1562, A. Benoist, S. Honorat; 1564, G. Cotier, A. Gryphius; 1568, Th. Payen; 1577, B. Rigaud; Avignon: 1553, M. Bonhomme; Bordeaux: 1576, S. Millanges.

KEY LETTERS Capitals similar to these of (3), but lighter, smaller and somewhat more inclined. Conspicuously small C and R. The lower case similar to these of (3), but the letters i, q, y, z, the ampersand and the ligatures ss and st differ. As in the St-augustin Italic there are two capitals A, one with overhanging right-hand top curl.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Nompaille (Contract Granjon-Molina, 1547); Non pareille ytalique (Contract Granjon-Rouillé, 1550).

FIGURE 4a Granjon's Third Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1546) as it appears in *Testamentum novum*, Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1550, p. 21. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 4b Granjon's Third Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1546) assembled from Sallustius, *Catilina*, Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1550. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



5. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98] or *Saint-augustin*: Second State (1547)

Attributed to Granjon on the same ground as mentioned in (1); also due to its appearance in Granjon's own imprints from 1550 onwards in his publishing venture (1549–51) with the Paris printer Michel Fezandat. And one supposes that the set of matrices of a St.-augustin Italic by Granjon, mentioned in an inventory (1561) of the typefoundry of Jacques Marc (Parent, 1974, 77) relates to this face.

Johnson (1941, 293, no. 3) describes this second state as 'a type which in the main seems to be the same as no. 1.' (also 1 above). It differs conspicuously only in a few letters, e.g. the A without top curl; the tail of the Q linked, not attached to its bowl; the v with an ascending left diagonal; the ampersand with an hooked right serif. Harder to discern are the differences in Y (with a somewhat shorter right diagonal); in the f (somewhat shorter), i (dot somewhat higher), and ligature ct (lower link).

The other characters seem to me undistinguishable from those of the first state; notwithstanding diverging opinions of Johnson (1941, 293, no. 3) and Tinto (1972, 67), it seems reasonable to assume that most sorts were cast from matrices from the same punches and that we should see this face as a second state rather than as a new type. It is noteworthy that the second state ampersand and ligature ct appear already in 1543 in the first state, viz. in the *Hecatographie* of Corrozet, mentioned above in (1). Here I have maintained this face in a separate paragraph only in deference to the tradition established by A.F. Johnson.

The cancellaresca variant, mentioned below, occurs only in Geneva, as far as I know. The few additional letters may have been cut by a local resident. Typesetters such as Michel Du Boys, Guillaume I Le Bé, Pierre Haultin reportedly were (or had been) in Geneva in these years. If Granjon were the author, this may be the only cancellaresca he engraved.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 98 x 1.8 : 2.4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1547, Paris, Th. Richard (J. Willich, *In ... Vergilii ... Bucolica ... commentaria*; STCf, 448).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Florence**: 1548, L. Torrentino; **Paris**: 1549, N. Du Chemin, M. de Vascosan (after Barbier, 1990, 11); 1550, Granjon & Fezandat, G. Cavellat; 1551, J. Roigny; 1552, Wid. M. de La Porte; 1555, A. Wechel, G. Morel; 1558, G. Du Pré; 1559, R. Le Mangnier; 1562, J. Du Puys; 1564, J. Dallier; 1566, J. Bienné; 1573, R. II Estienne; 1574, D. Du Pré; 1582, M. Patisson; 1598, D. Binet (with variant v); **Basle**: 1550, M. Isigrinus; **Salamanca**: 1552, A. de Portonariis (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 978); **Toulouse**: 1559, P. Puteus; **Orleans**: 1568, E. Gibier; **Blois**: 1589, J. Mettayer. More references in Johnson, 1941, 293, no. 3 and Tinto, 1972, 67–71 (98b).

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 10 'Grobe Cicero Cursiv' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8).

KEY LETTERS capitals A (without right-hand top curl) and Q (tail linked, not springing directly from bowl); lower case v with left ascending terminal.

VARIANT LETTERS Ascenders and descenders with curved and swelling tips in the style of the calligraphic 'cancellaresca corsiva' appear in Geneva at the presses of Jean Crespin (*Pseumes*, 1552) and Jean Gérard (J. Calvin, *Vingt deux sermons*, 1554).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 293, no. 3; Johnson, 1959, 112; Carter, 1969, 124; Tinto, 1972, 67–71 (98b), pls. 12–3.

FIGURE 5 (opposite) Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1543): the second state as it occurs in P. Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus*, Florence, L. Torrentino, 1550, p. 506. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

PRIVILEGIUM Iulij tertij Pontificis maximi nobis ad decennium concessum est, ut uidere est ex ipso diploma te apud nos conseruato.

Privilegium Caroli. V. Imperatoris.



CAROLVS QVINTVS, Diuina fauente clementia, Romanorum Imperator Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, Vngariæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, &c. Rex, Archidux Austria, Dux Burgundia &c. Comes Habsburgi, Flandriæ, Tyrolis &c. notum facimus tenore presentium. Exponi nobis fecit fidelis noster dilectus Laurentius Torrentinus Callographus Florentiæ, se multis laboribus, & graui sumptu suscepisse excudendum Pauli Iouij No-uocomensis Episcopi Nucerini Historiarum sui temporis tomum secundum. Vereri tamen ne dictus Pauli Iouij Historiarum sui temporis tomus secundus, postquam suo labore, & impensa publicatus fuerit, ab aliis temere imprimatur, & ipse debito priuatus commodo, pro labore damnum sit recepturus; nobis humiliter supplicans, ut ipsius indemnitati consulere dignaremur. Nos igitur honestæ ipsius petitioni benignè annuentes, ex certa scientia, & imperiali auctoritate nostra, eidem Laurentio Torrentino tenore presentium damus & concedimus facultatem & licentiam imprimendi præfatum opus. Eadem auctoritate nostra mandantes & inhibentes omnibus alijs Callographis & Bibliopolis ubique per sacrum Romanum Imperium, & ubilibet terrarum ditionis nostræ constitutis, & cuiuscunque status & conditionis hominibus, ne præfatum opus, postquam per ipsum Torrentinum impressum fuerit, intra decennium proximè sequens, præter eius Torrentini uoluntatem & consensum excudant, imprimant, uel excudi, imprimere faciant, uel aliunde impressum uendant, distrahant, aut uendi distrahiue facere, aut uenum exponere publicè uel occultè au-deant, uel præsumant: quatenus gratiam nostram charam habeant, ac præter grauem indignationem nostram, & librorum sic ad æmulationem excussorum amissionem, quos ipse Laurentius, eius uel nuncij uel procuratores, ubicunque illos deprehenderint, adiuumento magistratus loci accipere, & in suos usus conuertere impune ualeant & possint, poenam quoque sex marcharum auri, pro medietate fisco nostro imperiali, reliqua uero parte ipsi Laurentio Torrentino, & eius hæredibus, toties quoties contra factum fuerit, irremissibiliter applicandam, cupiant euitare. Harum testimonio literarum sigilli nostri appensione munitarum. Datum in oppido Oenipontis die prima mensis Maij anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, imperij nostri trigésimo secundo, regnorum nostrorum trigésimo sexto.

Carolus

Ad mandatum Cesaræ & Catholicæ
maiestatis proprium.

Obernburger

Privilege du Roy.



HENRY Par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, Aux preuost de Paris seneschal de Lyon ou a leurs lieutenanz & aultres noz iusticiers & officiers quil appartiendra salut & dilection, Scauoir faisons que nous inclinans a la requeste qui faicte nous a este par aulcuns noz especiaulx seruiteurs en faueur de nostre cher & bon amy Paul Iouio euesque de Nocere & desirans luy satisfaire & gratiffier en cest endroict. Pour ces causes & aultres a ce nous mouuans auons inhibe & deffendu inhibons & deffendons a tous libraires & imprimeurs de cestuy nostre Royaulme quelz quilz soyent que iusques au temps & terme de dix ans prochainement uenans commençans au iour & dabte de cedites presentes ilz n'ayent a imprimer ou faire imprimer les liures de croniques & histoires composees par ledict euesque de Nocere que icelluy euesque de Nocere a faict imprimer par Laurens Torrentin libraire & imprimeur demeurant a Florence & ce sur peine de confiscation de tous lesdictz liures & d'amende arbitraire. Si uoullons, & nous mandons & a chascun de uous sy comme a luy appartiendra, que nosdictes inhibitions & deffenses uous faictes entretenir garder & obseruer crier & publier. Et si aulcuns apres la publication dicelle se trouuent faisans le contraire procedez allencontre d'eulx par les peines susdictes & ainsy que de raison. Car tel est nostre plaisir. De cefaire nous auons & a chascun de uous donne & donnons plain pouoir puissance auctorité commission & mandement especial, Mandons & commandons a tous noz iusticiers officiers & subgectz que a uous en ce faisant soit obey. Donne a Reims le second iour de nouembre lan de grace mil cinq cens cinquante deux & de nostre Regne le sixiesme.

Ainsy signe.

PAR LE ROY.

De laubespine.

6. Granjon's First Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1547)

Attributed by Johnson (1941, 293, no. 5) on the basis of the similarity of its lower case with that of the types described below (9) and (18). This attribution is corroborated by the quotations of the Hus-Granjon contract of 1548 (Parent, 1974, 72) and of the 1556 Beringen inventory (Baudrier, 3: 36–7). The type was a commercial success, except in Paris where the Garamont Great Primer Italics (Aldine, 1541; Old-face, 1547) were apparently more popular.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 120 x 2.1 : 3.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1547, Lyons, Jean de Tournes (Petrarca, *Il Petrarca*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 805432 Rés.; Cartier, 1: no. 99).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1548, G. Rouillé, S. Gryphius, Beringi Fratres; 1550, B. Arnollet; 1553, J. Temporal; 1568, M. Jouve; Florence: 1548, L. Torrentino; Poitiers: 1549, Marnef; Basle: 1550, M. Isingrinus, J. Oporinus; 1559, P. Perna; 1561, H. Froben & N. Episcopius; 1570, Th. Guarinus; Coimbra: 1550,

J. Barrerius & J. Alvarus; Geneva: 1551, J. Crespin; 1552, Ph. Hamelin, Frères Rivery; 1557, J. Bourgeois; Venice: 1555, G. Giolito; Valencia: 1558, Widow J. Mey; Valladolid: 1561, Seb. Martínez (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 986); La Rochelle: 1565, B. Berton; Naples: 1572, G. Cacchi.

More references in Tinto, 1972, 71–3.

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, B, E, G, H, M, N, P, Q, R, V, W; long Y; two forms of C, E, G; lower case a is pointed, y narrow, pointed v with ascending diagonal.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Grosse italie (Contract Hus-Granjon, 1548); La grand cursive de Robert Granjon (Beringen, 1556)

LITERATURE Johnson, 1939, 200, no. 11; Johnson, 1941, 293, no. 5; Johnson, 1959, 114; Tinto, 1972, 71–3, pl. 15.

FIGURE 6a Granjon's First Great Primer Italic [It 120] or *Gros-romain* (1547) as it appears in E. Forcadel, *Cupido jurispreritus*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes, 1553, p. 139. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 6b Granjon's First Great Primer Italic [It 120] or *Gros-romain* (1547) assembled from Vergilius, *Eneide*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes, 1560.

AD CALVMNIATORES.

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creditus est, & pater mercaturam fecit honestissimè, sine vanitate, sine sordidus, sine perfidia, quod valde rarum comperies in eo hominum genere: multa ad Reipub. usum terra mariq. aduexit, ne nihil cum Solone Legislatore commune haberet, quem Plutarchus scribit mercibus & negotiationi plurimum tribuisse, necessariam existimans ad externorum amicitias comparandas, & ad explorandos varios mores gentium: quod & Thales & Plato ob longissimæ peregrinationis viaticum exercuerunt. idem tradit Massaliæ quendam mercatorem fortunatissimum iuxta flumen Rhodanum urbem fundasse, non modo mœnibus sed etiam legibus. Demaratum Corinthium prætereo, quem ob Cypseli tyrannidem vrbe sua profugum Italia sinu excepit, ubi mercator locuples & generosus, si Linius & Dionysius vera dicunt, Tarquinium Priscum Rom. Regem edidit. Atqui Umberto Forcatulo patri persuasum fuit satis egregium monumentum à se posteritati relinqui si ego columen domus & familia, hortatu suo literas amplecterer & mores, quales ipse Lutetiæ agens, in pretio esse ac frequentari antea, meminerat. ad literas verò primum propter infici-

A B C (D E F G G H I L X N O P Q R S T U Y Z

a b c e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s s t u v x y z

& fl fr ff ss ft st

7. Granjon's Fourth or 'Lyons' Long Primer [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1548)

Attributed to Granjon because of its stylistical likeness to the Great Primer Italic, described above in (6). More research is needed to determine whether the items of the 1547 Molina contract, which mentions two different small Italics by Granjon (Lyons, Arch. départ. Rhone, 3 E 3920, f. 246v), refer to this face or to the earlier sizes; see (2) above.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 20 67 x 1.1 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1548, Lyons, J. de Tournes (Lactantius; Ghent, University Library, Cl. 1455; Cartier, r: 266, no. 120).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1550, G. Rouille; 1552, Ph. Rollet; 1554, J. Faure; 1562, J. II Rollet, F. Gaillard; 1564, N. Perrineau.

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, B, C, E, G, M, N, P, Q; duplicate normal forms for C, D, E, G. Lower case similar the previous one.

Two ampersands; the more calligraphic form returns in (9).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION *Petite coursiue nommee la non pareille* (? Contract Molina-Granjon, 1547).

FIGURE 7a Granjon's Fourth Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1548) as it appears in Lactantius, *Diuiinarum institutionum lib. VII*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes & G. Gazeau, 1548, p. 18–19. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 7b Granjon's Fourth Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1548) assembled from Gratianus, *Decreta*, Lyons, G. Rouille, 1555. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

18 DE FALSA RELIG.

Homerus nihil nobis dare potuit, quod pertineat ad veritatem, qui humana potius quam diuina conscripsit. potuit Hesiodus, qui Deorum generationem vnius libri opere complexus est. Sed tamen nihil dedit, non à Deo conditore sumens exordium, sed à Chao, quod est rudis, inordinataeq; materia confusa congeries: cum explanare an'è debuerit Chaos ipsum unde, quando, quomodo esse, aut constare cœpisset. Nimirum sicut ab aliquo artifice disposita, ordinata, effecta sunt omnia: sic ipsam materiam factam esse ab aliquo necesse est. Quis igitur hanc, nisi Deus, fecerit, cuius potestati subiacent omnia? Sed refugit hoc ille, dum horret incognitam veritatem. Non enim Musarum instinctu, sicut videri volebat, in Helicone carmen illud effudit, sed meditati' venerat, et paratus. Nostrorum primus Mōuo non longe fuit à veritate: cuius de summo Deo, quem spiritum, ac mentem nominauit, hæc verba sunt:

Principio calū, ac terras, camposq; liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum lune, titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus
Mēs agit at molē, et magno se corpore miscet.
Ac ne quis forte ignoret, quisnam esset ille spiritus,
qui tantum haberet potestatis: declarauit
alio loco, dicens:

Deum nanque ire per omnes
Terrasq; tractusq; maris, calumq; profundū.
Hinc pecudes, armēta, viros, genus oē ferarū.

Quemq;

LIBER I.

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Quemq; sibi tenuis nascentem arcescere vitas.
Ouidius quoq; in principio præclari operis sine
vlla nominis dissimulatione à Deo, quem fabricatorem mūdi, quem verum opificem vocat, mundum factum instructum. Quod si vel Orpheus, vel hi nostri, que natura ducente senserunt, in perpetuum de se diffident: eādem, quam nos sequimur, doctrinam comprehēsa veritate tenuissent. Sed hætenus de poëtis: ad philosophos veniamus, quorum grauior est autoritas, certiusq; iudicium: quia non rebus commentitijs, sed inuestigandæ veritati studuisse creduntur. Thales Milesius, qui vnus è septem sapientum numero fuit, quiq; primus omnium quæsiisse de causis naturalibus traditur: aquam esse dixit, à qua nata sunt omnia: Deum autem esse mentem, qui ex aqua cuncta formauerit. Ita materia omnium rerum posuit in humore: principium, causamq; nascendi posuit in Deo. Pythagoras ita definiuit, quid esset Deus: Animus, qui per vniuersas mundi partes, omnemq; naturam cōmeans, atq; diffusus, ex quo omnia, que nascuntur, animalia vitam capiunt. Anaxagoras Deum esse dixit infinitam mētem, qua per se ipsam mouetur. Antisthenes multos quidem esse populares Deos, vnum tamen naturalem, id est summæ totius artificem. Cleanthes et Anaximenes athea dicunt esse summum Deum, cui opinionis poetæ noster assensit,

Tum pater omnipotēs facundis imbribus æther

b 2 Coniu

A B C D E E F G G H I L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

a b c d e g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z z.

Et & β st

8. Granjon's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1548)

Attributable to Granjon on the strength of the 1547 Molina (Lyons, Arch. départ. Rhone, 3 E 3920, f. 246v) and the 1548 Hus-contracts (Parent, 1974, 72), corroborated by the Plantin (Early inv., 1960, 8) and c.1618 Le Bé inventories (Morison, 1957, 19); the latter reports three sets of matrices. Stylistically this Italic is related to the contemporary Italics on English and Long Primer by Granjon (3 and 5).

Besides this typeface, Granjon engraved two other ones on this size, see (10 and 21).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*; *Mediane*); 20 82 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1548, **Florence**, L. Torrentino (lower case only: Aristotle, *De coloribus*; STCi, 54) and 1549, **Lyons**, J. de Tournes (Cl. d'Espence, *Traicté contre l'erreur*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 329931; J. Le Maire, *Illustrations de Gaule*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 4033; Cartier, 1: nos. 112 and 145) and 1549, **Lyons**, Ph. Rollet & B. Frein & G. Rouille (Galenus, *De sanitate*; Ghent, University Library, Med. 278; Baudrier, 9: 153) and 1549, **Paris**, M. Fezandat (Horace, *Premier livre des Sermons*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Yc 6152) and J. de Roigny (G. Putherbius, *Theotimus*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, E 11766).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Lyons**: 1550, B. Arnoullet, J. II Frellon; 1553, J. Temporal; **Paris**: 1552, Ch. Guillard, A. Turnebus, Wid. M. de La Porte; 1553, S. Nivellet; 1554, J. Dallier, J. Kerver; 1557, P. Gaultier, G. II Nyverd; 1571, G. Buon; 1572, J. Ruelle; 1573, G. Du Pré; 1574, D. Du Pré, N. Bonfons; 1578, L. Cavellat; 1586, J. Blochet; 1609, G. II Le Bé; **Basle**: 1552, J. Oporinus; **Geneva**: 1552, Frères Rivery; **Poitiers**: 1554, De Marnef; **Venice**: 1555, G. Giolito; **Antwerp**: 1555, C. Plantin, T. Susato; **Zurich**: 1559, A. Gessner; **Barcelona**: 1561, C. Bornat (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 998); **Orleans**: 1568, E. Gibier; **London**: 1574, H. Byneman.

More references in Johnson, 1941, 293–4, no. 4 and Tinto, 1972, 75–7.

TYPE-SPECIMEN 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 16 'Garmond Cursif' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 133 (Early inv., 8); MA 169c.

KEY LETTERS Capital A with hooked tail; long tailed R; ascending Y; lower case v with ascending left diagonal; ligature ij without left dot).

VARIANT LETTERS Two capitals A (one with overhanging top curl); B, G, Q (narrower/broader); round lower case v.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Coursive de cicero (Contract Granjon-Molina, 1547); Ytalic en blanc de cicero (Contract Hus-Granjon, 1548); Cicero Italique Grand Jonc (Plantin, 1556); Mediane premiere Italique de Granion (Plantin, 1561); [Mediane ou Cicero] italique autre premiere de Granion (Plantin, 1563); Italicque de Robert Granjon couchée (Plantin, 1581); Italicque Cicero Granjon prem[ie]re taille (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1939, 200, no. 13; Johnson, 1941, 293–4, no. 4; Johnson, 1959, 114; Early inv., 1960 (MA 133); Carter, 1969, 124; Tinto, 1972, 75–7, pls. 18–9.

FIGURE 8a Granjon's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1548) as it appears in L. Labé, *Euvres*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes, 1556, p. 172. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 8b Granjon's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1548) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 133). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

*Son corps droit, sa bonne grace,
Son dur teton, ses beaux yeux,
Les diuins traits de sa face,
Son port, son ris gracieux,
Le front serein, la main belle,
Le sein comme albaître blanc
Montrent euidentement qu'elle
Sortit du Ciprien flanc.
Puis sa vaillance & prouesse,
Son courage, son adresse,
Et la force du bras sien
De grand heur acompagnee,
La montrent de la lignee
Du Gradiue Thracien.*

*Mais d'autre part, sa doctrine,
Sa sagesse, son saoir,
La pensée aus arts encline
Autant qu'autre onq put auoir.
Les vers doctes qu'elle acorde,
En les chantant de sa voix,
A l'harmonieuse corde,
Fretillante sous ses doigts:
Et la chasteté fidelle,
Qui tousiours est avec elle,
Nous rendent quasi tous seurs
Qu'elle ut la naissance sienne
De la couple Cynthienne,
Ou de l'une des neuf seurs.*

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z
æ as ct & ff ffi ffl fi fl fr ij is ll æ sb sh si sl sp st st us
á á á á á ä ç é é é é é ê ë x g i i i i i ó
ò ó ó ó ó ð p p q q q q q r ú ù ù ù ù
, : ! ? (-
z

9. Granjon's Second Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1551)

The attribution to Granjon is based on the appearance of this type in the Fezandat-Granjon imprints in 1551, when Fezandat exchanged his Garamont Great Primer Italic for this one, in the Granjon imprints of 1572 (Cl. Nouvelet, *Ode triomphale*), and on the stylistic similarity of the fount with previous and following Italics of Granjon. Guillaume Le Bé in one of his scarce publications (1558, *Discours de la prinse de Calais*) uses this typeface, which perhaps should be related to the mention of punches (but strangely enough not of matrices) for an 'Italique Gros Romain Granjon' in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 24).

It has been claimed, perhaps wrongly, that the lower case sorts of the four Granjon Great Primer Italics (6, 9, 15, 18) are identical (Johnson, 1941, 294, no. 6; Early inv., 1960, 12; Carter, 1969a, 55). Certainly they are similar, but in their majority the sorts are not identical. A minority may originate from the same punches. This would help to explain the fact that later in the century publications exhibit a mixture of the four Italics Granjon made on this size.

From this face on, we may consider that Granjon's second style starts. The lower case sorts are designed with a greater boldness and assurance. The capitals offer a larger choice between swash and simple forms. Granjon's mature style can be characterized as freer, richer, more calligraphic than that of the earlier faces.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 120 x 2.1 : 3.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1551, Paris, M. Fezandat & R. Granjon (Horatius, *Sermons satyriques*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BH 2192; Catalogue ... BN Paris: auteurs, 73: 744, no. 1070).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1552, M. Bonhomme; 1553, Ph. Rollet; 1555, M. Du Boys; 1556, J. Temporal (with phonetic sorts); 1565, P. Haultin; Paris: 1552, Ch. Guillard, Wid. M. de La Porte; 1558, G. Le Bé; 1559, Robert II Estienne; 1561, Ch. Langelier; J. Le Royer; 1572, R. Granjon; Venice: 1553, G. Giolito; 1566, G. Ziletti; Toulouse: 1559, P. Puteus; Geneva: 1560, N. Barbier & Th. Courteau; 1561, J. de Laon; 1562, J. Du Pan, F. Perrin; Zürich: 1560, Ch. Froschauer; Basle: 1562: N. Episcopus; 1584, Leonh. Ostein; La Rochelle: 1565, B. Berton; 1590, Herc. Franciscus & J. Haultin; Naples: 1572, O. Salviani; 1585, G. Cacchi; Bordeaux: 1580, S. Millanges.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 15 'Tertia Cursif'; 'Grobe Mittel Cursif' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Gros Romain italique ordinaire, Numero XLVI' and 'Gros Romain oeil moyen, Numero XLVIII' (Johnson, 1965); both heavily mutilated; 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Gros Romain italique ordinaire, Numero XLVI' and 'Gros Romain oeil moyen, Numero XLVIII'; both heavily mutilated (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 37 'Gros romain a son oeil italique' (Carter, 1969a, 55); heavily mutilated.

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, B, C, D, E, H, M, N, P, Q, R; two forms of E, M, N; two lower case v (one round with protruding beak); three ampersands (which occur also in Granjon's Gros-romains C and D (11 and 18 below)).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Italique Gros Romain Granjon (? Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 294, no. 6; Early inv., 1960, 12; Carter, 1969a, 55; Tinto, 1972, 73-5.

FIGURE 9a Granjon's Second Great Primer Italic [It 120] or *Gros-romain* (1551) as it appears in D. Delfino, *Sommario di tutte le scientie*, Venice, G. Giolito, 1556, p. 268. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 9b Granjon's Second Great Primer Italic [It 120] or *Gros-romain* (1551) assembled from D. Delfino, *Sommario di tutte le scientie*, Venice, G. Giolito, 1556. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

libros, & de spiritu sancto volumen,
aëmeron homilias nouem, & Asceticum
variósque tractatus. Moritur imperante

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U V X Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x z

Et & & ff ff ff ff ff

A C D E G H M N P

10. Granjon's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1554)

Attributed to Granjon on the base of the Plantin (Early inv., 1960, 13–14, LMA 3; 79, MA 113) and Le Bé inventories (Morison, 1957, 19; 24). It is also assigned to him in the 1592 and 1622 Berner specimens (Dreyfus, 1963, 2–3). The design is characteristic for Granjon's mature style, which was announced in his second Great Primer (9) and returns in his Paragon (12). The type was widely used over whole Europe, except in sixteenth-century Paris (notwithstanding the fact that Le Bé owned the punches and a set of matrices) but clearly preferring to stay with Granjon's first Pica Italic.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*; *Mediane*); 20 82 x 1.7 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1554, **Lyons**, M. Bonhomme (P. Coustau, *Adversarium ... liber*; Ghent, University Library, Jur. 4387:1; Gültlingen, 1992, 8: 102, no. 201).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Lyons**: 1556, G. Rouille; 1564, G. Cotier; 1565, P. Haultin; **Geneva**: 1560, N. Barbier & Th. Courteau; 1561, Fr. II Estienne, A. Reboul; 1562, J. Du Pan; 1563, H. II Estienne; **Antwerp**: 1562, C. Plantin, W. Silvius; **Salamanca**: 1563, M. Gast (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 978); **Venice**: 1564, G. Ziletti; 1570, A. II Manutius; **Annecy**: 1572, J. Bertrand; **La Rochelle**: 1575, P. Haultin; **London**: 1575, J. Day; **Frankfurt**: 1577, A. Wechel; 1581, S. Feyerabend; **Orthez**: 1583, L. Rabier.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. C3v, 'III. Offic' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 27); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 51v, 'Mediane Cursiue Pendante' (Arch. plant. 43); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Mediane cursiue pendante', (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 39); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Cicero de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Cicero de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris [*Spécimen ... Imprimerie royale*], f. 12, 'Italique de Cicero' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958); with capital Q of (19); 1653, Widow of Broer Jansz., Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediane Cursijf' (Leyden, University Library, 1207 A 1); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cicero Cursif de Granion' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J. Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Cursiff' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, 4); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge*, f. A3 'Mediane Cursijf' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mar. 148:18); 1681, C. van Dyck & Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediane cursijf [1]' (Dreyfus, 1963, 12); mutilated; 1682, J. D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, 5); c.1684, [C. van Dyck & J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediane Cursijf [2]' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); mutilated; 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerye*, 'Gemeene Med. Cursyf'; Kleyne Med. Cursyf, No. 1; Kleyne Med. Cursyf, No. 2 (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Mediane Cursyf', (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); 1699, J. G. Baumann, Nuremberg, *Specimen characterum* 'Cicero Cursiv' (Mori, 1924, pl. 14); c.1700, Adamsz & Ente, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Mediaan Cursyf No. 2',

(Dreyfus, 1963, 10); 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cicero cursiv No. 7' (Mori, 1955, 10); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 10 'Grobe Cicero Cursif' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8); 1714, J. H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, 'Cicero cursif [1]' (Mori, 1955, 21); 1718, J. N. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cicero Cursiv No. 8' (Mori, 1955, 13); 1727, J. F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 20 Cicero Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 24); c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaan cursyf', 'Kleyne mediaan cursyf' (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Philosophie Numero XXVI' (with shortened ascenders and descenders) and 'Cicero italique oeil ordinaire Numero XXVII' (Johnson, 1965); 1745, H. E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Cicero Italique à petit oeil No. 13' (Mori, 1955, 14); c.1749, I. vander Putte, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Mediaan No 2' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 70); 1755, J. H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 27 Cicero Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 27); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Philosophie Numero XXVI' (with shortened ascenders and descenders) and 'Cicero italique oeil ordinaire Numero XXVII' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaan cursijf'; some wrong sorts (Dreyfus, 1963, 13); 1767, Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, f. Fr 'Mediaan No. 2' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102:2); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 26, 'Cicero a son oeil italique' (Carter, 1969a, 48); c.1781, A. G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaan Cursyf' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); some diverging sorts.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 113 (Early inv., 1960, 13–14, LMA 3; 79, MA 113).

KEY LETTERS Capitals Q, J, T only in swash form; duplicate swash capitals A, B, C, D, E, G, M, N, P, R, V; lower case round v; ligature ij without right-hand dot. The capitals are of the same height as those of Granjon's third English-sized Italic (19) and all but undistinguishable from them. Of the latter however, the 2-shaped Q is an indicator, as are its narrower M, N, and broader Y. The lower case on the other hand is very similar to that of Granjon's second Pica Italic (8); distinctive letters of that are the smaller g, the longer k, the rounded v, the shorttailed z, and the ij ligature without left-hand dot.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [Mediane] Italique deuxiesme de Granion (Plantin, 1561); Italique [Mediane] Grandion derniere (Plantin, 1563); Mediane cursiue van granjon (Plantin, 1580); Hanghende mediane cursiue van granjon (Plantin, p. 1581); [Mediane] Italicque de Robert Granjon couchée (Plantin, 1581); Mediane cursiue pendante (Plantin, 1585); Curs. Cicero de Granlon (Berner, 1592, 1622); Italique Cicero Granjon derniere taille (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 294–5, no. 7; Early inv., 1960, 13–14, LMA 3; 79, MA 113; Dreyfus, 1963, 5; Tinto, 1972, 82–3, pls. 24–5; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 27; 9, no. 39.

FIGURE 10a (opposite, above) Granjon's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1554) as it appears in Horatius, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1579, p. 647. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

FIGURE 10b (opposite, below) Granjon's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1554) as cast in matrices of the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 113). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum.

11. Granjon's Third Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1554)

This Italic was quite popular in Paris from 1554 onwards. It cannot be attributed with certainty. The style of some sorts, as K, M, g, point to Pierre Haultin. The face appears at the press of his associate Benoit Prevost. Its use was confined to the Parisian region, much in contrast with the continental success of other Granjon types. However, two good reasons for maintaining the attribution to Granjon is his use of the typeface in his own Parisian impressions of the periode 1570–74 (Nouvelet, 1572) and because its likeness to his second Great Primer (9). The face lacks most of the swash letters of the earlier type and may be considered as its economy version.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 115 x 2.1 : 3.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1554, Paris, V. Sertenas (Homerus, *Les unzieme & douzieme livres de l'Iliade*; STCf, 229).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1555, G. Morel, M. Menier; 1557, G. Cavellat; 1558, Ch. Guillard, J. Caveiller, B. Prevost; 1561, S. Nivelles, J. Kerver; 1562, Ch. Langelier; 1564, J. Du Puys; 1567, Ph.G. de Roville; 1568, M. Sonnius; 1569, G. II Nyverd; 1572, R. Granjon; 1573, Galiot du Pré.

KEY LETTERS Narrow capital C; K with serified tail; calligraphic M, N; lower case g with lower counter extended to the right; pointed v.

FIGURE 11A Granjon's Third Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1554) as it appears in *Biblia*, Paris, B. Prevost for Heirs Ch. Guillard, 1558, p. 825. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 11B Granjon's Third Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1554) assembled from *Biblia*, Paris, B. Prevost for Heirs Ch. Guillard, 1558. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



Radunt Hebraei, cuiuscunque Prophetæ pater, aut auus ponatur in titulo, ipsos quoque prophetas fuisse. Vnde & Amos vnus de duodecim Prophetis, qui dixit: Non sum Prophetæ nec filius Prophetæ: sed pastor caprarum, vellicans Sicomoros, patris nomen in titulo non habet. Hoc si verum est, Sophonias Prophetæ, qui nomine (vt ita dicam) prophetico, & gloriosa maiorum suorum stirpe generatus est. Habuit enim patrem Chusi, auum Godoliam, proauum Amariam, atauum Ezechiam, & talem quadrigam ipse velut extremus auriga compleuit. Nomen Sophoniæ, alij speculam, alij arcanum domini transtulerunt. Siue igitur specula, siue arcanum domini interpretetur, vtrunque Prophetæ conuenit. Dicitur enim ad Ezechielem: Fili hominis speculatorem domui Israel te posui. Iste ergo Prophetæ qui erat in specula & in sublimibus constitutus, & nouerat misteria domini, filius erat Chusi, qui interpretatur humilitas: habebat quoque auum Godoliam, qui dicitur magnitudo domini, & proauum Amariam, qui & ipse vertitur in sermonem domini, & atauum Ezechiam, qui sonat fortitudo domini. De fortitudine itaque domini natus est sermo domini, & de sermone domini nata est magnitudo domini, & de magnitudine domini nata est humilitas, vt cum peruenerit aliquis ad perfectum, dicat: quia non sum dignus vocari Apostolus, & illud in Psalmo, Domine non est exaltatum cor meum, neque elati sunt oculi mei. Iosiam regem Iudæ, cuius temporibus Sophonias prophetasse inuenitur, deo præ omnibus regibus Iudæ placuisse, historia quarti libri Regum, & secundi Paralipomenon demonstrat. Iosias simulachra quæ pater suus Amon, vel auus Manasses in templo dei collocauerat, deiecta comminuisse monstratur. In quibus etiam serpentem æneum à Moyse factum, quem errori inductus populus superstitione idolorum detentus, admiserat. Idem custodisse pascha, & intermissis temporibus multis solus celebrasse monstratur. Ideo deus per Prophetam temporibus memorati regis quæ prouentura erant, ostendens gentibus quidem

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

&

12. Granjon's Paragon Italic [It 130] or *Petit-parangon* (1554)

From 1563 onwards, the Plantin and c.1618 Le Bé Inventories (Early inv., 1960, 21, MA 15; 49, LMA 9; 63, MA 144–145; Morison, 1957, 18) attribute this face to Granjon. In his 'Livre des ouvriers' (Arch. Plant. 31, f. 88v), Plantin noted (about 1568) that he received from Robert Granjon two strikes of a 'Parangon cursiue', ostensibly acquired for sale in Frankfurt. Beginning with the Berner specimen of 1592, many subsequent German type-specimens show this typeface attributing it to Granjon.

This popular Italic was mentioned by Guillaume II Le Bé in his 1643 Memorandum (Carter, 1967, 20) as the earliest example of Granjon's mature style, whereas (9) of 1551 seems to be the first example.

Several close copies of the typeface appear in Germany and Italy from the late sixteenth century onwards.

SIZE Paragon (*Petit-parangon*); 20 130 x 2.9 : 4 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1554, Lyons, G. Rouille (F. Duarenius, *Commentarius*; Ghent, University Library, Jur. 4387; Baudrier, 9: 214–15).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1555, M. Du Boys, J. de Tournes (the illustration in Cartier, 1: 282 is misplaced; the reference to a De Tournes edition of 1554 of Herodianus, *Histoire d'Herodian* [Baudrier, 9: 217–18; Cartier, 1: 369, no. 279] is questionable); 1556, M. Bonhomme; 1560, Ph. Rollet; 1561, Heirs of S. Gryphius; 1564, J. d'Ogerolles; 1571, J. Marcorelle; 1572, P. Roussin; Geneva: 1558, J. Crespin; 1560, J. Bonnefoy, R. Hall; 1563, H. II Estienne; 1564, Fr. II Estienne; Leipzig: 1560, E. Voegelin; Paris: 1560, M. Vascosan; A. Wechel; 1573, Fed. I Morel; 1578, D. Du Pré; 1579, J. Mettayer; 1582, M. Patisson; 1596, E. Prevosteau; Venice: 1561, V. Valgrisi (more references in Tinto, 1972, 80); Ferrara: 1562, V. Panizza; Salamanca: 1563, M. Gast (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 978); Alençon: 1564, J. de Contrières & R. Le Crosnier; Antwerp: 1564, C. Plantin; Alcalá de Henares: 1565, P. de Robles & F. de Cormellas; Rome: 1564, P. Manutius; 1582, R. Granjon; 1585, F. Zanetti; Florence: 1565, Giunti; Naples: 1566, G. Cacchi; 1584, O. Salviani; Cagliari: 1572, V. Sembenino; Frankfurt: 1575, Heirs of C. Egenolff, A. Wechel; Cologne: 1580, Th. Baum; Madrid: 1581, A. Gomez; Leyden: 1586, Fr. I Raphelengius; Lucca: 1587, V. Busdrago; Ingolstadt: 1582, W. Eder; Helmstadt: 1589, J. Lucius; Altdorf: 1590, Chr. Lochner & J. Hofmann; Nuremberg: 1590, K. Gerlach; 1594, P. Kauffmann; Tours: 1593, J. Mettayer.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. C1, 'III. Tuscul.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 21); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 61v 'Parangonne Cursiue' (Arch. plant. 43); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Parangonne cursiue' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 8, no. 13); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cursiff Parangon de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); 1608, M. Lantzenberger, Leipzig, in: H. Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, p. 39 'Grobe Cursiv' (Gaskell-Bradford, 1974); 1615, J.J. Genath, Basle, *Underschiedliche Form* 'Text Cursif'; Basle, University Library, Ms. O 12 C:166; 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cursiff Parangon de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri ... nella stampa Vaticana*, f. 35, 'Corsivo Grosso' (Vervliet, 1967, 32, no. 35); 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris [*Spécimen ... Imprimerie royale*], Paris, f. 10, 'Italique de petit parangon' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958); with variant capital M; 1653, Widow of Broer Jansz., Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Oude Paragon Cursif' (Leyden, University Library, 1207 A 1); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Paragon Italicum'

(Leyden, University Library, 743 f. 44); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Parangon Cursif de Granion' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Parangon Cursiff' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, 4); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge*, f. A2 'Dubbelde Descendiaen Cursijf' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mar. 148:18); 1681, C. van Dyck & Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Parangon cursijf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 12); 1682, *Iehova*, Frankfurt, J.D. Fievet, 'Parangon Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, 5); c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Parangon Cursijf' (Hellings, 1962, pl. 159); mutilated; 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Parangon Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Parangon' (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); post 1701, [M. van Wolschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Parangon Cursijf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 66; 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Parangon cursiv No. 3' (Mori, 1955, 10); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 2 'Parangon Corsif' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8); 1706, University Press Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Paragon Italic' (Hart, 1970, 69); 1714, J.H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, 'Parangon cursif' (Mori, 1955, 21); 1718, J.N. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Parangon Cursiv No. 3'; 'Parangon Cursiv No. 4' (Mori, 1955, 13); post 1725, [B. van Wolschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Klyne Paragon'; 'Groote Text' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; 1727, Frankfurt, J.F. Halle, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 6 Tertia Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 24); post 1728, Voskes en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Paragon Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87); c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, p. [5] 'Paragon cursif', except lower case j; 'EMN ...', capitals only (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1740, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 12 Tertia Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 25); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Petit Parangon Italique, numero LII' (Johnson, 1965); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Parangon Italique de Robert Granion No. 5' and 'Italique No. 7' (Mori, 1955, 14); 1755, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 12 Tertia Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 27); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Petit Parangon Italique Numero LII' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B3051:3); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Paragon cursijf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 13); 1764–66, Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, t. 2, 188, 'Italique ancienne'; some variant sorts (Fournier, 1995, 3: *429); 1768, J. Enschedé, Haarlem, *Proef van letteren*, f. C3 'Paragon Cursijf'; f. D1 'Kleine Paragon Cursijf' (Lane, 1993, 54–5); 1770, J. Becker, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 12 Tertia Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 32); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 40, 'Gros romain a gros oeil italique'; p. 42, 'Parangon a son oeil italique'; p. 86, 'Italique' (Carter, 1969a, 56–7; 68); mutilated; c.1781, Rotterdam, A.G. Mappa, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Paragon Cursyf' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 15; MA 144–145 (Early inv., 1960, 21–2; 49; 63); Stockholm, Royal Printing Office, Norstedt Collection, NS 168, Tertia kursiv (Axel-Nilsson, 1983, 119).

KEY LETTERS Capital T only in swash form; duplicate swash forms of the capitals A, B, C, D, E, G, H, M, N, P, Q, R, V; narrow capital Y; lower case g with broad somewhat flattened lower counter; two lower case z (one ascending); two ampersands (one ascending).

VARIANT LETTERS Two versions of the swash capital M occurs from the 1560's on. The first is shown in the 1592 Berner specimen. The second in the 1643 specimen of the Imprimerie royale.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Parangonne Italique de Granjon (Plantin, 1563); Parangon italique Grandion (Plantin, 1566); Parangon cursiue (Contract Plantin-Granjon, 1567); Italicque [Parangonne] de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); Italicque [Parangonne]

13. Granjon's First Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1554)

This typeface is attributed to Granjon on the ground of its appearance at the De Tournes press and its general likeness to the next *Petit-texte* (14), whose attribution is well secured. Johnson (1941, 295, no. 9), and in his wake, Early inv., 1960, 11 (MA 58a), Morison, 1967, 141–2, Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 36, perhaps mistakenly consider these two faces as being identical. It is perhaps the face which the Fezandat-Granjon division of estate of 29 December 1551 (Coyecque, 2: no. 5985) alludes to. Figure 13 in Vervliet (1998, 29) mistakenly shows another type; his Figure 27 there is showing the face dealt with here.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 54 x 11 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1554, Lyons, Jean de Tournes (*Biblia*; Geneva, Bibliothèque universitaire et cantonale, Bb 495; Cartier, 2: 389, no. 300).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1560, A. Rebul; 1563, F. Perrin;

Paris: 1566, S. Nivelle; 1582, G. Julian; 1594, Fed. Morel; Rheims: 1582, J. Fogny.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Mignonne, Numero VII'; and (with shortened long letters) 'Nompaille, Numero V'; and (alone lower case with allongated long letters) 'Petit Texte Italique, Numero X' (Johnson, 1965); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Mignonne, Numero VII'; and (with shortened long letters) 'Nompaille, Numero V'; and (alone lower case with allongated long letters) 'Petit Texte Italique, Numero X' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B3051:3).

KEY LETTERS Capitals A, C, D, M, N, P, R, T differ from the next *Petit-texte* Italic (14) to which this typeface otherwise bears a great resemblance.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Autre lecture Italicque [pour] Jehan de Tournes (? Contract Granjon-Fezandat, 1551).

FIGURE 13a Granjon's First Brevier Italic [It 54] (1554) as it appears in *Hippocratis aphorismi*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes & G. Gazeau, 1555, f. arv. Courtesy of the Stadtbibliothek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 13b Granjon's First Brevier Italic, as it appears in C. Lamesle, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, Paris, 1742, f. A4v (Capital J substituted). Courtesy of the Ecole Estienne, Paris.

Hoc Aphorismorum opus diuifum est in ſex partes.

In primam partem referuntur ij qui ſunt
de repletione & euacuatione.

In ſecundam ij qui loci affectis conueniunt,
primum capiti, dein reliquis particulis,
Cerebro & neruis, Oculis, Naribus, Ori
& Lingue, Gutture & faucibus, Thoraci
& Pulmonibus, Hypochondrijs, Epiga-
ſtrio & ventri, lateri, Ventriculo &
Cordi.

In tertiam partem ij qui inſectinis, Hepati,
Lienti & ſelli Ano, Renibus, Veſica, ubi
tota ratio de urinis, qua ad Simæoticen
attinet, oſtenditur: item ij qui omnibus
ſex mulierum affectibus conueniunt,
poſtremo qui virilibus locis.

In quartam, qui habitui corporis & ætati,
item qui temporibus.

In quintam, qui febris & quibusdam
morbus criticis & acutis qui commodè
cum febris annumerari queunt.

In ſextam verò claſſem ij referuntur Apho-
riſmi qui ad Chirurgiam attinent.

Numerus vniciuique aphoriſmo præpoſita
eius materiæ de qua eſt, ordine mon-
ſtrat. Qui verò eſt ad finem aphoriſmi
poſitus, prior, eum quotus eſt in ordine
quam ſequutus eſt Hippocrates ſignifi-
cat poſterior, librum.

MIGNONNE, NUMERO VII.

Et n'ayant point aſſez de force pour gouverner ſes
Chevaux ailés, qui étoient trop impetueux, il mit le
feu dans le Ciel Et ſur la Terre; dont Jupiter s'étoit
mis en colere, le tua d'un coup de foudre, Et le
précipita dans le ſeuve du Pô qu'on nomme auſſe-
ment l'Eridan; où ſes ſœurs les Heliades, extrême-
ment affligées de ſon malheur, furent changées en
Peupliers, Et leurs larmes en Ambre diſent les
Poëtes.

Quelque tems après cet embraſement, il arriva un
accident tout contraire, lorsque Deucalion, fils de
Prométhée, regnoit dans la Theſſalie. Car les eaux
furent ſi grandes, diſent-ils, qu'elles couvrirent tou-
te la terre, Et firent périr tous les animaux; de forte
que Deucalion Et Pyrrha ſa femme, furent contraints
de ſe ſauver au haut du Mont Parnaffe. Se voyant
donc ſeuls au Monde, ils prièrent les Dieux, ou de
leur ôter la vie, ou de faire naître d'autres hommes
pour leur tenir compagnie. Sur quoi Thémis, Déeſſe
de la Juſtice, leur fit entendre que pour cet effet ils
n'avoient qu'à jeter derrière eux les os de leur Grande-
Mère, qui n'étoit autre que la Terre, dont les pier-
res ſe prenoient pour ſes os, Et enſuite les pierres que
jettou Deucalion, ſe tournoient en hommes, Et cel-
les de Pyrrha ſe changeoient en femmes, Et ainſi le
Monde ſe repeupla. Ce Déluge, avec celui qui ar-
riva au tems d'Ogigès, Roi de Thèbes, ſont les plus
renommés qui ſe liſent dans les Poëtes.

Histoire de Diane.

On donne communément trois noms à cette Déeſſe,
Sœur d'Apollon, comme ſeignent les Poëtes; ſoit à
cauſe des charges différentes qu'elle exerce, ſoit que
ſelon leur couſtume, ils confondent trois différentes Di-
vinités en une ſeule, appelée à cauſe de cela Triple
Hecate, ou Déeſſe à trois têtes, étant la Lune dans
le Ciel, Diane en Terre, Et Proſerpine dans les
Enfers.

Premièrement il faut ſçavoir que comme elle eſt la
Lune dans le Ciel, elle a auſſi divers noms. Elle
ſ'appelle Phébé, à cauſe de ſon frere Phœbus, auquel
elle emprunte la lumière. Elle ſ'appelle encore Cin-
thia Et Delia, à cauſe du lieu de ſa naiſſance. Elle
devint amoureuſe du Paſteur Endymion, que Jupi-
ter avoit condamné à un ſommeil perpetuel pour la
familiariété qu'il prenoit avec Junon; Et elle le ca-
cha dans une montagne, pour le mettre à couvert de
ſa colere. La vérité eſt, qu'Endymion étoit fort
les mouvemens de la Lune; Et pour ce ſujet il avoit
couſtume de paſſer les nuits dans les lieux retirés pour
la contempler; d'où en eſt venue la Fable. Les Sor-
ciers de Theſſalie ſe vantoient de la pouvoir faire
deſcendre du Ciel en terre par la force de leur art,
Et croyoient qu'elle venoit ſe promener ici-bas, quand
nous la voyons être éclipſée.

14. Granjon's Second Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1555)

The attribution of this face to Granjon is well secured: implicitly, by its use in a Granjon imprint (Lyons, 1557, *Horae in laudem B.V. Mariae*); explicitly, by the Plantin inventories from 1563 on, though it appears there variably under different and somewhat confused size names, as Breviaire, or Bible, or Mignonne, or Petite (Early inv. 1960, 11, MA 58a; 49, MA 189) and by the headings of the Berner specimens, 1592 and 1622 (Dreyfus, 1963, 6). Whether it is mentioned in the Rouille-Granjon contract of 1550 (Parent, 1974, 71, n.3) or the Fezandat-Granjon division of estate of 29 December 1551 (Coyecque, 2: no. 5985) as a face ordered by Rouille is a moot question (see also 29, below); the same is the case for the problem whether Le Bé knew it as Granjon's 'Petit Texte premiere' or 'dernière taille' (Morison, 1957, 20; 24).

Guillo (1991, 117) suggests that the face may be ascribed to Michel Du Boys or Sylvius, a modest punchcutter and printer, active in Geneva, Venice and Lyons (1537–61); he refers to a phrase in the preface of his 1555 Terence edition by Du Boys, where the printer claimed: 'in quibus [characteribus] formandis multum posuimus operae'. I guess, however, that 'formare' means typesetting or composing rather than letter-cutting (Shaw, 1989, 229).

More research is needed to ascertain whether the 'Brevier cursif' of the 1681, c.1684, and c.1762 Van Dyck specimens (Dreyfus, 1963, 12–13; Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159) is a copy by Van Dyck (Dreyfus, 1963, 18) or yet another Granjon *Petit-texte* (Enschedé, 1978, 93, n.22).

It must be noted that from 1559 onwards, there appears in Paris, e.g. at the Marnef (Sallustius) and Cavellat presses (Cicero, 1567; Renouard, 1964, S3: 205, no. 236) a Brevier, which is similar to but not identical with Granjon's face. The later fount has a capital swash A with overhanging top curl, broader capitals H and N, and a pointed lower case v. It could be the *Petit-texte* which the c.1618 inventory of Guillaume II Le Bé ascribes to Nicolas II de Villiers (Morison, 1957, 24).

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*; *Bible*); 20 54 x 1 : 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1555, Lyons, J. Ausoult for G. Rouille (Gratianus, *Decreta scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3100:1; Baudrier, 9: 219), and 1555, Lyons, M. Du Boys for J. Frellon and A. Vincent (Terentius; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 811647; Gültlingen, 1992, 8: 44, no. 123).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1556, J. Martin; 1557, R. Granjon; 1560, S. Barbier; 1564, G. Cotier; Antwerp: 1560, C. Plantin; Geneva: 1560, R. Hall; 1562, B. Anastase, F. Jaqui, F. Perrin; 1568, Fr. II Estienne; Paris: 1562, R. Breton, M. Fezandat, A. Le Roy & R. Ballard; 1567, P. Haultin; 1569, S. Nivelles; 1572, A. Wechel; Emden: 1563, L. Der Kinderen; Leipzig: 1570, Andr. Schneider.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. D2, 'Pro Muraena' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 36); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 43v 'Bible Cursiue' (Arch. plant. 43); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdrucksel van alle de letteren*, 'Brevier Cvrclif' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 14, no. 16); c.1585, *Folio Specimen*, Antwerp, Plantin, 'Bible cursiue' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 64); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Petit Text de G.' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); 1608, M. Lantzenberger, Leipzig, in: H. Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, p. 40 'Concordantz Cursiv' (Gaskell-Bradford, 1974); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Petit Text de G.' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1653, Widow of Broer Jansz., Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Cursijf' (Leyden, University Library, 1207 A 1); c.1660, B. Voskens, Hamburg, *Proben von ... Matryssen*, 'Brevier' (Dreyfus, 1963, 6); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Petit Cursif de Granion' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Petit Cursiff' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, 4); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge*, f. A3v-A4 'Brevier Cursijf, No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mar. 148:18); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Petit Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, 5); c.1687, University Press Oxford, [*Christ Church Specimen*], 'Brevier Ital' (Morison, 1967, pl. 11); 1693 [& 1695 & 1706], University Press Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Brevier Italic' (Hart, 1970, 27; 27c); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Brevier Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Brevier Cursijf'; 'Brevier Cursyf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); c.1700, Adamsz & Ente, *Proef van Letteren*, Amsterdam, 'Brevier Curzyf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 10); post 1701, [M. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Brevier Corsyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 66; c.1710, [M. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Text Gheschreven*], 'Brevier Corsyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:1, f. 81; 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerij*, f. D1 'N. 1 Brevier Cursijf' (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 45); post 1725, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Brevier' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; post 1728, Voskes en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Groote Brevier Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87); c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier cursijf', except Ww (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caractères*, 'Petit texte italique Numero X'; lower case only (Johnson, 1965); c.1749, I. vander Putte, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Brevier' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 70); 1755, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 39 Petit Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 27); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caractères*, 'Petit texte italique Numero X'; lower case only (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B3051:3); 1767, Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, f. F5, 'Brevier' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102:2); 1768, Widow of J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Petit Cursiv N.6' (Mori, 1955, 29); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caractères et les vignettes*, p. 10, 'Mignonne gros oeil italique'; p. 12, 'Petit-texte a son oeil italique'; p. 111, 'Petit-romain italique oeil de Petit-texte' (Carter, 1969a, 43–4; c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Groote Brevier Cursyf' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 58a; MA 110; MA 189 (Early inv., 1960, 11, 49, 88, 110, 120); Oxford, University Press, Brevier Italic, No. 19 (Morison, 1967, 141–2).

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, K, Q; duplicate swash capitals B, C, D, E, G, H, M, N, P, R, V; duplicate lower case swash z; capitals A, C, N, P differ from the previous Petit-texte Italic; to which, however, the face is very near.

VARIANT LETTERS variant lower case swash z.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Petite lettre italienne nommée la Non Pareille (? Agreement Granjon-Fezandat, 1551); Breuiarie Italique Grandion (Plantin, 1563); Cursiue Mignonne [de Granjon] (Plantin, 1571); [Breuiere] Italique de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); Cleen cursiue van granjon (Plantin, 1580); Petite corsiue mignogne de GrandJon (Plantin, 1588); [Byble] cursiue de Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Breuier cursif granjon (Plantin, 1589); Cursiue mignonne de Granjon (Plantin, 1589); Cursiue mignonne de granjon (Plantin, 1590); Curs. Petit Text de G. (Bernier, 1592, 1622); Italique petit Texte premiere taille (? Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 295, no. 9; Early inv., 1960, 11 (MA 58a); 49 (MA 189); 88 (MA 110b); 110 (MA 110a); 120 (MA 189); Dreyfus, 1963, 6; Morison, 1967, 141-2; Hart, 1970, 181.

FIGURE 14a Granjon's Second Brevier Italic [It 54] (1555) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. D2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 14b Granjon's Second Brevier Italic [It 54] (1555) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 58a). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

PRO MVRAENA.

REI militaris virtus præstat ceteris omnibus. Omnes urbanares, omnia nostra studia, & hæc forensis laus & industria latent in tutela ac præsidio bellicæ virtutis : & simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus, artes illico nostra conticescunt. Omnia denique que sunt in imperio, & in statu ciuitatis, ad ius defendi & firmari putantur, qui militari virtute antecellunt.

Multo plus adfers dignitatis rei militaris, quam iuris civilis gloria. Vigilas tu de nocte, ut tuis consilioribus respondeas: Ille vero, ut quo intendit, maturè se cum exercitu peremiat. Te gal-
lorum, illum buccinarum cantus excussit. Tu actionem insti-
stis, ille aciem instruit. Tu comes ne tui consilioris, ille ne vrbes
aut castra capiantur. Ille tenet & fecit ut hostium copia: tu ut a-
que pluvie arceantur. Ille exercitatus est in propagandis finibus,
tu in regendis. Pro Murana.

Minuenda est horum opinio, qui arbitrantur res bellicas maiores esse, quam urbanas: Quamvis enim Themistocles iure laudetur, & sit eius nomen quoniam Solonis illustrius: creturgie Salaminis clarissima testis victoriae, quae antepositorum consilio Solonis, ei quo primum constituit Areopagitas: non minus praclarum hoc, quam illud, iudicandum est. Illud enim semel profuit, hoc semper proderit civitati. 1. Offic.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

A x as il & fa fe ff ffi ffl fi fo fr fu y is l æ ſa ſe ſi ſl ſp ſſ ſt ſu us
á à á ä å ç é ê ë ě ĩ ï î ï ï ó ô õ ö ő p̣ p q̇ q̈ q̉ ú ú û ü ŷ â
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

• ' ; : ! ? (- * 9

BCDEFGHMNPVZ

15. Granjon's First or 'De Tournes' Bourgeois
Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1555)

This ‘delicate, silvery Italic’ in the words of Updike (1937, 1: 204) is attributed to Granjon because of its occurrence in De Tournes imprints, and because of its design. The lower case is very similar to but not identical with that of the earlier Granjon Long Primer Italic (2). We have seen it only at De Tournes’ press.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 64 x 1.6 : 1.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1555, **Lyons**, Jean de Tournes (Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, J 5818; Cartier, 2: 389, no. 300).

KEY LETTERS Capitals A, B, N, Q only in swash form; duplicate swash capitals D, E, G, H, M, P, T, V; 2 lower case v (one round); ligature ij without right-hand dot; ampersand with dotted top terminal.

LITERATURE Updike, 1937, 1: 204; Johnson, 1941, 295, no. 10.

FIGURE 15a Granjon's First Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1555) as it appears in *Hippocratis aphorismi*, Lyons, J. de Tournes & G. Gazeau, 1555, f. ar. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15b Granjon's First Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1555) as it appears in *Hippocratis aphorismi*, Lyons, J. de Tournes & G. Gazeau, 1555, f. az. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

HIPPOCRATIS

*Aphorismi digesti in ordinem secundum locos congruentium secum materiarum. Cum breui & dilucida expositione singulis Aphorismis ex Galeno supposita, qua inter-
rogum vice commentariorum esse possit.*

*Eiusdem Hippocratis Praenotionum libri tres,
cum explanatione eodem ex fonte, hausta.*

*Insigniores aliquot sententia selectæ ex libris
Aurelij Cornelij Celsi, medici inter Latinos
eloquentissimi.*

VEREOR si patris hic mentionem aliquam fecerim, cuius mortem aquo animo ferre nemo bonus potuit, ne & meum morem exagitet, & te in eundem luctum renocem, Charissime frater, quo prostrati nuper ac propemodum exanimati sumus. Hoc vultus licet scribendo non refricem lubes, quia tamen apparet, nec occul-
li facile potest, & hinc, eius maxime quod scribere modo constitui, pender argumentum, hoc ita mihi faciendum esse videtur, ut idem tibi subijciam sub aspectum parentis imaginem, a qua quando non deiecis oculos, non dubium profecto quin quantum animo conniti potes, quantum labore contendere, sis deas esse filius patri, viro omni doctrina & virtute ornatissimo, quam sumillimius, ac te, ne degenerasse videaris, in virtutum pater-
a 2 nimum

16. Granjon's Second or 'De Tournes'
English-sized Italic [It 97]
or *Saint-augustin* (1558)

Although unsupported by contemporary archival sources, the design of this Italic is unmistakably Granjon's. It is very near to Granjon's Immortelle (17), which is attributable on sure grounds. Jean de Tournes began to use this *Saint-augustin* from 1558 onwards instead of (1). Both arguments allow us to attribute this very elegant Italic safely to Granjon. The design is more calligraphic, daring and bolder than Granjon's earliest faces. It is lavishly equipped with ligatures and with its many overhanging letters the contrary of an economy face.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 97 x 2 : 2.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1558, Lyons, J. de Tournes (G. Paradin, *De motibus Galliae*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, K 7209; Cartier, 473, no. 412).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Alcala de Henares**: 1565, P. de Robles & F. de Cormellas; **Valladolid**: 1565, F.F. de Cordoba (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 993); **Lyons**: 1567, B. Rigaud; **Barcelona**: 1576, S. Arbus; 1577, J. Sendrat.

KEY LETTERS swash capitals A, D, H, M, P, Q, R, T; duplicate swash E; lower case v pointed and with left ascending terminal; two ampersands (normal/florid).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1937, 56.

FIGURE 16a Granjon's Second English-sized Italic for De Tournes [It 97] or *Saint-augustin* (1558) as it appears in J. Froissart, *Histoire et chronique*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes, 1559, f. A4. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 16b Granjon's Second English-sized Italic for De Tournes [It 97] or *Saint-augustin* (1558) as it appears in J. Froissart, *Histoire et chronique*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes, 1559. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

<i>Comment meſſire Hue le Deſpenſier, le fils, fut iuſticié.</i>	XIIII.	11
<i>Du couronnement du Roy Edouard d'Angleterre, tiers de ce nom.</i>	XV.	12
<i>Comme le Roy Robert de Breux, d'Eſcoce, déſia le Roy Edouard.</i>	XVI.	13
<i>La diſſenſion qui fut entre les Archers d'Angleterre, & ceux de Haynaut.</i>	XVII.	14
<i>De la maniere des Eſcoçois, & comme ils ſauent guerroyer.</i>	XVIII.	16
<i>Comment le Roy Anglois fit ſa premiere cheuauchee ſur les Eſcoçois.</i>	XIX.	17
<i>Comment le Roy Edouard ſe maria à Madame Philippe de Haynaut.</i>	XX.	23
<i>Comment le Roy Robert d'Eſcoce mourut.</i>	XXI.	24
<i>Comment Philippe de Valois fut couronné Roy de France.</i>	XXII.	26
<i>De la bataille de Caſſel en Flādres.</i>	XXIII.	27
<i>Comment le Comte de Kent & meſſire Roger de Mortemer furent iuſticiés.</i>	XXIII.	27
<i>De l'hommage, que le ieune Roy Edouard fit au Roy de France, pour la Duché de Guienne.</i>	XXV.	28
<i>Comment meſſire Robert d'Artois fut chacé hors du Royaume de France.</i>	XXVI.	31
<i>Comment le Roy Edouard d'Angleterre print la cité de Waruich.</i>	XXVII.	32
<i>Comment le Roy Philippe de France & pluſieurs autres Rois ſe croiſerent.</i>	XXVIII.	35
<i>Comme le Roy Edouard ſe conſeilla pour guerroyer le Roy Philippe de France.</i>	XXIX.	36
<i>Comment Iaques d'Artenelle gouuerna la Comté de Flandres.</i>	XXX.	38
<i>Comment aucuns Nobles de Flandres garderent l'Iſle de Cagant en Flandres contre les Anglois.</i>	XXXI.	39
<i>De la bataille de Cagant entre les Anglois & quelques Flamans du parti de leur Comte.</i>	XXXII.	40
<i>Comment le Roy Edouard d'Angleterre fit grandes aliances en l'Empire.</i>	XXXIII.	41
<i>Comment le Roy Dauid d'Eſcoce fit alliance au Roy Philippe de France.</i>	XXXIII.	42
	A 4	Comm

A B C D E E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

Et & fo fr ſp β ſſ ſt ſt

17. Granjon's Fifth 'Immortelle' Long Primer Italic [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1559)

This Italic is attributed to Granjon on the strength of its first appearance in Granjon's Lyons imprints and ascriptions in inventories and specimens. Plantin owned a set of strikes (regularly ascribed to Granjon) but apparently never used the face himself (Early inv., 1960, 13 and 110, MA 147). Further citations in the Berner 1592 specimen (Dreyfus, 1963, 2) and in the 1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 20) ascribe a face of this name to Granjon.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 20 65 x 1.5 : 1.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1559, Lyons, R. Granjon (L. Domenichi, *Faceties*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BH 2094; Baudrier, 2: 61–2).

EARLY APPEARANCES Lyons: 1559, S. Gryphius (after Johnson, 1941, 295, no. 11); 1561, G. Rouille; 1564, Th. Straton & A. Volant; 1565, J. Martin; 1577, A. Gryphius; Geneva: 1561, C. Badius; 1562, H. II Estienne, Fr. II Estienne, F. Jaqui; London: 1568, J. Day; Cologne: Th. Baum; Frankfurt: 1582, A. Wechel; Hamburg: 1596, J. II Lucius.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Garamond ou Immortel de GranJon' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); c.1660, B. Voskens, Hamburg, *Proben von ... Matryssen*, 'Garmont' (Dreyfus, 1963, 6); capitals only; c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Garmont Cursijf [1]' (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); capitals only; p.1728, Voskens en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Bourgeois Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87); c.1749, I. vander Putte, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Garmond. No. 3' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 70); 1767, Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, f. F4, 'Garmond. No. 3' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102:2); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Garmont Cursyf' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); some wrong sorts.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 147 (Early inv., 1960, 13 and 110)

KEY LETTERS Long-tailed capital K; ovaled Q; lower case florid v; two ampersands (one ascending as inverted 3).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Italique limmortelle de Granion (Plantin, 1561); Italique appelee l'immortelle de Granjon de grosseur la petite Essendonica (Plantin, 1563); Italica immortelle [de GrandJon] (Plantin, 1588); Curs. Garamond ou Immortel de GranJon (Berner, 1592); Italique petit Romain Granjon immortelle (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 295, no. 11; Johnson, 1959, 119; Early inv., 1960, 13 and 110; Dreyfus, 1963, 6, 10, 13, pls. 2, 6, 9.

FIGURE 17a Granjon's Fifth Long Primer 'Immortelle' [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1559) as it appears in L. Domenichi, *Faceties*, Lyons, R. Granjon, 1559, f. b2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 17b Granjon's Fifth Long Primer 'Immortelle' [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1559) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 147). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

*giori, chiedendo tanto del
la figura del discipolo e
seruo, doue egli non
venderono piu che trenta
dinari, il maestro d'esso
Giouanni e Signore e Re
de Giudei?*

*Fu domandato vna
volta al Re, quel che gli
pareua che fosse l'honore
senza l'vtilità, rispose:
che cio gli pareua essere
ne piu ne meno, come se
chi chesia hauesse buonif-
sima e acuta vista, ma
per essere offeso dalla ne-
bia, non potesse veder
nulla.*

*Essendo domandato al
Re Alfonso, perche i got-
tosi cicalano tanto, disse
burlando: che i gottosi
per hauer male a piedi
non possono camminare, e
per cio piu spesso si serua-
no della lingua come per
vn certo atto di camina-
re. E oltra di questo di-
se, che quando Ennio ha-
ueua le gotte, all'hora so-
leua bene e copiosamente
poetare.*

*A Catalani, iguali ri-
putauano cosa benissimo
fatta, ch'essendo al Re
anch*

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
e as Œ ff fi fl fr ij is ll æ ß fi fl ß ff ß st us
á à á ä ç è é ê ë ì í î ï ò ó ô õ ö ÷ ù ú û
. . : ! ? (-
c

18. Granjon's Fourth Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1562)

The attribution of this Italic is debatable. In the Plantin inventories of 1561 and 1563 it is ascribed to Pierre Haultin (Early inv., 1960, 12, MA 81). And from 1586 on, Haultin himself uses the typeface in his La Rochelle imprints (Desgraves, 1960, 34; Desgraves, 1965, fig. 6). Moreover, in 1572 he sells Simon de Millanges in Bordeaux this type as a 'Gros Texte et son ytalique' (Desgraves, 1960, XVI); both can be seen in the Millanges printing from the same year on (Labadie, 1909, 60). The Italic appeared in the same period to one of his customers in Orléans, the Gibier press (Desgraves, 1966, nos. 69 and 71); in Angoulême it appears at the Minières address (Desgraves, 1968, 32), in Agen at the Pomaret press (Desgraves, 1968, 63). It is clear that these provincial printers relied on Haultin as type-founder and that he owned a set of matrices. But as he used also other Granjon Italics, such as his second Cicero Italic (10), an attribution of the punches to Haultin cannot be not firm.

Conversely the Plantin inventories of 1572, 1580 and 1581 attribute the typeface to Granjon, as do the Berner type-specimens from 1592 onwards. The Plantin inventory of 1572 was compiled by Hendrik van den Keere, the Ghent punchcutter (Vervliet, 1968, 30–2), who one would not expect to have made errors of attribution. Moreover the style is wholly Granjon's and the fount occurs first in the early 1560's at the Antwerp press of the royal printer Willem Silvius and somewhat later at Plantin's during the very years Granjon stayed in Antwerp and supplied both printers with his civilite types (Carter-Vervliet, 1966, 35). Finally the Plantin inventories of 1561 and 1563 mention a 'Texte romain Granion', which does not exist. Probably the two inventories have inverted the attribution of the Roman and the Italic (Early inv., 1960, 12).

Punches (but strangely enough not of matrices) for an 'Italique Gros Romain Granjon' are mentioned in the c.1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 24). They may relate to this face, or, perhaps more likely, to Granjon's second Great Primer Italic (9). The large number of type-specimens that display this typeface well into the eighteenth century is an indication of its popularity. Its distribution throughout continental Europe needs further study.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 115 x 2 : 3.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1562, **Antwerp**, W. Silvius (*Spelen van sinne*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 47.41; STCn, 11).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Antwerp**: 1564, C. Plantin; **Orléans**: 1568, E. Gibier; **Bordeaux**: 1572, S. Millanges; **La Rochelle**: 1575, P. Haultin; **Angoulême**: 1576, J. de Minières; **Madrid**: 1576, J.I. de Lequerica (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 987); **London**: 1578, J. Day, 1582, H. Denham; 1589, Th. Orwin; **Paris**: 1579, C. Micard; 1586, A. Blochet; 1587, G. Blaise; **Orthez**: 1583, L. Rabier; **Leyden**: 1587, F. I. Raphelengius; **Naples**: 1595, G. Carlino.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. C2 (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 23); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 60v 'Texte Cursiue' (Arch. plant. 43); 1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio specimen*, 'Texte cursiue' Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 8, no. 22); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Gros Text de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); 1616, G.L. Fuhrmann, Nuremberg, *Typorum & characterum officinae ... designatio*, '7. Cursiva, quam tertiam vocant' (Dresden, University Library, Techn. B.175); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Gros Text de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1653, Widow of Broer Jansz., Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Nieuwe Text Cursijf' (Leyden, University Library, 1207 A 1); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Text sive Bibel Italicum' (Leyden UL, 743 f. 44); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Tertia Cursif de Granion' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Tertia cursiv No. 5' (Mori, 1955, 10); 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerye*, 'Text Cursijf'; except lower case w (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 45); 1718, J.N. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Tertia Cursif No. 5' (Mori, 1955, 13); 1718, P. Esclassan, Paris, *Epreuve de quelques matrices*, 'Italique de gros Romain A' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, W 1319 T; Howe, 1951, 32); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Romain Italique à petit oeil No. 8' (Mori, 1955, 14).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 81 and MA 22a–23 (Early inv. 1960, 12, 61–2).

KEY LETTERS Duplicate swash capitals A, B, D, E, M, N, P, R, V; short lead-in strokes to A and N; left-hand stroke of swash N is curved; two-shaped Q; short-tailed capital R; swash V rounded and short lead-in stroke. Lower case f with slanted bar; three kinds of v; two of z; four ampersands, three of which appear also in the precedent Great Primer Italics (9, 11) of Granjon.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [Texte] Italique de Hautin (Plantin, 1561); Texte Italique Hautin (Plantin, 1563); Italique [Gros texte] de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); Text Cursyve van granjon (Plantin, 1580); [Texte] Italique de Robert Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Curs. Gros Text de Granlon (Berner, 1592, 1622); Italique gros Romain Granjon (? Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 294, no. 6; Early inv., 1960, 12, MA 81; 61–2, MA 22a–23; Dreyfus, 1963, 5; Tinto, 1972, 73–5; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 23.

FIGURE 18a (opposite, above) Granjon's Fourth Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1562) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. C2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 18b (opposite, below) Granjon's Fourth Great Primer [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1562) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 81). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

19. Granjon's Third English-Sized Italic 'couché' [It 93] or *Saint-augustin* (1563)

In his 'Livre des ouvriers' (Arch. Plant. 31, f. 88v), Plantin noted (about 1568) that he received from Robert Granjon two strikes of an 'Augustin cursiue', as Granjon's 'Parangon cursiue' ostensibly acquired for sale in Frankfurt. The Plantin (Early inv., 1960, 47, MA 128; 48–9, MA 176) and c.1618 Le Bé inventories (Morison, 1957, 18 and 24) consistently ascribe this face to Granjon. So does the Berner specimen of 1622 and many following German type-specimens. This very popular English-sized Italic, Granjon's third, may have been cut in Geneva at the request of Henri II Estienne. See (20) below.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 93 x 2 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1563, **Geneva**, H. II Estienne (*H. Estienne, De abusis linguae Graecae admonitio*; Ghent, University Library, BL 629; Chaix, 1966, 57).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Paris**: 1566, A. Wechel; 1567, P. Haultin; 1572, R. Granjon, J. de Bordeaux; 1574, D. Du Val (with phonetic sorts); 1579, J. Mettayer; 1608, G. II Le Bé; **London**: 1568, J. Day; **Geneva**: 1569, J. Crespini; **Venice**: 1569, C. & R. Borgominieri; **Leipzig**: 1570, E. Voegelin; **Antwerp**: 1571, C. Plantin; **Basle**: 1585, L. Ostein; 1574, E. & N. Episcopius; 1578, P. Perna; **Torun**: 1587, M. Nering; **Leyden**: 1588, F. I. Raphelengius; **Naples**: 1591, O. Salviani; **Montbéliard**: 1593, J. Foillet; **Sedan**: 1594, A. Rivery. More references in Tinto, 1972, 81.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 56v 'Augustine Cursiue Grosse' (Arch. plant. 43); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Vraye Augustine Cursiue'; 'Petite Augustine Cursiue' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 27 and 33); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, [incipit:] 'rem Adolescentiae' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); 1608, M. Lantzenberger, Leipzig, in: H. Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, p. 39 'Mittel Cursiv' (Gaskell-Bradford, 1974); 1615, J.J. Genath, Basle, *Unterschiedliche Form 'Adagia Cursif'* (Basle, University Library, Ms. O 12 C:166); 1616, G.L. Fuhrmann, Nuremberg, *Typorum & characterum officinae ... designatio*, '8. Cursiva, quam vocant mediam' (Dresden UL, Techn. B.175); some divergent sorts; 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. S. Augustin de GranJon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri ... nella stampa Vaticana*, f. 44, 'Cursivo Barberino della Vaticana' (Vervliet, 1967, 34, no. 44); 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen ... Imprimerie royale*], f. 12, 'Italique de Saint Augustin' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Augustin Italicum' (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 44); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Media Cursif de Granjon' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Mittel Cursif' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, 4); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge*, f. A3 'Augustijn Cursijf' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mar. 148:18); 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Wid. D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustijn cursijf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 12); with variant lower case a; see (30) below; 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Mittel Cursif [2]' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, 5); c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustijn Cursijf [2]' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); with variant lower case a and d; see (30) below; 1691, H. Keyser, Stockholm, *Specimen Characterum*, 'Mittel Cursif' (Stockholm, Royal Library, 82 An 18/72); 1695,

Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerye*, 'Nieuwe Augustyn Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); 1699, J. G. Baumann, Nuremberg, *Specimen characterum* 'Mittel Cursiv' (Mori, 1924, pl. 14); c.1700, Adamsz & Ente, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Klyne Augustyn Curzyf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 10); c.1700, J. Rolu, Amsterdam, *Proeven van Letteren*, 'Augustyn Cursijf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 15); post 1701, Antwerp, [M. van Wolsschaten], [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Augustyn Corsyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 66; 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 2 'Gemeine Cicero Corsif' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8); post 1725, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Augustyn', Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Mittel cursiv No. 6' (Mori, 1955, 10); post 1725, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Augustyn', Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; 1745, *Specimen ... characterum*, Frankfurt, H.E. Luther, 'St: August: Italique de Granjon No. 11' (Mori, 1955, 14); c.1749, *Proef van letteren*, Amsterdam, I. vander Putte, 'Klyne Augustyn' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 70); 1755, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 24 Cicero Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 27); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustyn cursijf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 13); with variant lower case a; see (30) below; 1767, Ploos van Amstel, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, f. E8, 'Klyne Augustyn' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102:2); 1773, Lyons, L. Delacolonge, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 30 'Cicero a gros oeil italique'; p. 32 'Saint Augustin a son oeil italiq.'; (Carter, 1969a, 51; 53); mutilated.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 28, 128, 176 (Early inv., 1960, 47–9); Stockholm, Royal Printing Office, Norstedt Collection, NS 159, Fin mittel kursiv (Axel-Nilsson, 1983, 122).

KEY LETTERS Capitals J, Q, T only in swash form; swash duplicate capitals A, M, N; duplicate lower case swash z; two ampersands (one as inverted 3). The capitals are of the same height as those of Granjon's second Cicero Italic (10) and all but undistinguishable from them. Of the latter however, the O-shaped Q is an indicator, as are its broader M, N, and narrower Y.

VARIANT LETTERS Top curl of swash A sometimes invisible; lower counter of g weakly attached to link. The variant lower case a in the 1681/1762 Van Dyck/Roman, the 1773 Delacolonge and the 1742/1758 Lamesle/Gando specimens could be a later addition by Granjon. See (30) below.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Augustin cursiue (Contract Plantin-Granjon, 1568); [Augustine] Italicque de Granjon couchée (Plantin, 1572); Augustyne cursiue granjon (Plantin, 1580); [Augustine grosse] Italicque de r. Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Italiq. de St Augustin, GrandJon; Cursiue St Augustin de GrandJon (Plantin, 1588); Augustyn cursiue granjon (Plantin, 1589); Italicque St Augustin dernière Granjon (Le Bé, 1618); Curs. S. Augustin de GranJon (Berner, 1622).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 296–7, no. 13; Early inv., 1960, 47, MA 128; 48–9, MA 176; Dreyfus, 1963, 5; Vervliet, 1967, 34, no. 44; Tinto, 1972, 81–2, pls. 22–3; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 27; Axel-Nilsson, 1983, 122.

FIGURE 19a (opposite, above) Granjon's Third English-Sized Italic 'couché' [It 93] or *Saint-augustin* (1563) as it appears in J. A. de Baif, *Etrenes*, Paris, D. Du Val, 1574, f. a2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 19b (opposite, below) Granjon's Third English-Sized Italic 'couché' [It 93] or *Saint-augustin* (1563) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 28). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

20. Granjon's Two-line Double Pica Italic [It 280] or *Gros-canon* (1564)

This beautiful face can be attributed to Granjon on the strength of Le Bé's attestation (Morrison, 1957, 18) and of its evident stylistic affinity with the rest of Granjon's oeuvre. He left Lyons (where in 1557 he had launched his new *Civilité* types) around 1562 (though we do not know why exactly) to arrive in Antwerp in 1563 or 1564 (Vervliet, 1981, 7). It is not impossible that he went by Geneva. Henri II Estienne, with the financial backing of the banker Ulrich IV Fugger, continued there his father's printing office. In the early 1560's he introduced several new founts to the ancient and venerable stock of types inherited from his father Robert. Among these new types are two Italics, both appearing first in Geneva. The hypothesis that Granjon cut them on request of Henri II Estienne is attractive. The two Italics in question are the English-sized Italic (19) and the present Two-line Double Pica. Garamont's larger *Grec du Roy* for a grandly designed broadsheet or, as he saw it, typographical monuments, datable c.1565, to honour the memory of his father (Renouard, 1843, 123–4; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. mYc 306). I suppose Fournier l'Aîné (1757, 95) means this typeface where he alludes to a 'Petit Canon Italic'.

SIZE Two-line double Pica (*Gros-canon*); 20 280 x 5 : 8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1564, Geneva, H. II Estienne (Thucydides; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, K 6739; Chaix, 1966, 59).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1611, G. Le Bé.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen ... Imprimerie royale*], f. 7, 'Italique de Gros Canon' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958); with divergent capitals H and M; 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 10 'Grosse Canon Cursiv' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. S1 'Gros Canon Italique maigre'; f. K3v 'Deux Points de S. Augustin, Numero II'; with divergent capitals J, Q, U (Johnson, 1965); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. S1 'Gros Canon Italique maigre'; f. K3v 'Deux Points de S. Augustin, Numero II'; with divergent capitals J, Q, U (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); 1760, Gando Père et Fils, Paris, *Epreuves des caracteres*, f. D1 'Gros Canon Italique maigre' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:1); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 50 'Gros Canon italique oeil maigre' (Carter, 1969a, 60); with divergent capital M.

KEY LETTERS Swash capital Q; duplicate swash capitals A, M.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Italique Gros Canon Granjon (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 7; Carter, 1967, 13, n. 4; 1969, 125; 1969a, 60; 1976, 81.

FIGURE 20a (opposite) The capitals of Granjon's Two-line Double Pica Italic [It 280] or *Gros-canon* as it appears in C. Lamesle, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, Paris, 1742, f. K4v. The J and U are later additions. Courtesy of the Ecole Estienne, Paris.

FIGURE 20b Granjon's Two-line Double Pica Italic [It 280] or *Gros-canon* (1564) as shown in the 1643 Specimen of the Imprimerie royale, Paris. With divergent capitals H and second M.

A B C D E
F G H I J K
L M N O P
Q R S T V
U X Y Z
Æ A M

7

A A B C D E F G H I K
 L M M N O P Q R S T V
 X Y Z Æ.

*Tu mandasti mandata tua custodi-
 ri nimis.*

*Vtinam dirigantur viæ meæ, ad
 custodiendas iustificationes tuas!*

*Tunc non confundar, cum perspe-
 xero in omnibus mandatis tuis.*

*Confitebor tibi in directione cor-
 dis: in eo quod didici iudicia iustitiæ
 tuæ.*

*Iustificationes tuas custodiā: non
 me derelinquas usquequaque.*

21. Granjon's Third Pica Italic 'droite' [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1565)

The Antwerp typefounder François Guyot supplied Plantin in July 1565 with a fount of 'Italique mediane neuue de Granion' (Arch. plant., 3, f. 31v; 4, f. 10v), a new typeface which Plantin used from 1566 on. It is consistently ascribed to Granjon in the Plantin and Le Bé inventories ((Early inv., 1960, 29, MA 37; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 28; Morison, 1957, 19); also in the 1592 Berner and subsequent German type-specimens.

Humanism and Reformation supported a steady demand for portable classics and bibles. Printers experimented with smaller body sizes, large x-heights or condensed faces. This new condensed, yet elegant Italic constituted Granjon's answer to these needs. Granjon's next two Italics (22, 23) feature the same characteristics.

Plantin knew this face as 'droicte a l'allemande'. The epithet 'a l'allemande' is not well explained. Morison (1967, 140) suggests that the description points to a narrow Italian hand, popular in Germany, and documented in Wolfgang Fugger's *Nutzlich und wohlgegründt Formular*, Nuremberg, 1553. The suggestion is perhaps too flattering of the German calligrapher's rather clumsy Italic. Another hypothesis is the following: in the beginning of the century the term 'Allemaigne' was in use for indicating a German or Swiss (Basle) type design, especially the so-called Froben Italic on Pica of Peter II Schoeffer (Johnson, 1959, 97). During many decades this face (1519) was unavoidable for compactly printed classics. Perhaps Granjon and Plantin simply referred to this purpose. The name 'Scolasticalis' used by the Berner type-specimens lends support to this proposition (Wolf, 1979, 78).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*; *Mediane*); 20 82 x 1.7 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1565, **Antwerp**, C. Plantin (Lucretius; Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 584; Voet, 1980, 3: 1426–9, no. 1589) and 1565, **Louvain**, P. Zangrius (T. More, *Opera omnia*; after Johnson, 1959, 120.

EARLY APPEARANCES **Frankfurt**: 1566, G. Rabe & S. Feyerabend; 1575, Heirs of Chr. Egenolff; **Antwerp**: 1568, Heirs of J. Steelsius; 1569, W. Silvius; 1570, A. Tavernier; **Basle**: 1568, P. Perna; **Leipzig**: 1568, E. Voegelin; 1572, A. Schneider; **Strasbourg**: 1569, Th. Rihel; **Cologne**: 1570, G. Calenius; 1576, L. Alektorius; 1580, Th. Baum; 1591, J. Gymnicus; **Salamanca**: 1590, G. Foquel (more references in Cruickshank, 2004, 1001); **Hamburg**: 1591, G. Wolff; **Prague**: 1591, G. Nigrinus; **Montbéliard**: 1593, J. Foillet. More references in Johnson, 1959, 120.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. C3, 'De claris orat.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 28); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 52 vo 'Mediane Cursiue droite a l'allemande' (Arch. plant. 43); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdrucksel van alle de letteren*, 'Mediaen Cvrciif' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 14, no. 9); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Mediane cursiue droite' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 40); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Est & haec melioris notae Litera Currens Ciceroniana, artifice Roberto Granlone Gallo prodita, vulgo Scolasticalis dicta' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, 2); 1608, M. Lantzenberger, Leipzig, in: H. Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia*, p. 39 'Grannionis Cursiv' (Gaskell-Bradford, 1972); 1615, J.J. Genath, Basle, *Unterschiedliche Form 'Cicero Cursif'* (Basle, University Library, Ms. O 12 C:166); 1616, G.L. Fuhrmann, Nuremberg, *Typorum & characterum officinae ... designatio*, '9. Cvrsiva, quam Ciceronianam vocant' (Dresden UL, Techn. B.175); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Est & haec melioris notae Litera Currens Ciceroniana, artifice Roberto Granlone Gallo prodita, vulgo Scolasticalis dicta' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Mediaen sive Cicero Italicum' (Leyden, University Library, 743 f 44); c.1660, B. Voskens, Hamburg, *Proben von ... Matryssen*, 'Mediaen Cursyf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 6); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Cursiu vfrecht' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, 4); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Est & haec melioris notae Litera Currens Ciceroniana, artifice Roberto Granlone Gallo prodita, vulgo Scolasticalis dicta' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Cursiv aufrecht' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, 5); 1691, H. Keyser, Stockholm, *Specimen Characterum*, 'Cicero Cursiff' (Stockholm, Royal Library, 82 An 18/72); 1693 [& 1695 & 1706], University Press Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Pique Italic'; lower case only; 'Small Pica Ital.'; right-hand capitals only (Hart, 1970, 24; 26) post 1701, [M. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Mediaen Corsief'; 'Mediaen Corsijf op de Desendiaen'; Descendiaen Corsief' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 66; 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cicero cursiv No. 9' (Mori, 1955, 10); 1704, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Ecce specimen*, f. 2 'Grobe Garmond Corsif', f. 3 'Grobe Garmond Corsif', f. 16 'Cicero Cursiv' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; Mori, 1926a, 10, no. 8); c.1710, [M. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Text Gheschreven*], 'Mediaen Corsief'; 'Mediaen Corsijf op de Desendiaen'; Descendiaen Corsief' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:1, f. 81; 1714, J.H. Stubenvoll, Frankfurt, *Characterum seu typorum*, 'Cicero cursif [2]' (Mori, 1955, 21); 1718, J.N. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cicero Cursiv No. 9' (Mori, 1955, 13); lower case only; post 1725, [B. van Wolsschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Mediaen Corsyf'; 'Groote Deszendiaan'; 'Deszendiaan' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; 1727, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 17 Cicero Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 24); 1740, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 30 Cicero Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 25); mutilated; 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Cicero Italique de Gran: No. 15' (Mori, 1955, 14); lower case only; 1755, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 33 Garmond Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 27);

1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 23, 'Philosophie italique' (Carter, 1969a, 47); mutilated.

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 37 (Early inv., 1960, 29); Oxford, University Press, Fell Pica Italic (Morison, 1967, 139–40); Stockholm, Royal Printing Office, Norstedt Collection, NS 150, Cicero kursiv (Axel-Nilsson, 1983, 119); only capitals.

KEY LETTERS lower case v pointed; no swash letters, except the lower case tailed k and the duplicate z.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Italique mediane neuue de Granion (Plantin, 1565); Derniere Italique de granion sur l'instrument de Cicero (Plantin, 1566); [Mediane] Italique droite a l'allemande de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); [Mediane] Italique de Robert Granjon a l'allemande de Granjon (Plantin,

1581); *Litera Currrens Ciceroniana*, artifice Roberto GranIone Gallo prodita, vulgo Scolasticalis dicta (Berner, 1592, 1622); *Italique Cicero Granjon droite* (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Johnson, 1941, 296, no. 12; Johnson, 1943, 58; Johnson, 1959, 120; Dreyfus, 1963, 5-6; Morison, 1967, 139-40; Hart, 1970, 180; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 28.

FIGURE 21A Granjon's Third Pica Italic 'droite' [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1565) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. C4. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 21b Granjon's Third Pica Italic 'droite' [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1565) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 37). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

DE CLARIS ORAT.

PHILOSOPHIA, mater est omnium benefactorum, beneq; dictorum.

Vitiorum peccatorumq; nostrorum omnis à Philosophia petenda est medicina. 5. Tusc.

Sine Philosophia fieri non potest, vt sanus sit animus. 3. Tuscul.

Radice[m] omnium malorum stirpis Philosophia se extracturam pollicetur : demus ergo huic nos excolendos, putiamurq[ue] nos sanari ab ea, si boni & beati volumus esse : omnia adiumenta & auxilia petamus bene beateq[ue] viuendi. 4. Tuscul.

*Philosophia virtutes continet, & officij & bene viuendi disciplinam: quam qui profutetur, gra-
uissimam mihi personam sustinere videtur. In Pisonem.*

Est Philosophia paucis contenta iudiciis, multitudinemq; consulto fugiens, eiq; ipsi & susce-
pta & iuncta. 2. Tuscul.

Non jam satis dignè poterit laudari Philosophia, cui qui parcat, omne tempus atque possit sine molestia degere. Cato Maior.

Nullum horum Philosophia optabilius, nullum præstantius, neque datum est mortalium generi, deorum consensu, neque dabitur. de Vniuers.

Nihil est dulcius oratio litterario, his dico litteris, quibus infinitatem rerum atque naturæ, & in hoc ipso mundo, calum, terras, maria cognoscimus. 5. Tuscul.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

Æ æ as ðt & ff ffi ffl fi fl fr ü is ll œ si sl sp ss ß st us

á à â ã ç é ê ë ì í î ï ñ ó ò

ô õ þ ð ñ ò ó ù ù û ü ü

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

, . ; : ! ?) - -

$$z$$

22. Granjon's Second Bourgeois Italic 'droite' [It 62] or *Gaillarde* (1566)

Granjon contracted on 3 July 1565 with Plantin to cut two Italics, one on Philosophie (23) and this one (Arch. plant., 31, f. 87). François Guyot justified the strikes and was paid for a fount in December 1565 and March 1566 (ibid., 3, f. 40 and 46v; 4, f. 10v). From 1566 on it is regularly ascribed to Granjon in the Plantin inventories; cf. Early inv., 1960, 26 (ST 28); 29 (MA 129). It appears in the Plantin type-specimens of 1567 and 1575, but is surprisingly absent in the specimen of c.1585 (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 34).

The Plantin inventories knew this typeface as 'poëtique', an expression which up to the nineteenth century the French printing terminology used for 'condensed', *i.e.* allowing a hexameter to be set in one line (Fournier, 1995, 1: 167–8). However, we do not know what the term stands for in the sixteenth century. In his 'Thesaurarium artis scriptoriae' (1549; Doede, 1958, 43), the German writing-master Caspar Neff uses the term as a synonym for Italic; 'Latini characteres quos vulgo Italicos vel Poëticos appellant' is the legend for one of his models. Therefore is it more probable that the three sets of matrices of a 'Italique petit Romain Granjon poëttes' mentioned in the 1618 Le Bé Inventory (Morison, 1957, 20), relate to our (3) rather than to this type, which has not been noticed in Parisian printing.

SIZE Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); 20 62 x 1.2 : 1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1566, Antwerp, C. Plantin (Ovidius, *Heroidum epistolae*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 230; Voet, 1980, 1848).

EARLY APPEARANCES Leyden: 1587, F. I Raphelengius.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. D2, 'I. De oratore' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 34); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 45v 'Colineus Cursiue' (Arch. plant. 43);

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, ST 28; MA 116; 126; 129 (Early inv., 1960, 26; 29).

KEY LETTERS Capitals reduced and only slightly inclined; lower case v rounded; no swash letters, except duplicate t and z.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS *Lectre italique du corps* appelé le Garamont (Contract Granjon-Plantin, 1565); *Litalique de Grandion sur la lectre dicte Colinee* (Plantin, 1566); *Italique Poëtique de Granjon [sur la Garramonde]* (Plantin, 1572); *Italique Poeticque sur Colineus de Granjon* (Plantin, 1572); *Italique Poeticque [sur Colineus] de R. Granjon* (Plantin, 1581); *Cursiue Poeticque de Robert Granjon* (Plantin, 1581); *Petite cursiue des poëtes de granjon* (Plantin, 1589); *Petite cursiue des poëtes de Granjon sur le Colineus* (Plantin, p.1590).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 26 (ST 28); 29 (MA 129); Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 5, no. 34.

FIGURE 22a Granjon's Second Bourgeois Italic 'droite' [It 62] or *Gaillarde* (1566) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. D2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 22b Granjon's Second Bourgeois Italic 'droite' [It 62] or *Gaillarde* (1566) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 129). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

I. DE ORATORY.

NOMINE oratoris & docti, ornandus est, qui scelus fraudemque nocentis possit dicendo subicere odio civium, supplicioque constringere, idemque ingenij presidio innocentiam iudiciorum pena liberare: idemque languentem labentemque populum, aut ad decus excitare aut ab errore deducere, aut inflammare in improbos, aut incitatum in bonos mitigare: qui denique quemcumque in animis hominum motum res & causa postulet, eum dicendo vel excitare possit, vel sedare.

Zeno Rhetoricam palma, Dialecticam pugno similem offerebat: quod latius loquerentur Rhetores, Dialectici autem compressius. 2. de Finib.

Quo quisque est solertior & ingeniosior, hoc docet iracundius & laboriosius, quod enim ipse celeriter arripuit, id quum tarde percipi videt discruciat. Pro Rosc. Com.

Quo vis versutior & callidior, hoc inuisior & suspectior, detracta opinione probitatis. 2. Offic.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

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23. Granjon's Small Pica Italic [It 70] or *Philosophie* (1566)

This typeface was cut and delivered by Granjon at Plantin's request together with the previous one. François Guyot justified the strikes and was paid for a fount in June 1566 (Arch. plant., 31, f. 63 and 116, f. 22). From 1566 on it is regularly ascribed to Granjon in the Plantin inventories; cf. Early inv., 1960, 26 and 110 (ST 27); 29 (MA 99). It appears in the Plantin type-specimens of 1567, 1575 and of c.1585 (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 30).

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 70 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1566, **Antwerp**, Christopher Plantin (Canisius, *Summa doctrinae*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 5.17).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Leyden**: 1588, F. I Raphelengius; **Cologne**: 1594, H. Falkenburg.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. D, 'V. Tuscul.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 30); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 51v 'Philosophie Cursiue' (Arch. plant. 43); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Philosophie cursiue' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, no. 47).

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, ST 27; MA 99 (Early inv., 1960, 26; 29; 110).

KEY LETTERS Lower case v rounded; no swash letters except lower case duplicate t and z; bulbous topped ampersand.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS italique dicte Philosophie qui est entre le corps dudict Garamont et la lectre nommee median ou Cicero (Contract Granjon-Plantin, 1565); L'italique de Grandion sur la Philosophie (Plantin, 1566); L'Italique de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); L'Italique [Philosophie] de R. Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Philosophie Cursiue de Robert Granjon (Plantin, 1581).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 26 and 110 (ST 27); 29 (MA 99); Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 4, no. 30.

FIGURE 23 Granjon's Small Pica Italic [It 70] or *Philosophie* (1566) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. D1. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

V. TVSCVL.

NON ex singulis vocibus Philosophi spectandi sunt, sed ex perpetuitate & constantia: resq; spectari oportet, non verba.

In Philosophia res spectantur, non verba penduntur. Orat. ad Brutum.

A Philosopho si adferat eloquentiam, non aspernor: si non habeat, non admodum desidero. 1. Tuscul.

Sunt qui in rebus contrariis parum sibi consent, voluptatem severissime contemnant, in dolore sunt molliores, gloriam negligat, frangantur infamia. 1. Offic.

Ut si grammaticum professus se quispiam. 2. Tuscul. In Simil. 20.

Quotusquisque Philosophorum inuenitur, qui sit ita moratus, ita animo ac vita constitutus, ut ratio postulat, qui disciplinam non ostentationem scientiae, sed legem vitae putet, quiq; obtemperet ipse sibi, ac decretis suis pareat? Videre licet alios tanta lenitate & iactatione, iis ut fuerit non didicisse melius: alios pecunia cupidos, non nullos gloria: multos libidinum seruos, ut cum eorum vita mirabiliter pugnet oratio, quod quidem est turpissimum. 2. Tuscul.

Magistri virtutis, Philosophi. 2. Tuscul.

CHRISTOPHORVS PLANTINVS
LECTORI S.



*V*M omnes cogitationes, studium, operam, atque adeò quidquid in nobis est, candide Lector, ad Typographiam, qua ceteras artes sua præstantia illustrat, iamdiu contulerimus; nihil nobis charius certè, aut antiquius est, quàm ut bonarum literarum, ac potissimum sacrosancta Theologia studia omni ex parte promoueamus, ac piis, iisdemque multiplici disciplinarum genere ornatissimis viris, continuo labore, ac industria (quantulacunque ea est) pro viribus consulamus. Neque verò in præbenda studiosis hominibus materia, & copiosa gravissimorum studiorum suppellectile adeò totissimus, quin nonnulla etià oblectamenta gravibus intermixta studiis, lectoribus subinde proponamus. Hoc enim inter cetera nobis semper fuit propositum, ut seriis studiis, & continuis laboribus defatigatos, incunda aliqua, neque ea tamen inani occupatione interdum detineremus. hoc itaque consilio adducti præstantis-

25. Granjon's Minion Italic [It 44] or *Mignonne* (1572)

Between 26 August and 4 September 1572 Plantin bought from Granjon a set of matrices of a 'cursiue nompaille' (Arch. plant. 116, f. 285); a year later he acquired through Gillis Beys, his son-in-law residing in Paris, the punches and no fewer than eleven strikes of a 'cursiue nompaille de Granjon' (Arch. plant., 98, f. 257). The typeface is shown in Plantin's c.1585 type-specimen. The Museum Plantin-Moretus still owns the punches and five sets of strikes. Punches and matrices of this size (named *Jolie* or *Nompaille*) are regularly mentioned and ascribed to Granjon in the Plantin inventories; cf. Early inv. 1960, 63 (MA 120); 73 (ST 30); 77 (MA 71). Granjon used the face in his Parisian imprints from 1573 on (Carter, 1967, 48, n. 47).

In fact, this type may be Granjon's second in this size: a Minion Italic appearing at Rouille's press from 1557 onwards (Chambers, 1983, no. 239) deserves more research.

SIZE Minion (*Mignonne*); 20 44 x 0.9 : 1.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1572, **Antwerp**, Widow of A. Tavernier (*Biblia*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 62.5).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Paris**: 1573, R. Granjon; **Antwerp**: 1583, C. Plantin.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Jolie cursiue' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, II, no. 73). 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu,

Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Colonel Cursyf'; 'Joly Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Colonel Cursijf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); post 1728, Voskes en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Colonel Cursyf'; 'Joly Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 8, 'Mignonne a son oeil italique' (Carter, 1969a, 43); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Colonel Cursyf'; 'Joly Cursyf' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102).

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, ST 30; MA 71; MA 120; MA 134; MA 156; MA 184; MA 191 (Early inv., 1960, 63; 73; 77).

KEY LETTERS Two sets of capitals (sloped/upright); both lower case and sloped capital V rounded; bulbous initial stroke of ampersand.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Cursiue nompaille de Granjon (Plantin, 1572-73); Petite Cursiue de Granjon (Plantin, 1573); Italicque [Jolye] de R. Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Cursiue [Jolye] de Robert Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Cursiue nompaille de Grandion (Plantin, 1588); Cursiue nompaille de granJon (Plantin, 1589); Cursiue nompaille de granjon (Plantin, 1590); Jolie Cursive de Grandjon (Plantin, 1590).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 63 (MA 120); 73 (ST 30); 77 (MA 71); Carter, 1967, 48, n. 47; Carter, 1969a, 43; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, II, no. 73.

FIGURE 25a Granjon's earlier Minion Italic [It 46] (1557) as it appears in *Il nuovo testamento*, Lyons, G. Rouille, 1558, f. a2 and a4. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyons.

FIGURE 25b (opposite) Granjon's Minion Italic [It 44] (1572) as it appears in *Biblia*, Antwerp, Wid. J. Steelsius & Wid. A. Tavernier, 1572, f. B1. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.



SANCTVM IL SANTO EVANGELIO DI IESU CHRISTO SECONDO S. MATTEO.

Volendo Matteo mostrare Giesu essere quel vero Messia da Dio per gli Profeti promesso: narra per ordine da Abrahamo in giù, tutta la sua natura e genealogia. Racconta le spozialize di Maria e Giesseffo, la concezzione di Christo, mediante lo Spirito santo, e qualmente Giesseffo, ammonitore da l'Angelo, accompagna Maria.

LIBER genealogie Iesu Christi filij David filij Abraham.



IL libro della generatione di Iesu Christo figliuolo di David, figliuolo d'Abraam.

1. Abraham genuit Isaac. Isaac autem genuit Jacob. Jacob autem genuit Iudam & fratres eius.

2. Iudam autem genuit Phares & Zaram & Thamar. Phares autem genuit Esrom. Esrom autem genuit Aram.

3. Aram autem genuit Aminadab. Aminadab autem genuit Naasson. Naasson autem genuit Salmon.

4. Salmon autem genuit Booz & Rachab. Booz autem genuit Obed. Obed autem genuit Iesse.

5. Booz & Rachab. Booz autem genuit Obed. Obed autem genuit Iesse.

6. Iesse autem genuit Iosabab. Iosabab autem genuit Achis. Achis autem genuit Booz.

7. Booz autem genuit Obed. Obed autem genuit Iesse.

8. Iesse autem genuit Iosabab. Iosabab autem genuit Achis. Achis autem genuit Booz.

9. Booz autem genuit Obed. Obed autem genuit Iesse.

SECON. S. MATTEO.

Et convocato omnibus pontificibus et scribis populi, preconatus est eis ubi Christus nascetur.

At illi dixerunt ei, In Bethleem Iudea: sic enim scriptum est per Prophetam,

Et tu Bethleem terra Iuda, nequaquam minima es inter principes Iuda: ex te enim mihi prodibit dux qui gubernaturus est populum Israel.

Tunc Herodes clam accersitis Magis accuratè perquisitis ab illis quo tempore stella apparuisset.

Et iussu ire in Bethleem dixit, Ite & accuratè inquirete depuro: ubi verò inveniatis remanete in hi, & ego veniam & adorabo illum.

At illi audito rege profecti sunt, & ecce stella quæ videbant in Oriente, præcedit illi: donec progressa foret supra locum in quo erat puer.

Quum autem vidissent stellam, gaudio magno revald.

Et ingressi domum, invenierunt puerum cum

4. E congregando tutti i principali Sacerdoti e gli Scribi del popolo, domandò loro doue Christo doueua nascere.

5. Et essi gli dissero, In Bethleem di Giudea: perciocchè è scritto per il Profeta,

6. E tu Bethleem terra di Iuda, non sei già la minima fra i principali di Iuda: perciocchè di te mi vscirà vn Duca, il qual gouernarà il mio popolo Israel.

7. Allora Herode chiamati di segreto i Magi, ricercò diligentemente da essi del tempo che la stella era [loro] apparita.

8. E mandandoli in Bethleem, disse loro, Andate, e ricercate diligentemente del fanciullo: e quando voi l'hauerete trovato, fatemelo intendere, acciò che ancor io venghi ad adorarlo.

9. Essi hauendo vditto il Re, andorono: & ecco la stella, c'haucuano veduta in Oriente, andaua loro innàzi, fin che arriuata, si fermò sopra dou'era il fanciullo.

10. Et essi veduta la stella si rallegrarono d'vna grandissima allegrezza.

11. Et entrati ne la casa, trovarono il fanciullo con Ma-

Isaac. CAP. XXVII. Genesis. CAP. XXVIII. 9

mogenitus Esau. ? Expauit Isaac stupore 33
vehementi: & ultra quam credi potest, ad-
miras, ait: Quis igitur ille est qui dudum ca-
pit venationem attulit mihi, & comedi ex
omnibus prius quā tu venires? benedixitq;
ei, & erit benedictus. ? Auditis Esau ser- 34
monibus patris, irruit clamore magno: &
confermat, ait: Benedic etiā & mihi, pa-
ter mi. ? Qui ait: Venit germanus tuus 35
fraudenter, & accepit benedictionem tuam. F
? At ille subiunxit: Iuste vocatum est nomen 36
eius Iacob: supplantauit enim me en altera
vice: || primogenita mea ante tulit, & nūc
secundū surripuit benedictionem meā. Rur-
sumq; ad patrem, Nunquid non reuerenti,
ait, & mihi benedictionem? Respondit Isaac: 37
Dominum tuum illū cōstitui, & omnes fra-
tres eius seruituti illius subiungam: frumēto
& vino stabiliui eum, & tibi post hac, filij
mi, ultra quid faciam? ? Cui Esau: Num 38
uiam, inquit, statim benedictionem habes,
pater: mihi quoq; obsecro ut benedicas. Cūq;
clulata magno fletu, ? motus Isaac, dixit ad 39
eum: || In pinguedine terra, & in tore calis
desuper ? erit benedictio tua. Vives in gla- 40
dio, & fratri tuo seruies: sēpesh, veniet, cū
excutias & soluas iugum eius de cernicibus
tuis. ? Odeat ergo semper Esau Iacob pro 41
benedictione quā benedixerat ei pater: di- G
xitq; in corde suo: || Venient dies luctus pa-
tris mei, & occidam Iacob fratrem meum. 42
? Nunciata sunt hac Rebecca: quā mittens,
& vocas Iacob filium suū, dixit ad eū, Ecce 43
Esau frater tuus minatur ut occidas te.
? Nunc ergo, fili mi, audi vocē meā, & con-
surgens fuge ad Laban fratrem meū in Ha- 44
ran: ? habitabisq; cum eo dies paucos donec
requiescat furor fratris tui, & cesset indi- 45
gnatio eius, obliuiscaturq; eorū quā fecisti
in eum: postea mittam, & adducam te inde 46
huc. cur utroq; orbabor filio in uno die? Di-
xitq; Rebecca ad Isaac: Tacet me vita mea
propter filias Heth: si acceperit Iacob uxore
de stirpe huius terre, nolo viuere.
CAP. XXVIII.
Vocauit itaq; Isaac Iacob, & benedixit 1
eum, praecepitq; ei dicens: Noli accipere A
animam de genere Chanaan: ? sed vade, & 2
prosciscere in Mesopotamiam Syriā, ad domū
Bathuel patris matris tuae, & accipe tibi
inde uxorem de filiabus Laban auiculi tui.
? Deus autem omnipotens benedicat tibi, & 3
refectus te faciat atq; multiplicet: ut sis in
tribus populorum. ? Et det tibi benedictio-
nes Abraham, & semini tuo post te: ut possi-
deas terram peregrinationis tuae, quā polli-
citus est aui tuo. ? || Cumq; dimisisset eum 5
Iacob, messius peruenit in Mesopotamiam
Syriā ad Labā filium Bathuel Syri, fratrem
Rebecca matris suae. ? Videns autem Esau 6
quā benedixisset pater suus Iacob, & mi-

Sup. 25. d. 35.

* & oles.

Heb. 11. d. 17.

Abd. 6.

ut 7.

verba 4.

Sup. 26. g. 35.

Osa. 11. d. 14.

sisset cum in Mesopotamiam Syriā, ut inde
uxorē duceret: & quod post benedictionem
praecepisset ei, dicens: Non accipies uxorem
7 de filiabus Chanaan: ? quodq; obediens Ia-
8 cob parentibus—uisisset in Syriā: ? pro-
9 bans quoq; quā uolēter assiceret filias
Chanaan pater suus: ? inuit ad Ismahelem,
& duxit uxorem absq; iis quas prius ha-
debat, Maheleth filiam Ismael filij Abraham.
10 fororē Nabaioth. ? Igitur egressus Iacob de
11 Bersabee pergebat Haran. ? Cumq; venisset
ad quendam locum, & uellet in eo requiescere
post solis occubitum, tulit de lapidibus quē
iacebant, & supponens capiti suo, dormiuit
12 in eodem loco. ? Viditq; in somnis scalā stan-
tem super terram, & cacumen illius attingens
calā: angelos quoq; Dei ascendentes & des-
cendentes per eam: ? & Dominum intinxis-
scalā dicentē sibi, || Ego sum Dominus Deus
Abrahā patris tui, & Deus Isaac. Terram
in qua dormis, tibi dabo & semini tuo.
14 ? Erith, semē tuum quasi puluis terrae, || di-
laueris ad Orientem, & Occidentem, & Septen-
trionē, & Meridiē: || B E N E D I-
CENTVR IN TE & in semine tuo
15 cūda tribus terrae. ? Et ero custos tuus que-
cūq; perrexeris, & reducam te in terram:
hanc nec dimittā nisi compleueris uniuersa
16 quā dixi. ? Cūq; euigilasset Iacob de somno,
ait: Vere Dominus est in loco isto, & ego
17 nesciebam. ? Pauensq;, Quam terribilis est
D inquit, locus iste non est hic aliud nisi do-
18 mus Dei, & porta caeli. ? Surgens ergo Iacob
mane, tulit lapidē, quem supposuerat capiti
suo, & erexit in titulum, fundens oleū de-
19 super. ? Appellauitq; nomen orbis Beth-el,
20 quā prius Luzā vocabatur. ? Venit etiam
votū, dicens: Si fueris Dominus mecum, &
custodierit me in via per quā ego ambulo, &
dederit mihi panem ad uescendū, & vesti-
mentum ad induendū, ? reuerfusq; suus
21 prosperē ad domū patris mei: erit mihi Do-
22 minus in Deum, & lapis iste quē erexi in
titulum, vocabitur Domus Dei: cū iterūq;
quā dederis mihi, decimas offeram tibi.

CAP. XXIX.

Posestus ergo Iacob uenit in terram
orientalē. ? Et uidit puteū in agro, tres
A quoq; greges enim accubantes iuxta eum:
nam ex illo adquebantur pecora, & os eius
3 grandi lapide claudebatur. ? Morisq; erat
ut cūlis ouibus cōgregatis dēuoluerent la-
pidem, & refectis gregibus uersum super os
4 putei ponerent. ? Dixitq; ad pastores: Fra-
tres, unde estis? Qui responderunt, De Ha-
5 ran. ? Quos interrogans, Nūquid, ait, nostis
Labā filium Nachor? Dixerunt: Nostimus.
6 ? Sanūsne est? inquit. Valet, inquit: & ecce
7 Rachel filia eius uenit cum grege suo. ? Di-
xitq; Iacob: Adhuc multū diei superest, nec
est tempus ut reducantur ad easulas greges:

- 8.

Infr. 15. a. 2.

48. c. 3.

Deu. 11. c. 20.

& 19. c. 14.

Sup. 26. a. 4.

Infr. 31. b. 13.

B

data

26. Granjon's Sixth Long Primer Italic 'Valentine' [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1579)

From 1581 on this typeface is attributed to Granjon by the Plantin inventories (Early inv., 1960, 76, MA 49) and by the Berner specimen of 1622 (Dreyfus, 1963, 7). The punches and two sets of matrices were owned by Guillaume II Le Bé and likewise ascribed to Granjon in his inventory of c.1618 (Morison, 1957, 20; 24). Why it was surnamed 'Valentine' is unclear.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 20 65 x 1.5; 1.8 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1579, Antwerp, C. Plantin (Horatius; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 808; Voet, 1980, 3: 1175-6, no. 1385).
EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1582, J. Mettayer; Venice: 1582, A. Manuzio; Leyden: 1588, F. I Raphelengius; Rome: 1588, D. Basa.
TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Garamond cursiue' and (only capitals) 'Colineus Cursiue' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, nos. 54 and 60); 1616, G.L. Fuhrmann, Nuremberg, *Typorum & characterum officinae ... designatio*, '10. Cursiva, quam Garamond vocat' (Dresden, University Library, Techn. B.175); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Curs. Garamond ou Immortel de GranJon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, 3); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, Roma, f. 56, 'Cursivo Garamonde dalla Vaticana' (Vervliet, 1967, 32, no. 56); 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen*], f. 12, 'Italique de petit Romain' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958); c.1660, B. Voskens, Hamburg, *Proben von ... Matryssen*, 'Garmond Cursyf [3]' (Dreyfus, 1963, 6); lower case only; 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Garmont Italicum' (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 44); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Garmont Cursiff' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, 4); 1664, J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Garamond Cursif de Granion' (Mori, 1955, 5); 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Garmont Cursiff' (Dreyfus, 1963, 12); some diverging sorts (Enschedé, 1978, 93, n.17); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Garmond Cursif G' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, 5); c.1684, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Garmont Cursiff' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); diverging capital Q; 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, 'Garmond Cursyf, No. 1' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Garmond Cursyf [3]' (Dreyfus, 1963, 9); lower case only; p.1701, [M. van Wolschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Dobbel Mediaen rom.*], 'Garramonde Corsief' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2A, f. 66; 1702, Widow of J. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Garmond Cursiv No. 10'; lower case of 'Garmond Cursiv No. 11' (Mori, 1955, 10); c.1710, [M. van Wolschaten], Antwerp, [Incipit: *Text Gheschreven*], 'Garramonde Corsief' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:1, f. 81; 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerij*, f. C4 'Garmont Cursiff' (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 45); 1718, J.N. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Garmond

Cursiv No. 14' (Mori, 1955, 10); post 1725, [B. van Wolschaten], Antwerp, *Proef van letteren*, 'Garramonde Corsef' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2B, f. 82; post 1728, Voskes en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Garmond Cursyf' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87); c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Garmond cursyf' (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1740, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 38 Garmont Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 25); mutilated; 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Petit texte italique Gros oeil, Numero XII; and (only capitals) 'Petit texte italique Numero X'; and the lower case of 'Gaillarde italique, Numero XVI' and of 'Petit romain italique, Numero XVIII' (Johnson, 1965); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Petit Italique ou Immortel de Gran: No. 19' (Mori, 1955, 14); 1749, J.W. de Groot, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerij*, f. C1 'Garremond curseif' (Leyden, University Library, 3110 E 40); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Petit texte italique Gros oeil, Numero XII; and (only capitals) 'Petit texte italique Numero X'; and the lower case of 'Gaillarde italique, Numero XVI' and of 'Petit romain italique, Numero XVIII' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Garmont cursiff' (Dreyfus, 1963, 13); 1770, J. Becker, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 40 Garmont Cursiv' (Mori, 1955, 32); mutilated; 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 18, 'Petit romain a son oeil italique'; and (with ascenders and descenders shortened) p. 14, 'Petit-texte gros oeil italique' (Carter, 1969a, 45-6).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 49 (Early inv., 1960, 76)

KEY LETTERS Capital A with right-hand top serif; narrow N and R; no swash capitals except Q; lower case a with triangular counter; duplicate lower case swash z; ampersand with looped terminal.

VARIANT LETTERS From the seventies on, the capitals of this face (with smaller Q) appear with the lower case of Granjon's *Petit-romain* première (2) or a close copy of both, a.o. at the presses of F. Morel, Le Mangnier, Patisson, Prévosteau, and at the Imprimerie de l'Université. This variant (or predecessor?) deserves further research.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Cursiue [Garramonde] de Robert Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Valentine cursiue granjon (Plantin, 1589); Valentine Cursiue que sert pour le Garamond Cursiue (Plantin, 1612); Italique petit Romain Valentine Granjon (Le Bé, 1618); Curs. Garamond ou Immortel de GranJon (Berner, 1622).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 76 (MA 49); Dreyfus, 1963, 7; Vervliet, 1967, 32, no. 56; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 54; Tinto, 1972, 83, pls. 26-7.

FIGURE 26a Granjon's Sixth Long Primer Italic 'Valentine' [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1579) as shown in the *Folio Specimen*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, c.1585. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 26b Granjon's Sixth Long Primer Italic 'Valentine' [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1579) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 49a). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Cuidam percontanti, quam ob causam apud Spartanos, qui scutum abieciissent, notarentur ignominia, & infami vocabulo Rhipasfides appellarentur; qui galeas aut thoraces, non item; Quoniam, inquit, hac sua ipsorum causa gerunt, scutum vero communis exercitus gratia: significans unicuique pluris esse faciendam communem utilitatem, quam propriam. Qui galeam aut thoracem abiecit, seipsum prodit tantum, & exarmat: qui scutum abiecit, prodit uniuersam phalangem. Nam obtentu clypeorum tota acies tuta est aduersus hostiumiacula.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
Æ & as ct & ff ffi fl fr ij is ll œ ß sh si sl sp ss st st us
á à ä å ç è é ê ë ì í î ï ð ñ ò ó ô ú û ü ü þ ð ð ð ð ð ð ð
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 . , ' ; ! ? (-
c t z

27. The Minion Italic of the Lamesle Specimen (1582)

This paragraph (Vervliet, 1998, 51) has been moved to (13) above.

Unattributed Italics, possibly by Robert Granjon

28. Gryphius's Long Primer Italic [It 66] or *Petit-romain* (1545)

There are two arguments for attributing this face to Granjon: first, its appearance in 1545 at the press of Franciscus Gryphius, the Parisian printer, who had an interest (possibly even some practical skills) in new types (Kemp, 1991; Vervliet, 2007, 11–12) and in whose house Granjon had his workshop (Renouard, 1965, 182); second, the fact that the Frères De Marnef in Poitiers (Mortimer, 1: 144, no. 112) used its capitals as small capitals for their fount of Granjon's first St.-augustin Italic (1), next to several other Gryphius Romans.

Certainly, this type is one of the better early Parisian Old-face Italics; nevertheless, I hesitate to attribute it to Granjon because stylistically it seems not to fit well into Granjon's manner. Johnson & Morison (1924, 43, fig. 16–17) pointed to Garamont 'or his pupils'. If it were

by Granjon, its style would seem to predate that of the first English (1); it would then fill in the gap in our knowledge of Granjon's activities between his earliest business records (1539) as a bookseller and the first certain appearances of his typefaces in 1543.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); 20 66 x 1.2 : 1.8 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1545, Paris, François Gryphius (Cicero, *Officia*; Ghent, University Library, Acc. 16051).

EARLY APPEARANCES Poitiers: 1545, Marnef

KEY LETTERS Swash capitals A, N, Q, R, T, Z; ampersand with raised terminal.

FIGURE 28a Gryphius's Long Primer Italic [It 66] or *Petit-romain* (1545) as it appears in Cicero, *Officia*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1545, p. 2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 28b Long Primer Italic [It 66] or *Petit-romain* (1545) assembled from in Cicero, *Officia*, Paris, F. Gryphius, 1545. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

2
MARCI TVLLII
CICERONIS DE OFFI-
ciis Lib. primus, ad M. filium.

ARGVMENTVM PER ER-
ASMVM ROTERODAMVM.

Ciceronem filium suo hortatur exemplo, ne simplici cuipiam studio sese addicat, sed Græca cum Latinis, & orationis uirtutes cum philosophiæ scientia coniugat. deinde quod eum reddat attētiorem, hanc quæ de officiis est philosophiæ partem, duobus potissimum acuminibus commendat, uel quod usus eius ad omnem uitæ rationē latissime pateat, uel quod hæc una sit philosophis omnibus inter se communis. Postremo testatur se in hac disputatione Stoicos potissimum sequi, quod hi uel optime boni finem, ad quæ officia omnia referuntur, constituerint: quum Epicurus uoluptate metiens summum bonum, atque Aristoteli, Pyrrho & Herillus tollentes rerū delectum, officiū quoque naturam subuerterint.

Vaquaquam te Marce fili animum iam audientem Cratippum (idque Athenis) abundare oportet præceptis institutisque philosophiæ, propter summam & doctoris auctoritatem, & urbis: quorum alter te scientia augere potest, altera exemplis: tamen ut ipse

4 ij

A C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T V Z
a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x z
Œ ſ ß ꝑ

29. The Long Primer of Bonhomme & Rouillé
(1551)

This paragraph (Vervliet, 1998, 55) has been moved to (4) above.

30. Granjon's Fourth English-Sized Italic [It 96]
or *Saint-augustin* (c.1571)

The items listed here under 'Type-specimens' feature some lower case sorts which have a decided flavour of Granjon's last, 'Baroque', style. Dreyfus (1963, 17) however, thinks them a later addition by the Le Bé foundry to Granjon's third English Italic, described in (19), but its presence in the Low Countries rather points at Granjon. Appearances of this face in some sixteenth-century imprint would strengthen the attribution.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 96 x 1.8 mm.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1681, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustijn cursijf' (Dreyfus,

1963, 12); lower case a and d; 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Cicero italique gros oeil, Numero XXXV' and 'Saint Augustin italique oeil moyen, Numero XXXIX' (alone short lower case sorts); (Johnson, 1965); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, 'Cicero italique gros oeil, Numero XXXV' and 'Saint Augustin italique oeil moyen, Numero XXXIX' (alone short lower case sorts); (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustyn cursijf' (Dreyfus, 1963, 13); lower case a; 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, p. 30 'Cicero a gros oeil italique'; p. 32 'Saint Augustin a son oeil italiq.'; (Carter, 1969a, 51; 53); lower case a.

FIGURE 30 Granjon's Fourth English-Sized Italic [It 96] or *Saint-augustin* as it appears in C. Lamesle, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, Paris, 1742, f. H3. The capitals are later additions. Courtesy of the Ecole Estienne, Paris.

Hercule a été le plus illustre & le plus glorieux de tous les Heros de l'antiquité, quoique selon l'opinion de quelques Anciens, ce soient les actions de plusieurs grands personnages de même nom, qu'on attribue à un seul.

Sa mere fut Alcmene, qui épousa Amphitryon, Prince Thebain, à condition qu'il vengeroit la mort de son frere: & pendant qu'il étoit à la guerre pour ce sujet, Jupiter amoureux d'Alcmene prit la forme d'Amphitryon, vint à elle une certaine nuit, qu'il rendit notablement plus longue que les autres, afin de n'être pas surpris du jour, & nonobstant qu'Alcmene fût déjà grosse d'Iphiclus, elle eut encore Hercule de Jupiter, & les enfanta tous deux ensemble; Hercule ne laissa pas de retenir le nom d'amphitryonade, parmi les Poètes, quoiqu'amphitryon ne fût pas véritablement son pere.

Pour lors Sthelenus, Roi de Micene, devoit bientôt avoir un fils, qui fut Eurysthée; & Jupiter fit serment, que celui qui naîtroit le premier, ou de lui, ou d'Hercule, seroit Roi, & auroit un commandement absolu sur l'autre: ce qu'ayant entendu Junon, ennemie capitale des Concubines de son mari, & des enfans qui'en sortoient, elle fit naître Eurystée au bout de sept mois; & ensuite elle lui fit tomber le Sceptre entre les mains.

*Quelques-uns, à la vérité, disent que Junon, par les inf-
tantes*

Table 1: Granjon's Italics by Style

Early style

1. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98]
or *Saint-augustin*: First State (1543)
2. Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1545)
3. Granjon's Second or 'Parisian' Long Primer Italic
[It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1546)
4. Granjon's Third or 'Gryphius' Long Primer Italic
[It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1546)
5. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98]
or *Saint-augustin*: Second State (1547)
6. Granjon's First Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1547)
7. Granjon's Fourth or 'Lyons' Long Primer [It 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1548)
8. Granjon's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1548)

Late style: 'couché'

9. Granjon's Second Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1551)
10. Granjon's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1554)
11. Granjon's Third Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1554)
12. Granjon's Paragon Italic [It 130] or *Petit-parangon*
(1554)
13. Granjon's First Brevier Italic [It 54]
or *Petit-texte* (1554)
14. Granjon's Second Brevier Italic [It 54]
or *Petit-texte* (1555)
15. Granjon's First or 'De Tournes' Bourgeois Italic
[It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1555)

16. Granjon's Second or 'De Tournes' English-sized
Italic [It 97] or *Saint-augustin* (1558)
17. Granjon's Fifth 'Immortelle' Long Primer Italic
[It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1559)
18. Granjon's Fourth Great Primer Italic [It 115]
or *Gros-romain* (1562)
19. Granjon's Third English-Sized Italic 'couché' [It 93]
or *Saint-augustin* (1563)
20. Granjon's Two-line Double Pica Italic [It 280]
or *Gros-canon* (1564)

Later style: 'droite'

21. Granjon's Third Pica Italic 'droite' [It 82]
or *Cicéro* (1565)
22. Granjon's Second Bourgeois Italic 'droite' [It 62]
or *Gaillarde* (1566)
23. Granjon's Small Pica Italic [It 70]
or *Philosophie* (1566)

Latest style: 'baroque'

24. Granjon's Double Pica Italic [It 140]
or *Gros-parangon* (1571)
25. Granjon's Minion [It 44] or *Mignonne* (1572)
26. Granjon's Sixth or 'Valentine' Long Primer Italic
[It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1579)

Unattributed or questionable Italics

28. Gryphius's Long Primer Italic [It 66]
or *Petit-romain* (1545)
30. Granjon's Fourth English-Sized Italic [It 96]
or *Saint-augustin* (c.1571)

Table 2: Granjon's Italics by Body Size

- Minion (*Mignonne*); c. 44 mm.**
 25. Granjon's Minion [It 44] or *Mignonne* (1572)
- Brevier (*Petit-texte*; Bible); c. 54 mm.**
 13. Granjon's First Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1554)
 14. Granjon's Second Brevier Italic [It 54] or *Petit-texte* (1555)
- Bourgeois (*Gaillarde*); c. 62 mm.**
 15. Granjon's First or 'De Tournes' Bourgeois Italic [It 64] or *Gaillarde* (1555)
 22. Granjon's Second Bourgeois Italic 'droite' [It 62] or *Gaillarde* (1566)
- Long Primer (*Petit-romain*; *Garamonde*); c. 65/67 mm.**
 2. Granjon's First Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1545)
 28. Gryphius's Long Primer Italic [It 66] or *Petit-romain* (1545)
 3. Granjon's Second or 'Parisian' Long Primer Italic [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1546)
 4. Granjon's Third or 'Gryphius' Long Primer Italic [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1546)
 7. Granjon's Fourth or 'Lyons' Long Primer [It 67] or *Petit-romain* (1548)
 17. Granjon's Fifth 'Immortelle' Long Primer Italic [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1559)
 26. Granjon's Sixth or 'Valentine' Long Primer Italic [It 65] or *Petit-romain* (1579)
- Small Pica (*Philosophie*); c. 70 mm.**
 23. Granjon's Small Pica Italic [It 70] or *Philosophie* (1566)
- Pica (*Cicero*; *Mediane*); c. 82 mm.**
 8. Granjon's First Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1548)
 10. Granjon's Second Pica Italic [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1554)
 21. Granjon's Third Pica Italic 'droite' [It 82] or *Cicéro* (1565)
- English (*Saint-augustin*); c. 92/98 mm.**
 1. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98] or *Saint-augustin*: First State (1543)
 5. Granjon's First English-Sized Italic [It 98] or *Saint-augustin*: Second State (1547)
 16. Granjon's Second or 'De Tournes' English-sized Italic [It 97] or *Saint-augustin* (1558)
 19. Granjon's Third English-Sized Italic 'couché' [It 93] or *Saint-augustin* (1563)
 30. Granjon's Fourth English-Sized Italic [It 96] or *Saint-augustin* (c.1571)
- Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); c. 115/120 mm.**
 6. Granjon's First Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1547)
 9. Granjon's Second Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1551)
 11. Granjon's Third Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1554)
 18. Granjon's Fourth Great Primer Italic [It 115] or *Gros-romain* (1562)
- Paragon (*Petit-parangon*); c. 130 mm.**
 12. Granjon's Paragon Italic [It 130] or *Petit-parangon* (1554)
- Double Pica (*Gros-parangon*); c. 140 mm.**
 24. Granjon's Double Pica Italic [It 140] or *Gros-parangon* (1571)
- Two-line double Pica (*Gros-canon*); c. 280 mm.**
 20. Granjon's Two-line Double Pica Italic [It 280] or *Gros-canon* (1564)

Greek Typefaces of the Early French Renaissance: The Predecessors of the Grecs du Roy

During the first four decades of the sixteenth century, the leading centres in Greek type design were Venice and Basle, not Paris or Lyons. At that time, French Greek typography lagged behind technically as well as aesthetically, only slowly developing, in the wake of the Royal Court's interest in Greek art, history and literature, from the 1520s onwards, into a more appropriate instrument for a new generation of scholars such as Pierre Danes, Guillaume Budé, Jacques Toussain, Jean Dorat, Robert Estienne, Lazare de Baïf. However, in the 1540s, the prestigious Grecs du Roy established firmly France's preeminence.

The present paper attempts to describe the rather unpretentious Greek text types, both the locally made and the imported ones, used in France during the first half of sixteenth century, in the period of thirty odd years before the Grecs du Roy (1543) began their thriving career. It is an update of earlier studies a.o. by Omont (1891) and Proctor (1905); it owes much to Renouard (1964) and its remarks on the types used. However, it is not exhaustive. It omits the titlings and the small sizes of the so-called commentary types, i.e. from Minion (49 mm/20 lines) upwards, which can be seen at the presses of Badius and Gromors among others.^a It omits also the Alsatian Greeks, mainly of Strasburg and Hagenau, whose humanists and typographers were leaning towards Basle. Finally, the Pica Greek^b and the woodcut Greek capitals occurring in Tory's *Champfleury* (1529) deserve more research.

The main goal of this paper is to ascertain the origins of the ten typefaces studied and, if possible, to detect their makers. Subsidiarily this research may shed some light on the development from about 1520 onwards of a Paris school of letter-cutters, who began to specialize in Roman, Greek, and Hebrew typefaces and to counter the Basle dominance in this field. For this kind of research and in contrast to later in the sixteenth century, we cannot rely on archival documents but have to satisfy ourselves with arguments derived from the distribution and style of the type or from informations gleaned from the printed text.

There is also a methodological difficulty. How to define identity versus similarity, when at least three of the ten faces studied are so closely alike that differences are very hard to detect? Frequently it is not easy to detect which is the imitation. One should not underrate the skill of sixteenth-century punchcutters. Sometimes their copies are such faithful imitations that it becomes extremely difficult to differentiate the original from the copy. Jean de Sanlecque the Elder (c.1558–1648) copied Garamont's second English-sized Roman so closely, that few of us would have detected the copy's existence, if Guillaume II Le Bé did not happen to mention it explicitly (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 14, no. 18). Likewise the Fell Pica Roman which an authority as Stanley Morison (1967, 124) attributes to Garamont might rather be a seventeenth-century imitation (Gaskell, 1968, 268–9).^c

Ten typefaces are described, all in the body size of *Saint-augustin* (English), except for two on *Cicero* (Pica). Three of them were imported from 'Germany'

Summary

This paper describes the Greek text types, both the locally made and the imported ones, used in France during the first half of sixteenth century, in the period of thirty odd years before Garamont's Grecs du Roy (1543) began their career. Ten typefaces are described, all in the body size of English or Pica. Three of them were imported from 'Germany'; this 'German' group encompasses types used or cut by Badius, Petreius and Schoeffer. Seven types are attributable to local punchcutters. The indigenous group comprises types used by Gourmont, those engraved by Vatel, Colines, Augereau, and a proto-Garamont introduced by Neobar. They illustrate the slow growth of French typography into modernity.

Revision of a paper that appeared in the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, n.s. 4 (2002), 3–30.

a. These are now included in Vervliet, 2008, nos. 304 sqq.

b. Vervliet, 2008, no. 333.

c. Another example is the Syriac which Robert Granjon in 1569 cut for Plantin after the 1555 Widmanstetter Syriac and which can barely be discerned from its model; see Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 1, no. 90 and Coakley, 2006, 34–6.

1. Another example is the Syriac which Robert Granjon in 1569 cut for Plantin after the 1555 Widmanstetter Syriac and which can barely be discerned from its model; see Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 1, no. 90 and Coakley, 2006, 34–6.

2. Except for the Gourmont type, all typefaces were Greek cursives, more or less slavishly copying the pattern of the day, Aldus's third Greek on Pica (Proctor, 1900, 104–5; Mardersteig, 1964, 138–9; Barker, 1992, 58–9, 119–20).

d. Except for the Gourmont type, all typefaces were Greek cursives, more or less slavishly copying the pattern of the day, Aldus's third Greek on Pica (Proctor, 1900, 104–5; Mardersteig, 1964, 138–9; Barker, 1992, 58–9, 119–20).

in the medieval sense of that term; this 'German' group encompasses types used by Badius or cut by Petreius and Schoeffer. Seven types are attributable to local punchcutters. The indigenous group comprises types engraved by an anonymous cutter (used by Gourmont), by Vatel, Colines, Augereau, and a proto-Garamont (used by Neobar and Bogard).^d

Conspectus of Types

The following notes describe ten typefaces, in a chronological order according to the date of the first publication in which we happened to see the type, namely:

1. The 'Gourmont' Greek on English [Gk 92]
or *Saint-augustin* (1507)
2. The 'Badius' German Greek on English [Gk 95]
or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Peter II Schoeffer (1520)
3. Vatel's Greek on English [Gk 100]
or *Saint-augustin* (1520)
4. Vatel's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1521)
5. Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522)
6. Colines's 'Sophocles' Greek on English [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1528)
7. Petreius's Greek on English [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1529)
8. Schoeffer's Second English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1530)
9. Augereau's Greek on English [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1532)
10. Neobar's Second Greek on English [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Garamont (1540)

The names refer to the punchcutter except those within apostrophes, which are to the first user of the type.

1. The 'Gourmont' Greek on English [Gk 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1507)

This typeface belongs to the group, labeled 'Graeco-Roman' by Proctor (1900, 13). This square Greek is distinguishable from the 'Early Greek' group (ecclesiastical Byzantine; 1476) and the later Greek cursives (scholarly Byzantine; 1495) which Aldus Manutius and Zacharias Kallierges preferred. Proctor aptly described the Graeco-Roman style as follows: '[the types] are as a rule very haphazard in their use of accents and breathings; the forms of certain letters are often clumsy and their employment rather wild; each letter is cut separately, after the fashion of a Roman or Gothic type, without any attempt at continuity'. North of the Alps, Graeco-Roman types were the standard until, in 1507 and 1513 respectively, Thomas Anshelm of Pforzheim and Johann Froben of Basle introduced their interpretations of the Aldine cursive.

In fifteenth-century France, Greek types, all of the Graeco-Roman family, most roughly and uncouthly designed, partly imported from Italy, partly locally made, were sparingly used in Lyons by Hongre (1482), Trechsel, Wolf, De Vingle, Suigus, Sacon, Maillet and in Paris by Gering (1494), Higman, Bocard, Kerver, Philippe. In Paris a new Graeco-Roman type, somewhat better designed than the earlier French ones, though still quite inferior to the better ones of their predecessors of their family, e.g. by De Spira or Jenson, became available from 1503 onwards, when Badius, Henri Estienne and Marchant used it for Greek phrases and quotations. In 1507 it became the main text type of Gourmont, 'primus Graecarum et Hebraeorum litterarum Parrhisiis impressor'. He was the first in France to publish a series of text books, small-sized and in accordance with the local needs unpretentious, but set wholly in Greek. Hence the face is usually named after Gourmont (Omont, 1891). The type apparently was gradually upgraded: capitals appeared from 1507 onwards, with accents and breathings first cast on a separate body and from 1512 onwards within it. A few contractions were added about the same time. At the Gourmont press, accents are not always in the same position above the letters; presumably they were cast separately and set on a split body. Conversely, Badius who has been experimenting with accented sorts within the body already in 1505, started to use them on a regular base from of May-June 1512 onwards, viz. in his Poliziano of 1512; apparently he had new punches cut for them.

The 'Gourmont' face borrowed the common sorts of its capitals from a well designed Paris Roman, appearing from 1499 onwards in the printing of Tholoze and Baligault. This became quite popular and was used into the 1530s by most Paris printers among others by Badius, Estienne, the young Colines and Tory (in his *Champfleury*) as well as by several printers in the Low Countries, by Wynkyn de Worde and many others London printers (Johnson, 1936, 72; Vervliet, 2005a, no. 8). At least the added Greek capitals were fittingly cut in the same style as the Roman ones and, as one may assume, by the same person in Paris. Indirectly this is confirmed by the reports of both Gourmont's editors, François Tissard in 1507 and Girolamo Aleandro in 1508, that the type was locally made (Omont, 1891, 47 and 69).

Gourmont employed this upright Greek until the 1520s, when he changed over to the newer Greek cursives, first these of Vatel's Pica, later these of Badius's English. See below, (2 and 3).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 92 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN unaccented and without capitals: 1503, Paris, J. Badius (F. Filelfo, *Epistolae*; Ghent, University Library, Gent. 9136; Renouard, 1964, 2: 25, no. 8; with capitals and interlinear accents or breathings: 1507, Paris, G. de Gourmont (F. Tissard, *Liber gnomagyricus*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, Inc. 208; Moreau, 1: 256, no. 188); with capitals and accents/breathings within body: 1512 (15 May – 4 June), Paris, J. Badius & J. Petit (A. Poliziano, *Opera*, f. E 1; Deventer, Athenaeum Bibliothek, 112 C 8 KL; Renouard, 1964, 2: 97–8, no. 195) and 1512 (31 July), Paris, [G. de Gourmont] (M. Chrysoloras, *Erotemata*; Copenhagen, Royal Library, 73^{II}-264/4^o; Moreau, 2: 118, no. 269).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1505, J. Barbier, H. I Estienne, J. Marchant; 1508, A. Bonnemère & D. Roce, N. Desprez; 1511, G. Biermant & J. Granjon; 1512, J. Philippi; 1521, S. de Colines; Ghent: 1513, R. de Keyser, P. de Keyser, E. de Valla.

KEY LETTERS duplicate forms of lower case β/β̄, γ (majuscule/cursive), δ (triangular/curled), ν (pointed/shanked), π (shanked/looped), ρ (straight/curled); few typecast abbreviations or contractions (καί, μέν, ου, σθ, στ), the others being provided as woodcuts.

LITERATURE Omont, 1891, 8–9; Proctor, 1900, 142–3; Proctor, 1905, 90; Scholderer, 1927, 8, fig. 15; Graecogermania, 1989, 5, no. 1; Irigoin, 1998, 395; Taurant-Boulcaut, 1999, 164, fig. 9.

FIGURE 1a (opposite, above) The 'Gourmont' Greek on English [Gk 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1507) as it appears in *Alphabetum Hebraicum et Graecum*, Paris, G. de Gourmont, c.1514, f. A3v. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

FIGURE 1b (opposite, below) The 'Gourmont' Greek on English [Gk 92] or *Saint-augustin* (1507) as it appears in *Alphabetum Hebraicum et Graecum*, Paris, G. de Gourmont, c.1514, f. A2v. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.

Εὐχὴ κυριακή.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ῥέ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἁγιάσθῃ τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γεννηθῇ τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Ἀμήν.

Oratio dominica.

☩ Pater n̄r quies in celis s̄ctificet nomē tuū adueniat regnū tuū fiat volūtas tua sicut in celo & ī terra. Panē n̄rm quotidianū da nobis hodie & dimitte nobis debita n̄ra sicut & nos dimittim⁹ debitoribus nostris & ne nos inducas in temptationē sed libera nos a malo. A M E N.

☩ Γράμματα εἰκοσὶ τέσσαρα.

Ἀλφα, Βῆτα, Γάμμα, Δέλτα, Εῦψιλόρ Ζῆτα, Ἤτα, Α.α. Β.β. Γ.γ. Δ.δ. Ε.ε. Ζ.ζ. Η.η. Θῆτα, Ιῶτα, Καππα, Δάμβδα, Μῦ Νῦ, Ξῖ, Ο μικρόν, Θ.θ. Ι ι. Κ κ. Λ.λ. Μ.μ. Ν ν. Ξ.ξ. Ο ο. Πῖ. Ρῶ. Σίγμα, Τᾶν. Υψιλόρ, Φῖ. Χῖ. Ψῖ. Π.π. Ρ.ρ. Σ.σ. Τ.τ. Υ.υ. Φ.φ. Χ.χ. Ψ.ψ. Ω μέγα. Ω.ω.

2. The 'Badius' German Greek on English [Gk 95] or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Peter II Schoeffer (1520)

Though this typeface was in general use in Paris from 1520 onwards, it is commonly associated with Badius, one but not the sole of its earliest users. In a letter, dated 24 February 1520, the Hellenist Guillaume Budé reports that Badius purchased this type (or its matrices) in 'Germany', Basle probably being meant. Jean Vatel, a younger colleague Hellenist, reported the same in his Homer introduction dated 12 November 1520 (see below 3). Conrad Resch, another Paris publisher, used it from 1521 onwards. He was a Basle citizen; as Badius's brother-in-law and on occasion his partner, he may have acted as intermediary. At the Badius press the new type succeeded to the older 'Graeco-Roman' types; their small quantities had caused Erasmus to complain and to prefer Froben as his publisher (Allen, 1: 517, no. 264¹⁸). Badius too considered them unsuitable for printing extensive texts (Allen, 2: 272, no. 434¹²; Renouard, 1964, 2: 17–18). In 1519 he changed over to Aldines, first to a locally-made Greek (3), then to the present typeface.

Badius employed the new type from August 1520 onwards. Except for a few appearances of Vatel's English (see below 3) in some of his 1520–21 publications, Badius seems to have stuck to this face as his normal Greek text type from 1520 onwards. It was quite popular in Paris, Lyons, and elsewhere – but oddly enough not in Basle.

Commonly this Badius's Greek is considered to be identical to Froben's. The Froben press used two types of Greek in this size; the first from 1513 on, changing to a second one in the early 1530's (8). Both probably were engraved by Peter II Schoeffer the Younger, in whose inventory at least the last one was mentioned (Bruckner, 1943, 44). Renouard (1908, 1: 69) and in his wake most commentators thought that Badius used the first Froben Greek. In fact neither of the Froben types is identical with the new 'Badius' type, though the likeness with the first 'Froben' is great; the major differences have been noted in the rubric 'Key letters' above. The 'Badius' typeface could be a simple revision of the first 'Froben' Greek, with a few punches recut. Cervicornus in Cologne uses the capital N of this face already in 1517 with his 1513 'Froben' Greek and that suggests a common source. Moreover,

the rapid distribution of the 'Badius' face to Paris, Lyons, Cambridge, London, Cologne, Antwerp, and Louvain points to a well organized trade circuit. It was for this face that in 1524 Pynson, who had business connections with Froben, is thought to have acquired matrices (Isaac, 1936, 4 and pl. 5).

An alternative is that it was a close copy by another letter-cutter. This is conceivable though less likely: the candidate here is Valentin Curio, the only user of this face in Basle. His punchcutting skill was praised by Henricus Glareanus in the introduction to Bolzanio's Greek grammar, printed by Curio in 1524. But another English-Bodied Greek, appearing in at Curio's press in 1529, displays a much different design and may have been the face which Glareanus alluded to. It had never the wide distribution of the 'Badius' Greek.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 95 x 1.6 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 14 July 1520, **Paris**, G. Desplains (P. de Salvatici, *Victoria adversus impios Hebræos*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, F 4668; Moreau, 2: 624, no. 2472); and 7 August 1520, **Paris**, J. Badius (G. Bracelli, *Lucubrationes*; Ghent, University Library, Ge. 9190; Renouard, 1964, 2: 188, no. 441).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Cambridge**: 1521, J. Siberch; **Paris**: 1521, C. Resch & P. Vidoue; 1528, A. Bocard, P. Vidoue & G. de Gourmont; 1530, L. Blaubloom, G. Morrhe, M. de Vascosan, C. Wechel; 1533, C. Chevallon; 1534, P. Gaudoul; 1535, D. Lesquier & P. Vidoue; 1536, R. I Estienne; 1538, Ch. Guillard; 1542, J. Kerver; 1549, L. Begat; **Basle**: 1522, V. Curio; **London**: 1524, R. Pynson; **Cologne**: 1526, H. Fuchs; 1530, J. Soter; 1534, J. Gymnich; 1561, W. Fabricius; **Antwerp**: 1528, M. de Keyser; **Lyons**: 1528, S. Gryphius; 1536, J. Barbou & P. Rhoman; **Louvain**: 1530, R. Rescius & J. Sturm; **Worms**: 1550, G. Hofmann; **Zwolle**: 1566, Chr. Ruremund; **Torun**: 1587, M. Nering.

KEY LETTERS Oversized capital Λ; N without doubly seriffed left top; lower case β with large upper counter; curly stem of λ; final ζ with large upper terminal; duplicate forms of capital Π and lower case α, β, δ, ε, η, θ, ν, ξ, π, τ; three forms of γ, ζ, ρ; crossed ligature λλ.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 90–1; Isaac, 1936, 4–5; Renouard, 1964, 2: 17–18 (quoting the older literature); Corsten, 1967, 2: 772.

FIGURE 2a (opposite, above) The 'Badius' German Greek on English [Gk 95] or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Peter II Schoeffer (1520) as it appears in Th. Gaza, *Introductionis grammaticae libri quattuor*, Basle, V. Curio, 1523, f. a3. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 2b (opposite, below) The 'Badius' German Greek on English [Gk 95] or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Peter II Schoeffer (1520), assembled from *Alphabetum graecum*, Paris, C. Wechel, 1532, f. A2. Courtesy of the University Library, Amsterdam.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗΣ
ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΤΟ Α.



Ὡς πασάρων ἐν ἑικοσὶ γραμ-
μάτων, φωνήεντα μὲν ἑπτὰ,
ἀ. ε. η. ι. ο. ω. υ. σύμφωνα δὲ τὰ
λοιπὰ, ἑπτακάδεκα. Τῶν δὲ
φωνήεντων, μακρὰ μὲν η. ω.
βραχέα δὲ ε. ο. δίχρονα δὲ
α. ι. υ. Ἐξ ὧν δίφθογοι κυ-
ρίως μὲν, αὐ. αὐ. οἰ. οἰ.
κατὰ χησικῶς δὲ α. η. φ. η.
τῶν δὲ συμφώνων, τὰ μὲν
ἡμίφωνα. οἶον ζ. ξ. ψ. λ. μ.

ν. ρ. σ. ὧν διπλὰ μὲν ζ. ξ. ψ. Αμετάβολα δὲ καὶ ὑγρά. λ. μ. ν.
ρ. τὰ δὲ ἄφωνα. οἶον β. γ. δ. κ. π. τ. θ. φ. χ. ὧν ψιλὰ μὲν κ.
π. τ. Δασεία δὲ θ. φ. χ. Μείσα δὲ β. γ. δ. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημέ-
νων τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων αἱ συλλαβαὶ, ὅθεν αἱ λέξεις, ἐξ ὧν ὁ λό-
γος. Τῶν δὲ λόγων μέρη μὲν ὀνόματα, ῥήματα, μετὰ χη, ἄρθρον, ἀντωνυμία, πρόσθεσις, ἐπίρρημα, σώδεσμος.

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΣΩΔΙΩΝ.

Προσωδίαι δὲ ἐξ ἑα' βαρεῖα, πρῶτον μὲν, ὁ δασεῖα, ψιλῇ, ἄρ-
πρόσθετος, ὑφέμεν, διασολῇ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΘΡΟΥ.

Ἀρθρον δὲ τὸ μὲν τοι προτακτικόν, οἶον δ. τὸ δὲ ὑποτακτικόν,
οἶον ὅς. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρσενικόν, οἶον ὁ. τὸ δὲ θηλυκόν, οἶον ἡ. τὸ
δὲ εὐδένερον, οἶον τὸ. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἀριθμὸν, καὶ πῶσιμ ἐπὶ ὀνόματι.
ἄριθμὸν μὲν ἐνικόν, δυνικόν, πληθυντικόν. πῶσιμ δὲ εὐδένερον, γε-
νικῶν, δοτικῶν, αἰτιατικῶν. κλίσεις δὲ τὸ μὲν προτακτικὸν τοιαύτη. Ε.
Η εὐδένερον. ἡ γηρική. ἡ δοτική. ἡ αἰτιατική. τὸν. Δ. Η εὐδένερον
καὶ αἰτιατική. τῶν. ἡ γενική. ἡ δοτική. τῶν. Π. Η εὐδένερον οἱ. ἡ γηρική
τῶν. ἡ δοτική. τῶν. ἡ αἰτιατική. τῶν. ΕΝΙΚΑ. θηλυκά. Η εὐδένερον ἡ.
ἡ γηρική. ἡ δοτική. τῶν. ἡ αἰτιατική. τῶν. Δ. Η εὐδένερον, καὶ αἰ-
τιατική. τῶν. ἡ γενική. καὶ δοτική. τῶν. Π. Η εὐδένερον αἱ. ἡ γηρική
α. ἡ. τῶν. ἡ.

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧΨΩ
αα ββ γγγ δδ εε ζζ ηη θθ ιικ λλ
μμ ξξ οο ππ ρρ σς ττ υυ φφ χχ ψω

3. Vatel's Greek on English [Gk 100]
or *Saint-augustin* (1520)

Jean Vatel was a Paris Hellenist, publishing from 1513 onwards mostly with Badius (Renouard, 1964, 2: 109, no. 227) and N. de La Barre (Moreau, 2: 342, no. 1235). In 1520–22 he printed some five works under his own name (Renouard, 1965, 422; Moreau, 2: 603, no. 2374; 3: nos. 12, 111, 144; 407). In the introduction of his Homer, dated 12 November 1520 and his first imprint we know of, he tells that he could not, like Badius, afford to buy type in 'Germania' and that therefore, despite his lack of experience, he had to cut this Greek himself (Auerbach, 1937). There is no reason to question his claim. The face is irregularly balanced and roughly engraved but its capitals are designed innovatively and more in line with the inscriptional tradition, to be recommended by Dürer and Tory some years later. This is also the case for his open prismatic woodcut initials (c.22 mm), elegant, wholly undecorated and anticipating those of Colines (1525). In France

Vatel seemingly was an early proponent of a transparent typography. The date too and the limited distribution of this typeface, which only appears in 1520–21 imprints of Vatel, Badius, and De La Barre support the attribution. I think Vatel cut in 1521 a second and somewhat smaller Greek; see below (4).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 100 x 1.8 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1520, Paris, J. Vatel (Homerus, *Ilias*; Bern, University Library, Bong. VI-61:1; Moreau, 2: 602, no. 2374.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1521, J. Badius; N. de La Barre.

KEY LETTERS Capitals, larger than usual; straightly backed lower case β; short right top terminal of χ; duplicate forms of α, β, γ, δ, κ, ν, σ, τ, ω; slightly crossed ligature λλ; duplicate ω with closed counter.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 92; Scholderer, 1927, 9, fig. 16; Auerbach, 1937; Renouard, 1964, 2: 18; Taurant-Boulcaut, 1999, 166, no. 12.

FIGURE 3 Vatel's Greek on English [Gk 100] or *Saint-augustin* (1520) as it appears in Th. Gaza, *Grammaticae institutionis libri quattuor*, Paris, J. Badius & J. Vatel, 1521, f. d3. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Abbeville.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Β.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΤΩΝ
ΕΙΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΤΟ Β.

ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑ
ΜΕΝΟΙ, ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝ ΠΡΙ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ, ΩΣΠΕΡ ΤΙΝΑΣ
ΤΟΠΟΥ ΤΩ ΕΡΗΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΙΘΕΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΠΛΙΝΩ ΑΤ
ΤΑ ΤΩ ΚΑΘ' ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ ΑΝΑΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΑ. ΤΩΝ
ΤΟΙΝΥΦΩΝ ΦΑΝΗΝΤΩΝ, ΤΑ ΜΥ, Α. Η. Ε. Ο. Ω.
ΠΡΟΤΑΚΤΙΚΑ. ΤΑ ΔΕ, Ι. Υ. ΥΠΟΤΑΚΤΙΚΑ. ΟΥΤΩ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΙΣ
ΠΛΕΚΟΜΕΝΑ, ΣΩΙΣΤΗΣΙ ΤΑΣ ΔΙΦΘΟΓΓΑΣ. ΕΝΙΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ. Υ.
ΠΡΟΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ, ΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΡΗΜΕΝΩ. ΑΡΩΠΑ. ΜΥΑ. ΔΙΦΘΟΓΓΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ
ΑΙ. Η. Α. Η. Α. Υ. ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΗΣΙΚΩΣ, Η ΔΕ ΟΥ ΙΩΝΩΝ. ΕΤΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΑΝΗΝ-
ΤΩΝ, ΤΑ ΜΕΝ, Α. Ε. Ο. ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΙΚΑ. ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΛΕΤ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΙ ΤΩ
ΠΡΩΤΗ ΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΟ ΜΥ Α, ΚΑΙ Ε, ΕΙΣ Η. ΑΔΕΝΩ. Η ΔΕ ΝΟΥ. ΕΔΕΛΩ, Η
ΘΕΛ. ΤΩ ΔΕ Ο ΕΙΣ Ω. ΟΦΕΛΩ. ΩΦΕΛ. ΤΑ ΔΕ, Η. Ι. Υ. Ω. ΑΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑ.
ΩΣ ΜΗ ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑ. Η ΓΕ ΜΟΝΕΥΟΝ ΓΑΡ, Η ΓΕ ΜΟΝΟΥ. ΙΞΕΝΩ. ΙΞΕ-
ΝΟΥ. ΥΒΕΡΙΩ. ΥΒΕΡΙΟΥ. ΩΦΕΛΩ. ΩΦΕΛΟΥ. ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΛΕΤ ΤΟΙΣ ΧΡΩΝ
ΕΙΣ Η ΤΩ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΧΩ. ΠΛΩ ΤΩ ΤΕΤΑΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΕ ΚΑ ΤΙΝΩΝ. ΙΦΩΝ
ΤΩ ΠΡΟΣΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΑ ΜΥ Ζ. Ξ. Φ. ΔΙΠΛΑ ΕΚ
ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΔΥΟΙΝ ΣΥΓΚΕΤΑΙ. ΤΟ ΜΥ Ζ, ΕΚ ΤΩ Σ ΚΑΙ Δ. ΤΟ ΔΕ Ξ,
ΕΚ ΤΩ Κ, ΚΑΙ Σ. ΤΟ ΔΕ Φ, ΕΚ ΤΩ Π, ΚΑΙ Σ. ΤΑ ΔΕ Λ Μ Ν Ρ. ΑΜΕΤΑ-
ΒΟΛΑ. ΞΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΧΗΣΜΑΤΙΣΜΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΛΕΤ.
ΞΤ ΑΥ ΠΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΛΙΣΕΩΝ. ΦΑΛΩ. ΦΑΛΩ. ΝΕΜΩ. ΝΕ-
ΜΩ. ΚΡΙΝΩ. ΚΡΙΝΩ. ΠΑΙΡΩ. ΠΑΙΡΩ. ΝΕΣΩ. ΝΕΣΩ. ΕΛΛΩ. ΕΛ-
ΛΩ. ΤΑ ΔΕ ΦΙΛΑ, ΚΑΙ ΔΑΣΕΑ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕΣΑ, ΟΥΤΩ ΠΩΣ ΕΧΑ.
ΩΣΤΕ ΤΟ ΜΥ Β, ΜΕΣΩΝ ΤΩ Π, ΚΑΙ Φ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΙΝΩ ΦΩΝΗΝ. ΤΩ ΔΕ Γ,
ΜΕΣΩΝ ΤΩ Κ ΚΑΙ Χ. ΤΩ ΔΕ Δ, ΜΕΣΩΝ ΤΩ Θ, ΚΑΙ Τ.

4. Vatel's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1521)

This typeface is slightly smaller than the previous one is but in the same style and using its capitals. On this grounds it may be attributed to Vatel. It occurs mainly in Gourmont's printing, especially between 1521 and 1524 (Moreau, 3; nos. 58, 80, 450, 475, 628). Vatel's relation with Gourmont deserves more attention regarding the Hebrew the latter introduced about the same time (Moreau, 2: 2382).

SIZE Pica (*Cicero*); 20 78 x 1.6 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1521, **Paris**, G. de Gourmont (J. Cheradame, *Grammatica isagogica*; Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, 16491; Moreau, 3: 63, no. 58).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Paris:** 1523, P. Calvarin; 1540, C. Neobar.

KEY LETTERS Capitals of Vatel's Saint-augustin, described in (3); straightly backed lower case β ; γ with short right terminal and open lower counter; short right top terminal of χ ; crossed ligature $\lambda\lambda$; duplicate form of ω with closed counters.

FIGURE 4 Vatel's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1521) as it appears in M. Chrysoloras, *Grammatica*, Paris, G. de Gourmont, c.1524, f. d3v–d4. Some capitals are wrong sorts. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

Ποίεε, ἀοιδ. ἀοιδεύτω, ἀοιδεύτω. ἀοιδεύτω, ἀοιδεύτω,
ἀοιδεύτω, ἀοιδεύτω. ἀοιδεύτε, ἀοιδεύτε. ἀοιδεύτωσθε,
ἀοιδεύτωσθε. ¶ Παράκλησις.

Πεποιήκει, κέτω. ὡς τέτυφε, τετυφέτω.

¶ Ἀπόριτος.

Ποίησον σάτω, ὡς τὸ ψομ. ψάτω.

Π Ε'υκτὰ ἐνεργητὰ. Ε'νεως.

Παύοιμι, παύοιμι. καύοις, παύοις. παύοι, παύοι. καύοι
οιτορ, καύοιτορ. καύοιτηρ, παύοιτηρ. καύοιμερ, καύοιμερ.
καύοιτε, καύοιτε. καύοιερ, καύοιερ.

Πωφακείμενος.

Πεποιήκοιμι, κοίς, κοί. ὥς τετύφοιμι.

¶ Α' ὁρίσας.

Ποιήσαι με, σαις, σαι. ὡς τύψαι με.

Μέλωρ.

Ποιήσοιμι σοις, σοι, ὥς τύψοιμι.

Π ὑποτακτικὰ ἐνεργητικά. Εἴνεως.

Εἄρ' ἀνέλεν, ἔαρ' ἀνωψ, ἔαρ' ἀνείρες, ἔαρ' ἀνέρες, ἔαρ'
 ἀνέμ, ἔαρ' ἀνέμ. Ἐἄρ' ἀνέκτορ, ἦτορ, ἔαρ' ἀνέκτορ,
 ἦτορ. Ἐἄρ' ἀνέωμερ, ὤμερ, ἔαρ' ἀνέκτε, ἦτε, ἔαρ'
 ἀνέκωπιρ, ἀνωψωπιρ. **Κ**άρα κείμενος.

Ἐὰν ποιήκω, ὥς ἐὰν τεύξω. **Π**Α' ὀρίσος.

Εἰς τὸν ὁρίσθη. σμ. σμ.

Α' παρέμφата, ενεργητικά. Ε' νεώος.

Ποιέσω, καί εἰμι.

Παρακείμενος.

Πεποιήκέναι.

ΠΑ' ὄρις. Ποῦσαι.

Μέλωρ. ποιήσθρ.

Μετοχαὶ παθητικαί. Ἐντέφε.

¶ဝံသဝါဠိယံ၊ ဘဝါဠိယံ။ ဧဝံသော၊ ဘဝါဠိယံ။ **¶**ပရနာမေကော။

Οὐ δὲ ποικίλος, ἢ δὲ ποικύλα κύλας, ὁ δὲ ποικίλος.

¶ Α' ὅρις.

○'သဝါဏံ၊ နိသဝါဏံ၊ ဝိသဝါဏံ၊

ΤΜΕΛΩΝ.

○^८ क० मं० द्र. नं क० मं० च० स०, ठे क० मं० स०.

ΠΟΡΙΣΤΗΚΑ ΠΑΝΗΓΙΚΑ, καὶ μέσα. Ἐνεσώς.

Ποίεμαί, καὶ οὐμαί, ποίε, ποίε. ποίεταί, ποίεταί.
καὶ οὐμέθορ, καὶ οὐμέθορ. καὶ οὐεὶορ, καὶ οὐεὶορ. καὶ οὐ
εὐορ, οὐεὶορ. ποίεομέθε, οὐμέθε. καὶ οὐεὶε. οὐεὶε. καὶ οὐ
ονταί, καὶ οὐνταί. **Παραταπυόρ.**

Εἰποιέμην, ἐποιοῦμην, ἐποίησ', ἐποίησ', ἐποίησεντο, ἐποι-
 ἤστο. Εἰποιέμενοι, οἰόμενοι, ἐποίνεδιον, ἔτιδιον ἐποιεῖ-
 νην, ἔτιν. Εἰποιέμεθα, οἰόμεθα, ἐποίνεδιε, ἔτιδε.
 ἐποίηοντο, ἐποιῶντο. **Π**αρακείμενος.

Πεποιήμαι ησαι. ὡς τέτυμμαι. Τὸ τρίτον, τῷ πλη
θυντικῷ. πεποιήνται ὅτι καθαράν ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐσχάτην.

d 4

5. Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522)

Usually it is thought that the Sophocles 1528 Greek (6) was Colines's first. However, in the very beginning of his career he first used Gourmont's Greek (1) and thereafter, from the end of 1522 to June 1528 (e.g. in Erasmus, *De recta ... pronuntiatione*, 1528) a new Greek cursive, somewhat smaller than the Sophocles face and surely less elegant. There are few stylistical indications to ascribe this type to the young Colines, but date and distribution seem to support the attribution. Robert I Estienne used this face until by the mid-1530s, when he switched over to Augereau's. See below (9).

SIZE Pica (*Cicero*); 20 78 x 1.7 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 20 September 1522, Paris, S. de Colines (Aristoteles, *Opus magnorum moralium*; Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, 4480; Moreau, 3: 115, no. 255).

EARLY APPEARANCE Paris: 1527, R. I Estienne.

KEY LETTERS Broad capital M; N with double left top serif; short right shank of Π; narrow Σ; short lower case β; awkward triangular δ; looped ω leaning to the right; duplicate forms of β, δ, ν, ζ, π, σ, τ; three forms of γ, ζ; flat compendium καὶ; crossed ligature λλ.

FIGURE 5a Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522) as it appears in A. Manutius, *Institutionum grammaticarum libri IIII*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1531, p. 314. Courtesy of the Royal Library, Brussels.

FIGURE 5b Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or *Cicéro* (1522) assembled from *Alphabetum graecum*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1528, f. A1v. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque de la Ville, Chaumont.

χονσσα, προσβάσα τῷ λίδω τῷ νῦν ἐπικειμένῳ ὑπὸ τῷ ποδὶ τῆς
χαλκῆς ἀεγασμένης λητούς, δὲ τῆς τότε πράξεως μίμημα γινόν-
μενον, ἀνάκειται περὶ τῆς πλάτανου ἐν δελφοῖς, ἐπερ ἴε παῖ.
τυχαρ ὃ τόξα κατὰ χῆρας ἔχοντα τὸν ἀπόλλωνα. τοῦτο δ' ἐ-
στὶν ὡς ἔπει τῆς ἀφιεπαί, καὶ βάλλει παῖ. διόπερ ἀπὸ τοῦτου λε-
χθὴ καὶ φασὶ τὸ, ἴε παῖ. Ω ἴε παῖαρ. & paulò post subiungit, τὸ δὲ
ὑφ' Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ πομπικοῦ λεχθὲρ φανερώς πέπλασαι ἐπὶ
σπονδαῖς τοῦτο πρώτον εἰς τρεῖς ἐπέμ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως, ἴη παῖαρ,
ἴη παῖαρ, ἴη παῖαρ. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τῆς πίσεως τὸ τρίμετρον καὶ
λόυμενον ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ, φάσκων τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦθ' ἐκάτερον εἶναι
τῷ μέτρῳ, ὅτι μακρῶν μὲν τῶν πρώτων δύο συλλαβῶν λεγομέ-
νων, ἴη παῖαρ, ἥρῳον γίνεταί, βραχέων δὲ λεχθεσῶν, ἰαμβῶν.
διὰ δὲ τοῦτο, δηλοῦν, ὅτι τὸν ἰαμβον ἀναθετίον αὐτῷ. βραχέων
γὰρ γινομένων, εἰ δύο τὰς οἰπάντων τελευταίας συλλαβὰς εἰς μα-
κρὰν ποιήσῃ τις, ὁ ἰσώωναντος ἰαμβος ἔσται.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ρ ξ ζ

ο π ρ σ ς τ ϭ υ φ χ ψ ω

6. Colines's 'Sophocles' Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528)

In 1528 Simon de Colines started publishing a series of Greek texts (Moreau, 3: nos. 1402, 1418, 1481–2, 1503–4, 1609), composed in a new Greek typeface, the first decent Greek cursive to be cut in France. Its capitals are wholly in Colines's style and the distribution confirms the attribution: it was only used by Colines and his contractor Blaubloom. Scholderer (1927, 9) suggested that the lower case was inspired by Callierges's style, but I fail to see the relation or likeness. The face is known as the Sophocles type, after the publication by Colines of Sophocles's *Tragoediae septem* in December 1528. Occasionally Colines used other Greek types, f.i. Petreius's (mostly in association with Jean Loys), or Schoeffer's (mostly with Francis Estienne). In the 1534 Greek New Testament (Schreiber, 1995, 100, no. 110) Colines used Augereau's Greek, but it may be questioned whether he actually printed that work himself, though its title-page displays his device and address. See (7, 8, 9).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.6 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN July 1528, Paris, S. de Colines (Cicero, *De senectute* [graece]; Versailles, Bibliothèque municipale, FA-8° A 26b; Moreau, 3: 395, no. 1418).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1530, L. Blaubloom; 1532, G. de Gourmont [& L. Blaubloom]; 1535, J. Nyverd for G. I Du Pré & S. de Colines; Orléans: 1532, Ph. Loré [& L. Blaubloom].

KEY LETTERS Broad capitals M, N, Z; low right top terminals of lower case γ and χ; small sized ζ, θ and φ; duplicate forms of β, δ, η, κ, ν, π, τ; three forms of ζ, σ; curled tail of ρ in ligature αρ; descending ε in ligature μεν; crossed ligature λλ; rounded ν in ligature των.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 92–3; Scholderer, 1927, 9, fig. 26; Schreiber, 1995, 38, no. 30; 41, no. 32.

FIGURE 6a Colines's 'Sophocles' Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) as it appears in Sophocles, *Tragoediae septem*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1528, f. a2. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 6b Colines's 'Sophocles' Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1528) assembled from *Alphabetum graecum*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1534, f. [arv]. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, La Rochelle.

Επιγράμματα εἰς Σοφοκλέα.
 Σιμωνίδει.
 Εστίθης γηραιὴ Φόκλιες, ἀνθ' ὅσοι δ' ὦμ,
 δινωπὸν βάρκχσ βότρυν ἐρεπτόμην.
 ἥρ' ἐμ' ἄποδ' τύμβοιο σοφοκλίου, ἥρ' ἐμακιστὶ
 ἐρωτύοις χλοερῶς ἐκπεσχέωμ παλοκάμω.
 καὶ πέταλον πάντῃ θάλλοι ῥόδοι, ἢ τε φιλοβῶξ
 ἄμπελος, ὅγρ' ἀπὸρ' ἐκλήματα χευαμῶν.
 εἴνεκεν ἐυμαθίης πινυτόφρονος· ἥρ' ὁ μελίχρως
 ἥσκησεν, μασῶν ἄμμιγα καὶ χαρίτω.
 Εὐκίς.
 αἰεὶ τοι λιπαρῶ ὑπὲρ σήματι δαῖτε Φόκλιες,
 σκηνίτης μαλακῶς κιστὸς ἄλοιτο πόδας.
 αἰεὶ τοι βότταισι παρὶς ἄξιοιτο μελίσσαις
 τύμβ' ὅμ' ἐκπείω λευκόμηνος μέλιτι.
 ὥς ἄν τοι ῥέῃ μὲν ἀόνατος ἀτθίδι δέλτα
 κηρὸς ἄπο σεφάνοις δ' αἰὲρ ἔχοις παλοκάμω.
 Διοσκορίδει.
 τύμβος ὅδ' ἐς δ' ὠνθρῶπε Φοκλίου, ὅμ' ἥρ' ἀμασῶν
 ἱερὴν παρθενίην ἱερὸς ὦμ' ἔλαχεν.
 ὅς με τὸν ἐκ φλοιδντος ἐπὶ τρεῖς βολοὺς πατέοντα
 πρίνινον, ἐς χεῦσεον σχῆμα μεθ' ἡρόσατο.
 καὶ λεπτήν ἐνέδυσεν ἀλδεργίδα, τῶ δ' ἐθανόντος
 εὐθετομ δερχῆν τῆδ' ἀνέπαυσεν πόδα.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
 α β γ δ ε ς ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π
 ρ ς ς τ τ υ φ χ ψ ω

7. Petreius's Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1529)

Tentatively this Greek is attributed to Petreius on the ground of its first appearance in his press. The Nuremberg printer Joannes Petreius (d. 1550) is mainly known for his music printing and as a publisher of scientific works, among which is the Copernicus of 1543. There are some indications that he was also a typefounder and punch-cutter: his brother-in-law, the writing-master Johann Neudörffer, describes him as 'knowledgeable in all instruments and matters of printing' (Lochner, 1875, 177). His skills as a type-maker were also praised by Gregorius Haloander in the introduction (f. a2) of the 1529 Epictetus edition by Petreius. Moreover, in 1525 he issued a type-specimen (Carter, 1967, 114, fig. 77); this has been destroyed in last war but it had been published in original size by Burger (1895) and Mori (1924, pl. 9). This 1525 specimen displays a few lines of a rather unassuming Pica Greek (75 mm), used in his 1527 Theophrastus. In 1529 a new English-Bodied Greek (90 mm) appears at his press, which a few years later resurges in several other German and Paris printing houses. However, for a firm attribution it seems better to wait for a study of his other faces.

The new Petreius Greek was much better designed than the earlier one. Like most of the contemporary Greek types, it is closely modelled on Aldus's third Greek (Proctor, 1900, 104–5; Barker, 1992, 58–9). From this model it borrowed the qualities, which Proctor assigns to the Aldus face: a very flowing character, a large number of ligatures, a marvel of skill and ingenuity, though Proctor found the capitals unsatisfactory 'being too small and out of character'. Possibly the Hellenists Melanchton or Camerarius were the instigators of Petreius's choice. The

first was in Nuremberg in 1525–6; the second from 1526 onwards.

The Petreius type is very similar to but not identical with Cardinal Marcello Cervini's first Greek, as used in volume 1 of Eustachius's *Parekbolai*, Rome, Blado, 1542 (Layton, 1994, 32) or later in the Greek imprints of the Medicean press of Lorenzo Torrentino in Florence.

Except for Petreius himself and Wechel, other printers seem to have combined its lower case with diverging sets of capitals, mostly taller ones; it is unclear whether these were cut by Petreius too or rather were locally added.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.8 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1529, Nuremberg, J. Petreius (Epictetus, Ἐπικτετῶν; The Hague, Royal Library, 225 G50).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Paris**: 1535, J. Loys (diverging capitals in 1543); 1538, F. Gryphius (diverging capitals in 1544), J. Loys & P. Vidoue & D. Lescuyer; 1539, C. Neobar, Ch. Guillard; 1540, J. Loys & S. de Colines, J. Roigny, C. Wechel; 1552, T. Richard (diverging capitals); 1557, G. Cavellat (diverging capitals); **Basle**: 1546, J. Oporinus (divergent capitals); **Cologne**: 1553, Heirs A. Birckmann; 1557, Jac. Soter; 1561, W. Richwin; 1576, L. Alectorius & Heirs Soter (all with divergent capitals).

TYPE-SPECIMEN c.1710, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Specimen typorum Hebraeorum*, 'Grobe Cicero Graecum' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum; with divergent capitals).

KEY LETTERS Small-sized capitals in 'Basle'-style; Capital N with doubly seriffed left top; duplicate forms of capital Π; duplicate forms of α, β, δ, ε, η, θ, π; three forms of γ, ζ, ν, τ; four forms of σ; disengaged ligature λλ.

FIGURE 7a (opposite, above) Petreius's Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1529) as it occurs in Cleomedes, *Kuklike theoria*, Paris, C. Neobar, 1539, f. [beta] 2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 7b (opposite, below) Petreius's Greek as assembled from N. Clenardus, *Institutiones ac meditationes in graecam linguam*, Paris, A. Wechel, 1565, f. A1. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

μετεώριον βιβλίον .α'.

ρας, ὧς τὰς νυκτάς· πρὸς ἡμῖν γὰρ ἡμέρας ἔσσης, παρ' ἐκεί-
 νοις νυκτὰ εἶναι δεῖ· καὶ ἔμπαλιν, πλάτυτόν τε τὸ τῶν λε-
 γομένων· ὅ γὰρ ἀκρεβῆ λόγῳ, ὁ πόταν καταδύηται πρὸς ἡμῖν
 ὁ ἥλιος, ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνοις ἀνίσχεν· ἐπεὶ ἔτι
 ἀν μακρὰς ἔσσης πρὸς ἡμῖν τὴν ἡμέραν, ἢ νῦξ πρὸς ἐκείνοις μα-
 κρὰ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀν ἐν ἡμετέροις ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν ὥρων καὶ
 καὶ τὰς ἀνέσεις τῶν ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν· νῦξ δὲ σφαιρι-
 κῶς ἔχει πῶς γινώσκοντες, πῶς γινώσκοντες ὁ ἥλιος, οἷον ἐκείνους
 ἐπιβόλῃ τὰς ἀκτίνας, ὥστε ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ πῶς πορεύεται
 τὰ κερτῶματ' ὅτι γῆς ταῦτα· ὅθεν ἐκ παρ' ἡμῖν ὥστε γῆς
 ὁρώμεν, ἐκείνοις ἀνίσχεν φαίνει ὁ ἀναγκαῖως σφαιρικῶς
 γὰρ ὅτι ἀκτίνῃ ὑπάρχει, πῶς γινώσκοντες, καὶ πῶς
 τὴν κερτῶματ' ὑπερέδωκεν, ὅπως πρὸς ὅλοις ἀνίσχεται. πρὸς
 δὲ ὅθεν ἀντίοικω, κοινὰ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ, καὶ ἐκείνους καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὅ-
 ὥστε γῆς ἔχει ἡμῶν σφαιρικῶς· δόξοντες, ὅτι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔχει ἡ-
 μᾶς, τὰς τε ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς νυκτας· ὧς τὸ τῶν πλάτυτόν τε
 λεγόμενον· παρ' ἡμῖν ὅτι μεγίστης ἡμέρας ἔσσης, πρὸς ἐκεί-
 νοις ἐλαχίστη γίνεται· καὶ ἔμπαλιν· ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτι ἡμῖν πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς τὰ καὶ τὰς ὥρας, καὶ τὰς ἀνέσεις καὶ μειώσεις, τῶν
 ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν. πρὸς ὅθεν ἀντίποδας, ὅθεν ἡμῖν κοινόν
 ὅστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀντίπερα πᾶσι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὥστε γινώσκοντες
 ἀλλήλων ἐχόμεν κλίματα· καὶ τὰ καὶ τὰς ὥρας ἡμῖν ἔμπα-
 λιν ἔχει, καὶ τὰ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτας, καὶ τὰ καὶ τὰς ἀν-
 ξήσεις τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ μειώσεις. ὅτι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἀντίοικω,
 καὶ ἀντίποδας, καὶ ἀντοίκω, φυσιολογίᾳ διόσκω· ἐπεὶ ὅ-
 ὅθεν γὰρ τῶν καὶ ἰσορίαν λέγει· ὅτι γὰρ πρὸς ὅθεν ἀντοί-
 κω ἡμῖν ἀντιόικω διωκτόν, ὅθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εἶναι, ἀπὸ
 εἰσόδου, τὸ διέρχοντα ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ὡκεανόν· ὅτι πρὸς
 ὅθεν ἔχοντες πῶς ἀντιόικω· ἐπεὶ ἀδωάτορ ἡμῖν, πῶς
 διακεκαμμένον ὥστε βλῶναι. τὰ δὲ ἐπίσης ὁμοῦ καὶ κλίμα

β ii

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧΨΩ

α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω

9. Augereau's Greek on English [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1532)

Like the Petreius lower case (7) the lower case of this face is a close imitation of Aldus's third Greek. Differences with the lower case of the Petreius Greek are barely discernable. The main divergences of the lower case sorts have been noted in the Key Letters rubric. The capitals, however, differ markedly. The style of the Augereau capitals breaks away from the older tradition, favoured by Basle and Germany, which Petreius had followed. Like Colines's capitals, it follows the inscriptional trend, north of the Alps promoted by Dürer (1525) and Tory (1529), which became the standard of the later so-called 'Old face Roman' majuscules.

The face is attributed to Augereau, on the basis of its first occurrence in his printing. Augereau reputedly was the teacher of Garamont (Carter, 1967, 30); his short career ill-fatedly ended with an accusation of heresy and execution in 1534 (Veyrin-Forrer, 1956). A close copy of this Augereau face appears from 1540 onwards at the press of Neobar and Bogard. Possibly this was cut by Garamont. See below (10).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 15 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1532, Paris, A. Augereau & A. Bocard & J. I Petit (Aristoteles, *Opera*; Paris, Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Rés. 16-II-LEF 13; 3; Renouard, 1964, I: 208–9, no. 548).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1534, S. de Colines; 1535, R. I Estienne, J. Nyverd for S. de Colines & G. Du Pré; 1543, M. de Vascosan; 1549, M. Le Jeune.

KEY LETTERS Upper arm of capital Σ pointing slightly upwards; lower case similar to Petreius's (7) but the head-curl of Augereau's δ extends to the baseline; it displays a small λ, a sloping ξ and an ω with a right terminal ending low; in Augereau's ligature γεν the ε is widely separated from ν; in ειν the breathing is between the first and second letter, not on the second; the lead-out stroke of the contraction κατά descends to the baseline; disengaged ligature λλ; the lead-in stroke of the abbreviation ὑπο starts high.

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 93; Veyrin-Forrer, 1956, 141; 1987, 31; Renouard, 1964, I: 204.

FIGURE 9a (opposite) Augereau's Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1532) as it appears in *Kainè Diathèkè*, Paris, S. de Colines, 1534, p. 413v–414. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Le Mans.

FIGURE 9b (below) Augereau's Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1532) as assembled from *Alphabetum Graecum*, Paris, R. Estienne, 1539, f. B4. Courtesy of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ
ς σ τ τ̃ υ φ χ ψ ω

βεβηκέναι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς κόσμου, καὶ εἰς
λοιπὸν τῆς ἔρανης πολιτείας. καὶ οὐδε πῶ-
τε δὲ τῆς ὑδισολῆς πάλιν ὑπομνήσκῃ λέ-
γων, ὅτι ὁ τῆς θεῆς υἱός, ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἔστι, καὶ φῶς
ἀληθινόν, καὶ ἵνα τὸν οὐδυνώμεν, καὶ φυ-
λάτῃμεν ἐαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰδωλῶν.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ
καὶ θολικῆς ὑδισολῆς τῆς ἀγίας ἰωάν-
νης τῆς θεολόγου.

Αὐτῷ ὁ πρεσβύτερος γράφει κυρία
Τ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ πρέφα-
σις τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῆς. ὁρῶν τὰ τέ-
κνα αὐτῆς καλῶς αἰσχυρόμενα οὐ τῇ πίστι,
καὶ πολλὰ πλάττειν πονηρὰ μελέτες, καὶ
λέγοντας μὴ εἶναι τὴν παρεσίαν τῆς χριστοῦ οὐ
θερμῆ, γράφει τὴν ὑδισολῆν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
ἀπεδέχεται αὐτῆς τὰ τέκνα, εἶτα διδάσκων,
μὴ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἡμᾶς μυστήριον, πα-
ραίνῃ πάλιν πρὸς ἀγάπης, καὶ ἵνα μένωσιν
οὐ τῇ διδαχῇ τῇ παρεκδοχῇ αὐτοῖς. καὶ
λοιπὸν διδάσκει αὐτοὺς εἶναι, τὸν λέγοντα
μὴ οὐ θερμῆ ἐληλυθέναι τὸν χριστόν. παραγ-
γέλλει δὲ ὥστε εἶναι τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὴ δεχόμεναι εἰς
οἰκίαν,

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οἰκίαν, μηδὲ λείψαν ζῆς τοῖς αὐτοῖς, χαίρειν. καὶ
ἔτιως περὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΡΙΤΗΣ ΚΑ
θολικῆς ὑδισολῆς τῆς ἀγίας ἰωάννης
τῆς θεολόγου.

ΣΤΙΝ ἡ ὑδισολῆ πρὸς θολοξονίαν.
Ε καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπεδέχεται τὸν γάιον,
μαρτυρούμενον παρὰ πάντων, ὑδὶ
θολοξονίαν, καὶ πρὸς εἶπαι τῇ αὐτῇ πρὸς θε-
σει ἐμμελῶν, καὶ πρὸς εἶπαι καὶ δεξιῶν.
εἶναι ἀδελφόν, πάλιν τε αὐτῇ μὲν τὴν πρὸς
φορὰν ἀπεδέχεται. αἰτιᾶται δὲ διορίσει, ὥς
μήτε αὐτὸν παρέχοντα τοῖς πῶλεις, ἀλλὰ
καὶ κωλύοντα εἶναι ἄλλων, καὶ πολλὰ φλυα-
ροῦντα. εἶναι δὲ ζῆς εἶναι λείψαν ἄλλοτερος εἶναι
τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ μηδὲ εἰσάγει τὸν θεόν.
δημήτειον δὲ συνίστησι μαρτυρῶν αὐτῷ τὰ
κρίματα.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΟΥΔΑ
ὑδισολῆς.

Αὐτῷ ἐπιστολῇ γράφει ζῆς ἡδὴ πῶ-
Τ σεύσασιν. ἡ δὲ πρέφασις αὐτῆς. πα-
ρασελθόντων ἱνῶν, καὶ διδάσκον-
των ἀδελφῶν.

10. Neobar's Second Greek on English [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Garamont
(1540)

During the 1530s the French court resumed its interest for the study of Greek letters and history. The *Collège des Trois Langues* was founded in 1530. The acquisition of Greek manuscripts on behalf of the royal library was actively pursued from 1538 onwards. In 1539 the Regia Graeca Typographia was founded and entrusted to Conrad Neobar. The new royal printer was married to the niece of Jacques Toussain, since 1530 the regius professor for Greek (Beaud, 1988, 1988); up to then he was a proofreader at the Wechel printing office. A royal decree of 17 January 1539 imposed to the royal printer three conditions: an approbation by the University of each first edition; the deposit of a copy for the royal library; the indication of the royal protection on each publication. The royal printer was to earn a yearly subsidy of hundred Ecus au Soleil (i.e. 225 Livres tournois) and possess a copyright of five years. Neobar died prematurely in the course of 1540. He enjoyed his new position for barely some eighteen months. His successor as Greek Printer to the King was to be Robert Estienne (Vervliet, 2000a, 4–6).

Neobar's Greek publications begin with the Cleomedes of 30 Mai 1539 (Renouard, 1964, 5: 101–2, no. 81). It displays the Petreius face, described above in (7). Apparently the fount was borrowed from his Paris colleague Jean Loys. The lower case is identical with the Loys fount as well as the capitals used in the main text. But the capitals used on the Cleomedes title-page are new and wholly in the style of the 1540s. They seem to announce a desire for change.

A completely new Greek (capitals as well as lower case) were introduced after Mai 1540 (Renouard, 1964, 5: 113). This second type was a close copy of Augereau's Greek, described above in (9). Mme Beaud (1988, 200) has suggested that the new Greek was cut especially for Neobar's Typographia Regia and that possibly Garamont was involved. She may be right: Garamont was apprenticed to Augereau, says Guillaume Le Bé (Carter, 1967, 30), and a few months later he contracted to cut the Grecs du Roy (Vervliet, 2000a, 6–8). Some five years later Neobar's Greek was to resurge at the presses of Pierre Gaultier and Jean Barbé, respectively a relative and associate of Garamont.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.6 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1540, Paris, C. Neobar (Epictetus, Ἐγχειρίδιον; Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Q9-727; Renouard, 1964, 5: 113–14, no. 93.

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1541, J. Bogard; 1543, M. Fezandat, Ch. Guillard; 1545, P. Gaultier; 1546, J. Barbé; 1549, J. Du Puys; 1550, G. Morel; 1551, M. Fezandat & R. Granjon, Oudin Petit; 1554, M. Le Jeune.

KEY LETTERS Duplicate forms of capital Π; in general very similar to Augereau's Greek (9), but Neobar's capitals Ν, Σ, Ω are broader and Ζ narrower; the lower case λ and ω are taller, the loops in the looped ω are not closed; the ligatures ειν and μεν are narrower, the abbreviation κατα and ligature υπό broader; disengaged ligature λλ; duplicate forms of lower case α, β, δ, ζ, θ, π, τ; three forms of γ, σ.

LITERATURE Renouard, 1964, 5: 93; Beaud, 1988, 199–200.

FIGURE 10a Neobar's Second Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Garamont (1540), as it appears in Aristoteles & Judaeus, Περὶ Κόσμου, Paris, C. Neobar, 1540, p. 50. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 10b Neobar's Second Greek on English [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Garamont (1540) assembled from L. Enoch, *Prima infantia utriusque linguae*, Paris, J. Bogard, 1547, f. B1.

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ. 50
μυεργήσῃ, γενήσεται τότε κρείττων
καὶ ὁ διμυεργός. ὥστε ἡνίκα κατεσ-
κθύσῃ, καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν δι-
άνοιαν ἥν ἀτελέσθης, ὅπου δὲ δέ-
μις ὑπονοεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τὰ μὲν
τῶν θνητῶν ἔργα ἡμῶν φθαρτὰ δε-
όντως αὐτὸ γένοιτο, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀθανά-
του εἶναι λόγον ἀφθαρτὰ
ἀθάτου. τῇ γὰρ φύσει τῶν τεχνητῶν
ἀλλοφρον τὰ διμυεργήθηκα ἐξομοῖον-
θαι. ἀποδείξεσι δὲ οἱ πόδες εἰς βεό-
ηθον κέχρωται πιθανωτάταις ἄς
αὐτίκα λέξομεν. φασὶ γὰρ, εἰ γεν-
νητὴς καὶ φθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, ἐκ τῆς μὴ
ὄντος τι γενήσεται. ὅπου καὶ ζωὴ σω-
κοῖς ἀβώπτατον διοικεῖ εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ τίς
ὅτι οὐδεμίαν φθοροποιὸν αἰτίαν δι-
ρεῖν εἰσιν ἅτ' ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ, ἢ εἰς κόσ-
μον ἀναρεῖ. ἐκ τῆς γὰρ οὐδέν ὄσιν,
ὅτι μὴ τάχα που κενόν, τῶν σοιχείων
ἀποκρεθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὁλοκλήρων.
ἔστω

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΟΠΡΨΣΤΥΦΧΥΩ

ααββγγγγδδδεζηθθικκλλλμμνξο

ωπρρςςςττυυφχψω

Greek Printing Types of the French Renaissance: The ‘Greco du Roy’ and Their Successors

Greek sixteenth-century type design can, roughly speaking, be linked to three cities: Venice, Basle, and Paris. Aldus Manutius and Venice dominate the first and second decade; Basle and the team Erasmus/Froben command the third and fourth; and Paris reaches pre-eminence from the 1540s onwards with Robert Estienne and the ‘Greco du Roy’.¹

This paper focuses on the French Greco du Roy, i.e. the Royal Greek types, cut by Garamont, and their immediate emulations by Haultin, Granjon, and Villiers. It is a report of work in progress and attempts to describe the main sixteenth-century Greek typefaces designed in France (or by French punchcutters abroad) from about 1540 on, as far as they can be ascribed. Twenty-three faces are described; of fourteen of them, punches, matrices, or cast type have been preserved (See Table 1 below).

This paper omits the first unsophisticated Greek types used from the end of the fifteenth century by Paris printers, such as Kerver, Bocard, Badius and Gourmont, or the better one, imported from ‘Germania’, which Badius, among others, had from 1520 onwards, and the fine new designs introduced in the 1530s by Colines, Augereau, and the punchcutter(s) around Loys, Neobar and Bogard.^a It omits also several small-sized post-Garamont Greeks, a more demanding topic.^b

The birth-certificate of the Greco du Roy is a contract, dated 2 November 1540, between Pierre Du Chastel, Reader to the king’s and his private librarian, acting on behalf of the king, and Claude Garamont, the famous punchcutter. It is preserved at the Archives nationales in Paris (MC 8:60) and has been published by Parent (1973, 57–8).² The contract provides for the design and engraving of new Greek types in the following terms:

... faire et tailler poinçons de lettres grecques tant et en si grand nombre et de la sorte et grandeur qu’il en sera requis par mondit seigneur de Tullies ou par messire ange vergisson cy apres nommé Iceulx frapper et justifier et mettre en point prestes a fondre et ce pour le pris et somme de vingt deux sols six deniers tournois que pour chascun poinçon luy en sera paye au fur et ainsi qu’il les livrera. Par Robert Estienne maistre imprimeur du Roy aussi demeurant a paris a ce present.³

The agreement names five parties, viz. Francis I, the king’s librarian Du Chastel, the printer Robert Estienne, the calligrapher Angelos Vergikios and the punchcutter Claude Garamont. With Francis I (1515–47), modernity infiltrated French culture through two channels: firstly, by the renovation of the old royal castle at Fontainebleau (1532–38) with significant support from Italian Renaissance artists, such as Primaticcio, Rosso, Cellini; and secondly, with the conception in 1517 and founding in 1530 of the Collège des Trois Langues, which in its wake induced a renewed royal interest in typography as a means for distributed education. In matters of French art and scholarship both royal initiatives signify the demise of the Middle Ages and the dawn of the Renaissance and Humanism. Politically the royal strategy successfully achieved

Summary

This paper describes twenty-three Greek typefaces cut by sixteenth-century French punchcutters from 1543 onwards. It concentrates on the Greco du Roy (1543) whose design prevailed during the next two centuries, and their immediate successors. Besides six Greek typefaces ascribable to Claude Garamont, two are attributed to Guillaume I Le Bé, four to Pierre Haultin, nine to Robert Granjon, two to Nicolas de Villiers. Two tables conclude the paper: the first displays the typefaces studied by size; the second by date of first appearance.

Revision of a paper that appeared in the *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, n.s. 2 (2000), 3–55.

a. See Vervliet. 2002.

b. See Vervliet, 2008, nos. 305 sqq.

1. On Greek typography in sixteenth-century Italy, see Layton (1994), Irigoin (1992; 1997), and Fogelmark (2003); in Switzerland, see Hieronymus (1992) and Reverdin (1992); in France, see a.o. Bernard (1856), Omont (1891), Proctor (1905), Scholderer (1927), Parent (1973), Armstrong (1986), Irigoin (1998), Taurant-Boulcaut (1999), Vervliet (2000a).

2. Full citations are quoted in the Bibliography.

3. ... to make and cut punches of Greek letters so many and in the quantity and of the kind and size as ordered by the said lord of Tullies or by sir ange vergisson named below. To strike and to justify and to finish and ready them for casting and this for the cost and the sum of 22 sous and 6 deniers tournois which for each punch will be paid as and when he delivers them. By Robert Estienne, the King’s master printer also living in Paris at present.

'not only to make gentlemen out of merchants, but to make courtiers out of nobles, moulding them both to a common end of service in the sovereign territorial state' (Rice, 1971, 702).

Francis I did not know Greek as contemporaries intimated (Coron, 1998, 146–9; Du Chastel, 1999, 22, n.125). But in the early sixteenth century French civil aristocracy found it valuable or fashionable to cultivate an interest in Greek letters and history. Philhellenism acted as a cultural defence against the over-dominant Italian art and culture.^c The legend of the Trojan origin of the French kingdom was a standard component of the then royal genealogy. The new mastery of the Greek language opened perspectives for cultural innovation in matters of religion, philosophy, and the sciences. The Sorbonne's defence line 'Grecum non legitur' proved to be vain and the suggestion that Greek meant heresy, was a belated, acerbic and, in the end, ineffectual reaction of the conservatives in the faculty.

Pierre Du Chastel (d.1552), a Hellenist at one time schooled by Erasmus and Froben, was since 1537 Reader to the King and since 1540 his librarian. The 1540 contract mentions him as 'bishop of Tulle', the bishopric to which he was appointed in the previous year. As the king's reader Du Chastel supervised the *Professores Regii*, the readers of the *Collège des Trois Langues*. For that College and probably under Du Chastel's supervision, three projects were conceived. The first concerned the construction of a proper building for the College, a project that received royal approval in 1539 but was afterwards postponed, one guesses, for financial reasons (Coron, 1998, 155). The two other projects – the establishment of a munificent public library and the creation of a well-equipped Greek printing office – were vigorously enforced.

The acquisition policy of the library was in 1538 explicitly redirected towards Greek manuscripts, up to this time scarcely represented in the royal library. On its behalf the French ambassadors in Italy and Constantinople were instructed to acquire all kinds of books, especially Greek ones. In Venice, the ambassador engaged as many as twelve copyists for this assignment (Coron, 1995, 158).

A royal decree of 17 January 1539 (Bernard, 1856, 11–13; Jourdain, 1862, 345, no. 1728; Lepreux, 1911, 1²: 2; Renouard, 1964, 5: 103, no. 82) entrusted the royal Greek press to Conrad Neobar, a proofreader at the Wechel printing office. He was married to the niece of Jacques Toussain, since 1530 the *regius professor* for Greek (Beaud, 1988, 198). The first paragraphs of the royal decree pertinently summarize the king's educational programme; they emphasize the importance of Greek authors for our heritage as far as are concerned the 'artes, historiarum cognitionem, morum integritatem, recta vivendi praecepta ac omnem prope humanitatem'.⁴ The decree further underlines the requirement that the Greek printing ought to be performed by a learned Hellenist and appoints Neobar to the function. It imposes to the royal printer three conditions: the approbation by the University of each first edition; the deposit of a copy for the royal library; and the indication of the royal protection on each publication. The royal printer was to earn a yearly subsidy of hundred *Ecus au Soleil*⁵ and possess a copyright of five years. Neobar was to enjoy his new position for only eighteen months. He died prematurely during 1540; his role was taken over by Robert Estienne.

Thus, the third party to be named in the contract of November 1540 was the learned printer, Robert Estienne (d.1559). In 1539 he had been appointed to the King's Printer in Hebrew and Latin. According to the contract he acted in

c. Dubois, 1972.

4. ... the arts, knowledge of history, behaving properly, instructions for decency, and almost the whole of humanity.

5. In the 1540s, one *Ecu au Soleil* was worth 2,25 *Livres tournois* or 45 *sous*; a sum of 100 *ecus* or 225 *livres* was in 1540 good for, say, 10,000 litres of wine or 1000 workdays of a skilled worker (Baulant, 1976, 961–81).

the first instance as paying agent and, presumably, as intermediary and technical adviser. But both the continuous stream of impressive Greek publications leaving his press from 1543 on and their high scholarly standard allow the conclusion that soon he became a driving force of the whole scheme, with a role at least equal to that of Du Chastel (Armstrong, 1986, 124–30).

The Cretan scribe Angelos Vergikios (or Bergikios, Vergetius, Vergecio, Vergèce; d.1569), was employed from 1539 onwards by Francis I as ‘expert writer in Greek letters’ to contribute Greek manuscripts to the library of the Collège des Trois Langues, which in 1538 Francis I had ordered Pierre Du Chastel to build. From the catalogue of the royal library compiled by Vergikios and Palaeocappa in 1550, it can be inferred that some five hundred Greek manuscripts entered the royal library between 1540 and 1550 (Coron, 1995, 158; 1998, 166). Judging from the holdings of the Bibliothèque nationale today he must have written a substantial part of these, perhaps a quarter. Eventually he was taken into the king’s household as instructor and reader. For the Grecs du Roy he had to provide the models for the punches which were to be cut by Claude Garamont, and to approve and to collect them.

Vergikios’s bookhand has been defined as a sloped and very ligatured version of the sixteenth-century late-Byzantine minuscule. The latter was the standard bookhand of most of the numerous Greek scholars who found a shelter in fifteenth-century Italy. It was Aldus’s favourite while other humanists, such as Lascaris (Pontani, 1992, 200, n.13) or Erasmus (1969, 1⁴: 35–6) disliked the profusion of abbreviations and contractions. Models of Vergikios’s handwriting are reproduced among others by Omont (1887a, fig. 13), Hofer (1954, pls. 1–8), Follieri (1969, fig. 67), Wilson (1973, fig. 87), Harlfinger (1977, 335–7, fig. 20), Gamillscheg-Harlfinger (1981, 1A: 25–6, 1B: 9–10, 2: 25–6) and Germain (1995, 210–11). For the lower case Garamont followed closely the calligrapher’s elaborated style, including the numerous ligatures and duplicate forms. However, the much simpler upright capitals in a classic lapidary style follow the basic letterforms of Roman type as those of Aldus’s Greek or of the ‘lettres attiques’ of Tory’s *Champfleury* (1529); they are perhaps attributable more to the punchcutter.

For the punchcutter Claude Garamont (d.1561) the contract signified recognition as the foremost punchcutter of the French Renaissance. Like Garamont’s Romans, the Grecs du Roy became the standard type design for the next few centuries. The contract of 2 November 1540 specified that Garamont should work under the guidance of Vergikios: ‘lesquelz poinssons il [Garamont] sera tenu tailler soubz la charge, conduite, jugement et au dyme dudict maistre Ange Vergisson grecq.’⁶ The notion that Garamont had to reproduce some drawings neatly detailed by the calligrapher may be a somewhat too modern. Possibly Garamont followed the model of some manuscript and it has been suggested that the Aristotle by Vergikios preserved in the Imprimerie nationale was used for this purpose (Blanchot, 1951, 10). Alternatively it seems likely that Garamont was guided by some list of sorts written by Vergikios. This at least is the impression one gets reading a 1578 account of the birth of the Grecs du Roy, which indirectly derives from Robert Estienne’s son Henry. Preserved on a blank leaf in the Göttingen copy of Estienne’s 1550 *Novum Testamentum* (which exhibits all three sizes of the Grecs du Roy), it recounts Henry narrating that ‘Angelus ... has litteras maiores et minores quibus hic liber excusus est, primo pinxerit et scalptoribus praescripserit’⁷ (Meyer, 1902, 4). Furthermore is

6. ... which punches he is required to cut under the direction, guidance, judgment and to the satisfaction of the said master Ange Vergisson Greek.

7. ... Angelus first drew and instructed the cutters on the large and small letters with which this book is printed.

Nevertheless, the three Grecs du Roy aroused envy and emulation throughout Europe. Their style prevailed for more than two centuries and all subsequent sixteenth-century French, German and Low Countries Greek types copied them closely, albeit in other body sizes or with a reduction in the number of sorts and slight changes in the design of the capitals.

Until his flight to Geneva in 1550, Robert Estienne was practically the sole user of the Grecs du Roy; as far as I know, the only exception is Conrad Badius with two 1548 publications, both printed in association with Estienne, his brother-in-law (Renouard, 1964, 2: 308–9, nos. 782–3). It is clear that Estienne owned one or perhaps more sets of matrices, while the punches were kept in royal custody, until 1562 at Fontainebleau and thereafter in Paris at different locations (Lepreux, 1911, 1¹: 45–8; Parent, 1973, 65).

The number of contemporary sets of matrices struck from the punches is not clear. All three sizes of the Grecs du Roy were available at Estienne's Geneva press: the two publications of 1551 exhibit the smallest of the Grecs du Roy and the *Alphabetum Graecum* of 1554 shows all three of them. Is it conceivable that Robert Estienne encumbered his flight with the transport of cast type? Or is it likely, as Armstrong (1986, 226–7) suggests, that Estienne prepared this escape to Geneva well ahead of his own arrival in November 1550? The presence of matrices (of whatever kind) at Geneva is confirmed by an archive document dealing with Estienne's employment of Pierre Haultin as a type-caster at least from 1553 onwards (Chaix, 1954, 152).

There is a record that Robert's eldest son Henry, during one of his journeys to France had duplicate sets of the small and middle sizes made; however, he did not pay for them and in 1555 was ordered to return them (Renouard, 1901, 165–7). In 1556 he came back to Geneva and professedly set up a press, independent from his father's (Renouard, 1843, 380–3; Reverdin, 1980, 212). When in 1569 Henry contracted with Gaspar Dehus for type-casting several typefaces, only the sizes Cicero and Gros-texte (i.e. Gros-romain) of the Grecs du Roi were mentioned (Geneva, State Archives, not. Aimé Santeur, 6: 104v–105). Bernard (1856, 21–36) and Lepreux (1911, 1¹: 46–9) suggest that it were these two sets of matrices which Louis XIII bought back in 1616–21.

Robert Estienne's successor and caretaker in Paris was his brother Charles. He too owned matrices, which he was ordered in 1551 to turn over to Adrian Turnebus, Robert Estienne's successor as the King's printer in Greek (Renouard, 1901; Omont 1903). The 1556 Turnebus-Morel contract specifies the exact numbers of the three sets of the Royal Greek matrices: 367 for the Pica, 562 for the Great Primer, 512 for the Two-line Pica, totalling 1441 matrices (Omont, 1881; Dumoulin, 1898). Apparently these sets of matrices were used from 1552 onwards by the successive royal printers in Greek, Turnebus, the Morels, or their successors, Bienné and Prevosteau.⁸

However, the short lived occurrence of the Royal Pica in Lyons at the press of Antoine Gryphius (1572–82) rather implies the use of cast type or of a Geneva connection but not the ownership of matrices. The same, I think, applies to the presence of the Royal Great Primer in Eton, London and Oxford in the early seventeenth century. See (2) below. In 1561 Paolo Manuzio approached Adrian Turnebus to obtain some fount of the Grecs du Roy, apparently in vain (Tinto, 1967, 36).

Another set of matrices in the three sizes came in possession of Andreas Wechel. In 1562 he was enjoined to return the punches of the Grecs du Roy

8. For their users in the following centuries, see Bernard (1856, 26–46), Lepreux (1911, 1¹: 46–9; 1²: 63–5) and Blanchot (1951).

(Lepreux, 1911, 1¹: 417, n.2). He started to use the types from 1566 onwards (though without the mention ‘Typis Regiis’) and continued to do so after his emigration to Frankfurt in 1572. A privilege of 10 June 1574 granted by the German emperor Maximilian II and occurring in the 1577 edition of J. Fernel’s *Universa medicina* explicitly refers to his ‘praestantissimis typis, magna parte, Regiis.’⁹

The story of the birth of these types and their use by Wechel is also related by Frederic Sylburg, Wechel’s corrector and a friend of the house. In the introduction addressed to Wechel’s sons-in-law and successors, Marne and Aubry, of his 1591 *Alphabetum Graecum* (which exhibits all three sizes of the Grecs du Roy, including the ligatures and abbreviations) he quite correctly differentiates between punches and matrices and refers to the role of Francis I, Vergikios and Garamont. Andreas Wechel, Sylburg continues, obtained an ‘exemplar typorum’ of the Grecs du Roy by a favour of King Henry II and the royal physician, Jean Fernel. The latter was the uncle of Andreas’s wife. Sylburg’s account continues: Wechel carried an ‘exemplar’ abroad after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, just as, he says, Stephanus a few years earlier had taken one to Geneva. This passage deserves attention in relation to the later printing activities of Henry II Estienne who was befriended with Sylburg and subcontracted for the Wechels of Frankfurt and Commelini of Heidelberg (Reverdin, 1978, 192; Schreiber, 1982, 233–4).

Though a royal decree of 3 March 1543 [1544] forbade the copying of the Grecs du Roy for a period of ten years, until 1554 (Catalogue des actes de François Ier, 6: 22765), the first imitations of the Grecs du Roy appeared from 1549 onwards. They were cut by Pierre Haultin, Nicolas de Villiers and Robert Granjon.

Apart from a Greek Pica used by Goltzius (Bruges, 1565; Vervliet, 2004b) and a Greek Paragon introduced by Elias Hutter (Hamburg, 1587) all sixteenth-century imitations were by French punchcutters, serving those printers in Paris and abroad without access to the royal types. The Le Bé Greeks (7, 8) were the only French Greeks not to follow the new trend.

Greek types by Claude Garamont

As far as I know, Claude Garamont (d.1561) cut six Greek typefaces (1–6): the three Grecs du Roy and three titlings.^f The five first and only they are displayed together in the Greek section of the 1643 specimen of the Imprimerie royale (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 1–2). The last titling, left unfinished at Garamont’s death, survived in the Plantin-Moretus collection.

Nothing is known for certain about the Greek typefaces Garamont may have cut before the Grecs du Roy (1543). A new Greek used by Neobar (1540) and Bogard (1541) is stylistically near to Augereau’s, who was Garamont’s teacher according to Le Bé (Carter, 1967, 30; Vervliet, 2007, 13). Garamont may have had a hand in it. Did it, as evidence of a new talent, attract the attention of Estienne? They are outstanding, much better than the locally made types of Gourmont or than the imported Greeks of Badius, Loys, Vidoue, Vascosan, Wechel, and others, and comparable to the better contemporaneous Greeks, such as Colines’s ‘Sophocles’ or Augereau’s types (Vervliet, 2002, nos. 6 and 9).

f. This paper may have missed two or three other Garamont Greeks: a Long Primer [Gk 66] occurring at Wechel’s press and a titling on Two-line Minion [Gk 3.5], whose punches are kept in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (Vervliet, 2008, nos. 322 and 358), and the Neobar Greek dealt with in the next paragraph.

9. ... most excellent types, mostly royal ones.

Le Bé's Greeks

Guillaume I Le Bé (1523/4-Paris, 1598) was a colleague and (as we may guess) a friend of Garamont. Born into a family of paper merchants, he was trained in the craft of punchcutting and specialized in Hebrew and music typefaces. During the years 1545–50 he worked in Venice, where he cut two Greeks (7–8), for Bartholomeo Giannini and Cristofono Zanetti among others. Back in Paris, he resumed the trade of paper and the craft of cutting type, mainly music and Hebrews. In the field of typefounding he was instrumental in building a core collection of punches and matrices by Garamont, Granjon, Haultin, Villiers and other contemporary masters, a basis for the main Paris typefoundry which lasted through four generations of Le Bés and two of Fourniers until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

An inventory of the early typefoundry is preserved in an eighteenth-century copy in the hand of the elder Fournier (Paris, Arch. nat., MC 65: 229; Morison, 1957). The lost original must have been written (or updated) by Guillaume's son and successor around 1618, as the inventory includes punches and matrices from the Du Chemin music heritage (Audin, 1934, 8; Carter, 1967, 11, n.6).

Guillaume Le Bé is also the source of two other documents which are of prime importance for the historiography of sixteenth-century French typography. The first are two scrapbooks with autographical annotations and smoke proofs or printed specimens of his own type production, broadly arranged in chronological order. They are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris (Res. X 1665; ms. NAF 4528); the texts and fragments of the specimens have been published by Omont (1887).

The second document is a narrative commentary on the inventory mentioned above, preserved in a private archive and published by Harry Carter (1967). It contains biographical notes about French punchcutters, typefounders and printers active in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. It was compiled by Guillaume II Le Bé about 1643 (Carter, 1967), his father evidently being the main source for the earlier part of the story.

Haultin's Greeks

Pierre Haultin (d.1587/8), though less renowned than Garamont, nevertheless is one of the better type designers of the sixteenth century. Fournier (1765, 5) reports that he cut Attaignant's earliest single impression music (1528) and Le Bé relates that he was born before 1500, worked from 1530 and employed Garamont. The reliability of these assertions has been properly questioned (Heartz, 1969, 49; Carter, 1967, 42). Haultin is recorded from 1546 onwards as a cutter of music type for Du Chemin and in 1549 as a printer and publisher. Later he was active as a punchcutter and typefounder in Geneva, Lyons, Orleans, Paris and La Rochelle, mainly serving Protestant printers in Western France, Switzerland and Great Britain. A study (Vervliet, 2000) attributes 39 typefaces to him: 15 Romans, 8 Italics, 12 musics and four Greeks (9–12).

The lower case sorts and abbreviations of the Haultin Greeks closely copy the Grecs du Roy. But their body sizes differ slightly, as well as the capitals, especially the M and T, which exhibit typical Haultin characteristics.

Granjon's Greeks

Robert Granjon (Paris, 1513-Rome, 1590), Garamont's younger contemporary, is mainly known for his Italics, civilités and exotics (Carter-Vervliet, 1966; Vervliet, 1981, 1998, 1998a). However, Granjon suggested that he was specialized both in Italic and Greek types in the dedication of Ringhieri's *Dialogues de la vie et de la mort*, his first book in civilité (1557; Baudrier, 2: 54–6). But his early Greeks (13) can only tentatively be identified. Most of the later Greeks (14–21) are more surely attributed to Granjon on the basis of entries in the Plantin and Le Bé inventories.

Greek types possibly by Nicolas II de Villiers or Michel Du Boys

Nicolas de Villiers is the least known of the five punchcutters named here. We know next to nothing of his type designs, except for the information that can be collected from the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 20–5). This source credits to him no less than twelve sets of matrices or punches, i.e. about the same quantity as that ascribed to Garamont, Haultin or the elder Le Bé, though less than the twenty nine of Granjon. Three Romans, three Italics, three Greeks, two musics and a set of fleurons are attributed to Villiers. None of them has been recognized up to now.

He may, however, be identifiable to Nicolas II de Villiers (Mazerolle, 1902, 1: clxvi). He is reported as silversmith, printer and letter-cutter and was the son-in-law of the printer Pierre Vidoue (Grefe-Brouselle, 1997, 491). Married in 1553, he went into partnership with Thomas Richard a few years later (Parent, 1974, 73, n.1; 188, n.3), the Paris printer in whose imprints the English-sized Greek (22) first has been seen.

Le Bé (Morison, 1957, 23) and P.-S. Fournier (1765, 6) ascribe to Villiers a music type, probably the graceful 'moienne musique' used by Nicolas Du Chemin in 1561 for the motets of Pierre Colin (Lesure-Thibault, 1953, 331–2, no. 76). He is also named as punchcutter on the title-page of the 1767 Greek specimen of J.-F. Fournier (Paris, Bib. nation. ms. NAF 22434, f. 224–32; Howe, 1951, 32), which, however, does not attribute any specific typeface to him. His relation, if any, to the bookseller Thomas de Villiers (who was married to a Claude Granjon; Renouard, 1965, 116) or Granjon (to whom Pierre de Villiers, Claude's son, was apprenticed; Coyecque, 1905, 2: no. 6148) remains to be investigated.

Michel Du Boys is one of the lesser-known contemporaries of Garamont. In 1538 he arrived from Paris in Geneva, where he acted as Calvin's printer (Dufour, 1878, 94–103; Peter, 1978). In the 1540s he went to Venice and Lyons, returning in 1557 to Geneva where he died in 1561 (Bremme, 1969, 151; Guillo, 1992, 116–20). Le Bé's scrapbooks credit him with the engraving of a Hebrew type for the Venetian printer, Marco-Antonio Justiniani (Omont, 1887, 263). It has been hypothesized that he may have engraved some of the 1539 Hebrew typefaces of Estienne as well as some close copies of Constantin's Romans (Vervliet, 2004, 161). His Lyons typefaces, mainly used by Frellon (Baudrier, 5: 224–61) and Bonhomme, are also conjectural (Vervliet, 2008).

Conspectus of Types

The descriptions that follow are arranged by body size (with the titlings at the end) within each of five chapters, viz.

Greek types by Claude Garamont (1–6)

1. Garamont's Royal Pica Greek [Gk 80] or *Cicéro* (1546)
2. Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543)
3. Garamont's Royal Two-line Pica Greek [Gk 150] or *Palestine* (1550)
4. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1545)
5. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Great Primer [Gk 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1569)
6. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Double Pica [Gk 14.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon* (1572)

Greek types by Guillaume I Le Bé (7–8)

7. Le Bé's Great Primer Greek [Gk 114] or *Gros-romain* (1548)
8. Le Bé's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 3.9] or *Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte* (1548)

Greek types by Pierre Haultin (9–12)

9. Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553)
10. Haultin's Small Pica Greek [Gk 76] or *Philosophie* (1549)
11. Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560)
12. Haultin's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier or *Lettres de Deux Points de Petit-texte* [Gk 4] (1553)

Greek types by Robert Granjon (13–21)

13. Granjon's so-called 'Nonpareil' for Rouille, *i.e.* Long Primer Greek [Gk 67] or *Petit-romain* (1548)
14. Granjon's Nonpareil Greek [Gk 40] for Plantin (1566/74)
15. Granjon's Long Primer Greek [Gk 66] or *Petit-romain* (1560)
16. Granjon's First Pica Greek [Gk 82] or *Cicéro* (1556)
- 16a. Granjon's Second Pica Greek [Gk 84] or *Cicéro* (c.1574)
17. Granjon's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or *Saint-augustin* (1561)
18. Granjon's Paragon Greek [Gk 135] or *Petit-parangon* (1565)
19. Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Greek [Gk 240] or *Trismégiste* (1564)
20. Granjon's Greek Titling on Two-line Small Pica [Gk 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1565)
21. A Greek Titling on Two-line Pica [Gk 6.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro*, perhaps by Granjon (1666)

Greek types possibly by Nicolas II de Villiers or Michel Du Boys (22–23)

22. An English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* possibly by Villiers (1556)
23. A Great Primer Greek [Gk 116] or *Gros-romain* possibly by Villiers or Du Boys (1554)

Two tables conclude this article: the first displays the typefaces studied here by size; the second by date of first appearance.

1. Garamont's Royal Pica Greek [Gk 80] or *Cicéro* (1546)

This second Grec du Roy type is implicitly ascribed to Garamont in the well known 'O mirificam' introduction to the 1546 Greek New Testament. Therein Robert Estienne praises the generosity of Francis I for ordering the cutting of this small sized Greek. The paragraph (f. a2.) runs as follows:

'O mirificam Regis nostri optimi & praestantissimi principis liberalitatem. Minutiores etiam characteres Graecos, quia desiderari senserat ad libros quavis magnos in angustum spatium contrahendos, exculpi uoluit, prioribus illis, licet omnium pulcherrimis, elegantia pares...'

What a wonderful liberality of our very good king and excellent prince. He ordered smaller Greek types to be cut (of the same elegance as the previous ones, though these surpass all others in beauty) as he felt that these were lacking in order to compress large books in a small space.

Its capitals are all but indistinguishable from the common sorts of Garamont's Pica Aldine Italic, appearing in Parisian printing also from 1545 onwards (Vervliet, 2005a, no. 22).

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 80 x 1.2 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 6 November 1546, Paris, Robert Estienne (*Novum testamentum [Graece]*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, F 3909; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 542, no. 3686; I have not seen the earlier issue of 4 October 1546; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, no. 3685).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1551, Ch. Estienne; 1552, A. Turnebus; 1554, H. II Estienne; G. Morel; 1561, M. Fezandat; 1565, Robert

II Estienne; 1567, J. Bienné; 1583, F. Morel; 1572, A. Wechel; 1583, D. Du Val; 1584, F. II Morel; 1586, E. Prevosteau; 1590, S. Nivelles; Geneva: 1551, R. Estienne; 1557, C. Badius, H. II Estienne; Lyons: 1572, A. Gryphius; Frankfurt: 1577, A. Wechel; 1583, Heirs of Wechel.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen inc. Basilikè*], f. 2 'Cicero [grec]' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 2; Mosley, 2002, 81, no. 1); 1691, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire des poinçons et matrices*, 'Cicéro' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 2511; Mosley, 2002, 94, no. S3); 1787, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire de la typographie grecque*, 'Petit Grec dit Cicéro' (Mosley, 2002, 94, no. S5); 1819, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Specimen des caractères; Ire partie: ancienne typographie*, 'Grec de Petit romain', 'Grec de Cicéro' (Lyons, Musée de l'imprimerie, inv. 756; Mosley, 2002, 92, no. 16).

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Paris, Imprimerie nationale (boite 46).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with flagged top; narrow E; duplicate capitals Π and Ω; smallish β.

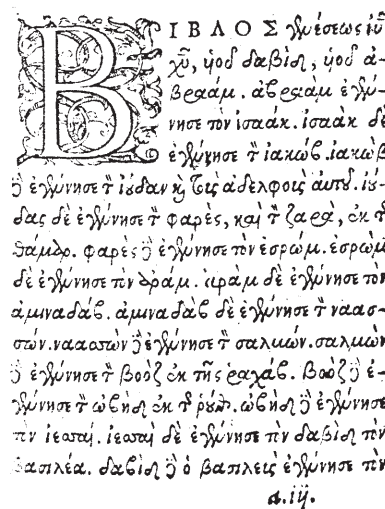
VARIANT LETTERS Capital A with pointed top (possibly an odd sort); a thrice-twisted ξ appears next to the doubly twisted one in Estienne's 1554 *Alphabetum Graecum*.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Lettre de Garamond ... de son autre grec qui est au corps de l'italique et du cicero (Contract of Henry II Estienne with the type-caster Gaspar Dehus, dated 26 August 1569 [Geneva, State Archives, not. Aimé Santeur, 6: 104v-105]).

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 102; Armstrong, 1986, 52.

FIGURE 1a Garamont's Royal Pica [Gk 80] or *Cicéro* (1546) as it appears in *Novum Testamentum [Graece]*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1546, f. a3. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 1b (opposite) Garamont's Royal Pica [Gk 80] or *Cicéro* (1546) as it appears in *Alphabetum Graecum*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1550, f. C2v-3. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.



2. Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543)

A Great Primer or *Gros-romain* was the first of the Grecs du Roy to appear. It occurs first in Estienne's 1543 *Alphabetum Graecum* and thereafter in the much acclaimed Eusebius of 1544. The type, one guesses, was ready by the end of 1542 as it was advertised by Robert Estienne at the end of his postscript, honouring Francis I that was annexed to his edition of Cicero's *Tusculanae* of mid November 1542: 'novas et accuratissime imitatas litterarum formas per artifices praestantissimos exculpi iussit [Franciscus Primus]¹⁰ (Maittaire, 1719, 2: 461; Armstrong, 1986, 125, n.3).

This typeface was regularly used by the Estiennes, both in Paris from 1543 onwards and later in Geneva. After Robert's flight to Geneva in 1551, the type was used in Paris by the subsequent Royal Printers for the Greek, Turnebus, the Morels, Bienné, all used them, as well as, though more rarely, by some other Paris printers, for example M. Fezandat in 1561 and A. Wechel from 1566 onwards. Outside France, it was used in Geneva, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Eton, Oxford, London. Some of the Frankfurt and Heidelberg imprints may have been printed in Geneva (Schreiber, 1982, 233; Reverdin, 1997, 367).

Proctor, Scholderer, and Schreiber mistake the rather crude Greek capitals which appear in François Estienne's 1543 printing for those of the new Grec du Roy (Proctor, 1905, 100; Scholderer, 1927, 10, fig. 28; Schreiber, 1982, 108, no. 122). In fact François Estienne borrowed them from the 1507 Gourmont Greek (Vervliet, 2002, no. 1). An opposite error, I am afraid, crept into Proctor's account (1905, 115) of the so-called Silver type, used by the British Royal printer John Norton for Eton's 1610 Chrysostomus: Proctor and most commentators consider the Eton type as a close imitation of the Royal Great Primer Greek, not as the real thing (Scholderer, 1927, 11, fig. 34; Updike, 2: 95; Reed, 1952, 128–33; Barker, 1978, 10, no. 25). Proctor found it similar to the types used in the 1604 Frankfort edition of Demosthenes by Wechel's heirs, for which, he says, the Grec du Roy were not used, but a copy, described below in (22). However, an examination both of the 1604 Demosthenes and the 1610 Eton Chrysostomus reveals that both use the Royal Great Primer Greek. The εἰ liga-

ture which puzzled Proctor is wholly standard; its conspicuous circular ligatures for οἰ or τοῦ occur in the printing of Turnebus and Henry II Estienne. The acquaintance of John Norton with Paul Estienne may be the trail to follow up. Paul was the son of Henry II and the last of the family to print in Geneva (Reed, 1952, 129, n.3; Reverdin, 1980, 1: 233–4; Schreiber, 1982, 248). Probably the confusion was induced by Buck's Greek (Cambridge, 1632) that indeed is a different type (dated 1556 and ascribed below (22) to Nicolas II de Villiers.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 118 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1543, **Paris**, R. I Estienne (*Alphabetum Graecum*; Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale, 313818:h; Mosley, 2002, 93, no. 51).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Paris**: 1548, C. Badius; 1551, Ch. Estienne; 1552, A. Turnebus; 1554, H. II Estienne; G. Morel; 1561, R. II Estienne, M. Fezandat; 1566, J. Bienné, A. Wechel; 1583, D. Du Val, F. Morel; 1584, F. II Morel; 1590, J. II Du Puys, S. Nivelles; 1600, J. Mettayer; **Geneva**: 1551, J. Crespin; 1554, R. Estienne; 1557, H. II Estienne; **Frankfurt**: 1577, A. Wechel; 1583, Heirs of A. Wechel; **Heidelberg**: 1590, H. Commelinus; **Eton**: 1610, J. Norton; **Oxford**: 1624, L. Lichfield & J. Short; **London**: 1636, Typographia Regia.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen inc. Basilikè*], f. 2, 'Gros Romain [grec]' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 2; Mosley, 2002, 81, no. 1); 1691, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire des poinçons et matrices*, 'Gros Romain' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 2511; Mosley, 2002, 94, no. 53); 1787, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire de la typographie grecque*, 'Moyen Grec dit Gros Romain' (Mosley, 2002, 94, no. 55); 1819, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Specimen des caractères; ire partie: ancienne typographie*, 'Grec de Saint-augustin', 'Grec de Gros romain' (Lyons, Musée de l'imprimerie, inv. 756; Mosley, 2002, 92, no. 16).

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Paris, Imprimerie nationale (boite 47).

KEY LETTERS Capital M without right-hand top serif; duplicate capitals Π and Ψ; smallish lower case γ.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Lettre de Garamond... du grec qui est au corps du gros texte (Contract of Henry II Estienne with the type-caster Gaspar Dehus, dated 26 August 1569 [Geneva, State Archives, not. Aimé Santeur, 6: 104v–105]).

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 100; Scholderer, 1927, 10; Schreiber, 1982, 76, no. 77; Armstrong, 1986, 126; Maillard, 1999, 1425.

FIGURE 2a (opposite, above) Garamont's Royal Great Primer [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543) as it appears in Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae historiae lib. x*, Paris, Robert I Estienne, 1544, p. 118. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp. See also fig. 23c–d.

FIGURE 2b (opposite, below) A partial exhibit of the sorts of Garamont's Royal Great Primer [Gk 118] or *Gros-romain* (1543) preserved in the Imprimerie nationale, Paris, as shown in Bernard, 1856, 50.

10. ... he ordered to have cut new and very accurately imitated letter-forms by the leading craftsmen (translation Armstrong, 1986, 125–6).

3. Garamont's Royal Two-line Pica Greek [Gk 150] or *Palestine* (1550)

The third and biggest size of the *Grec du Roy* is a Double Pica or Gros-parangon, appearing first in Robert Estienne's 1550 'Royal' Greek New Testament in folio format. The two smaller sizes are used there for the critical apparatus and commentaries. This New Testament was as badly received by the Sorbonne as Estienne's previous editions of the Scriptures and was the direct cause of Estienne's flight to Geneva (Armstrong, 1986, 206). A nearly complete conspectus of all three *Grecs du Roy* is shown in the *Alphabetum Graecum* published by Estienne in the same year, 1550 (Renouard, 1843, 76–7, no. 4).

The type was used in Paris, Geneva, and Frankfurt by the same printers that used the Royal Great Primer. With the Royal Great Primer and Pica it occurs in the 1643 type-specimen of the Imprimerie royale and subsequent specimens of that institution.

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Palestine*); 20 150 x 2.5 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 15 May 1550, Paris, Robert I Estienne (*Novum ... Testamentum [Graece]*; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, A 513/3; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, 543, no. 3690).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1551, Ch. Estienne; 1552, A. Turnebus; 1554, H. II Estienne; 1560, G. Morel; 1566, A. Wechel; 1570, J. Bienné; 1583, F. Morel; 1584, F. II Morel; Geneva: 1554, R. I Estienne; 1557, H. II Estienne; Frankfurt: 1583, Heirs of A. Wechel.

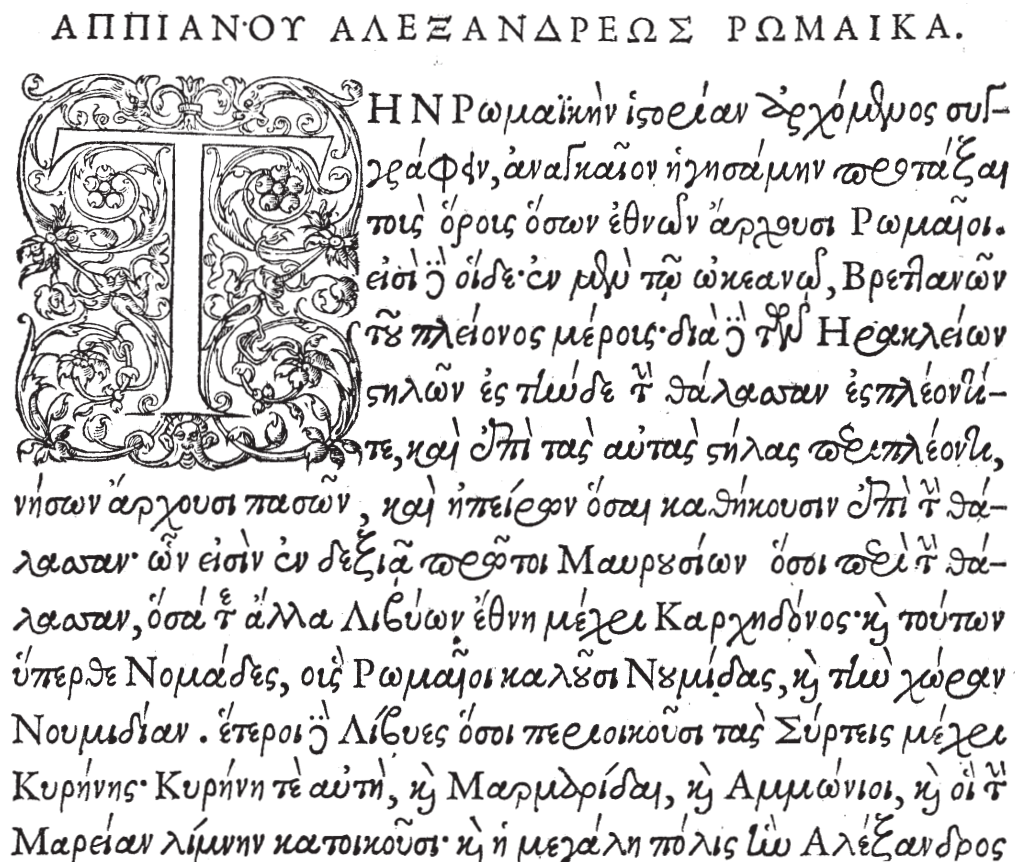
TYPE-SPECIMENS 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen inc. Basilikè*], f. 2 'Gros parangon [grec]' (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 2; Mosley, 2002, 81, no. 1); 1691, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire des poinçons et matrices*, 'Gros Parangon' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 2511; Mosley, 2002, 94, no. S3); 1787, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Inventaire de la typographie grecque*, 'Gros Grec dit Petit Parangon' (Mosley, 2002, 94, no. S5); 1819, Imprimerie royale, Paris, *Specimen des caractères; 1re partie: ancienne typographie*, 'Grec de Petit parangon' (Lyon, Musée de l'imprimerie, inv. 756; Mosley, 2002, 92, no. 16).

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Paris, Imprimerie nationale (boîtes 48–9).

KEY LETTERS Duplicate capitals Π.

FIGURE 3a Garamont's Royal Double Pica [Gk 150] or *Gros-parangon* (1550) as it appears in Appianus, *Romanae historiae*, Paris, Charles I Estienne, 1551, f. A2. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 3b (opposite) A partial exhibit of the sorts of Garamont's Royal Double Pica [Gk 150] or *Gros-Parangon* (1550) preserved in the Imprimerie nationale, Paris, as shown in Bernard, 1856, 52. For a more complete exhibit of the abbreviations, see Taurant-Boulcaut, 1999, 176–81.



4. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1545)

Garamont seems also to have cut three (or four, if an unused one is included; Vervliet, 2008, no. 358) Greek titlings. The first, on Two-line Long Primer, occurs first at Paris in Bogard's 1545 Sophocles edition. Later uses can be seen in the books of Le Jeune, Prevost, A. Wechel, De Marnef and Cavellat. In Frankfurt the Wechels had it as also did Henry II Estienne in Geneva, and Norton in Eton. Like the previous typefaces of Garamont, it is shown in the 1643 Specimen of the Imprimerie royale (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 1). These capitals may be attributed to Garamont on the basis of their style and distribution. They are a companion face to a Roman titling of the same size, commonly occurring in 1545 in Garamont's own publications and many later Parisian imprints.

SIZE Two-line Long Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain*); : 5.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1545, Paris, J. Bogard (Sophocles, *Tragoediae septem*; Bern, University Library, Bong. vi-122; Renouard, 1964, 5: 204-5, no. 219).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1546, J. Barbé; 1547, Ch. Guillard; 1557, M. Le Jeune; 1559, B. Prevost; 1560, A. Wechel; 1570, J. Bienné; 1580, J. de Marnef & G. Cavellat; 1583, F. II Morel;

Geneva: 1566, H. II Estienne; 1580, J. des Planches; Frankfurt: 1583, Heirs of A. Wechel; Eton: 1610, J. Norton.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen*], f. 1 'Lettres de deux points de petit Romain [grec]' (except capital T; Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 1); 1665, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *ÆABC* ..., [face 7] (Mori, 1955, 6); 1707, P. Cot, Paris, *Essais de caracteres*, [f. 5] 'Lettres de 2. Lignes aux Corps de Cicero & Petit Romain' (McMurtrie, 1924); ante 1714, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Griexe Capitalen [3]' (except Ω; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Fol. var. 9: 110; Hellinga, 1962, pl. 160; Enschedé, 1978, 441, no. 41); p.1728, Voskens & Clerk, Amsterdam, *Epreuve de caracteres*, 'Griexe Capitalen [3]' (except Ω; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8: 2, f. 65 [90]); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. C4v 'Lettres de deux Points Grecques de Petit Romain' (Johnson, 1965); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. C4v 'Lettres de deux Points Grecques de Petit Romain' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'N.VIII Drieerlei Soorten Grieksche Capitalen [3]' (except Ω; Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); 1785, A.G. Mappa, Delft, *Epreuves de caracteres orientales*, 'Grec, Capitales. N: 1' (except Ω; McMurtrie, 1924a, 62).

KEY LETTERS Pointed capitals A and Λ; arrowed arms of capital Ψ; duplicate forms of Ω (round/voluted).

VARIANT LETTERS Capital A with concave top terminal.

LITERATURE Dreyfus, 1963, 15, s.v. 'Dubbelde Garmond'.

FIGURE 4 Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain* (1545) as it appears in C. Lamesle, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. C4v. Courtesy of the Ecole Estienne, Paris.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ
Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο
Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ
Υ Ω Ω

5. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Great Primer [Gk 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (1569)

A larger titling, a Two-line Double Pica, must be one of the latest types Garamont cut. It has not been noticed in use before 1569 at Plantin's press. It was also used in Frankfurt by the Wechels, in Paris by Fred. II Morel and the Imprimerie royale, in Geneva by Henry II Estienne, in Eton by Norton. As the previous titling and the three Grecs du Roy it is shown (except for a wrong M) in the 1643 type-specimen of the Imprimerie royale (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 1).

Matrices for this titling are preserved at the Plantin-Moretus Museum (Early inv., 1960, 21, MA 2-3a); they are included in its set of Garamont's last Gros Canon.

The Roman titling starts to appear in Paris imprints from the 1550s onwards, at Vascosan's press and others. Neither the Plantin inventories nor the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 18; 23) name the Greek punches and matrices explicitly; I assume they were included in Plantin's and Le Bé's set of Garamont's 'Gros Canon romain'.

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain*); : 9.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1569, Antwerp, C. Plantin (*Biblia sacra*, vol. 2, f. A1; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 652; Voet, 1980, 1: 283, no. 644¹¹).

EARLY APPEARANCES Geneva: 1570, H. II Estienne; 1597, H. Commelin; Frankfurt: 1583, Heirs of A. Wechel; 1597, H. Commelin; Paris: 1584, F. II Morel; 1619, Imprimerie royale; Eton: 1610, J. Norton.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1643, Imprimerie royale, Paris, [*Spécimen*], f. 1 'Lettres de deux points de Gros Romain [grec]'; divergent capi-

tal M (Veyrin-Forrer & Jammes, 1958, 1); 1707, P. Cot, Paris, *Essais de caracteres*, [f. 5] 'Lettres de deux Lignes aux Corps de Parangon & de Gros Romain' (McMurtrie, 1924).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 2–3a (Early inv., 1960, 21).

KEY LETTERS X without inner serifs; duplicate forms of Ω (one voluted).



FIGURE 5 Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Great Primer [Gk 9.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain* (a.1562) as cast from matrices preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 2–3a). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

6. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Double Pica [Gk 14.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon* (1572)

Among the 34 punches of 'Grosses capitales' finished in Garamont's hand and preserved in the Plantin collection, eleven are for a companion Greek which first appear in Plantin's *Biblia regia* of 1567–72. In the Plantin inventories the capitals are recorded as left unfinished by Garamont (Early inv., 1960, 18). Probably Plantin bought them at the 1561 Garamont executors' sale, along with other Garamont punches and matrices. They were completed, refashioned (see the substandard capital R) and struck into matrices by Jacob Sabon, the Lyons typefounder (who later settled down in Frankfurt, marrying Judith Egenolff) and Henry van den Keere, Plantin's regular typefounder from 1568 onwards, who refurbished the Greek capitals. The Roman capitals – or a very close copy of them – regularly occur in the Berner and subsequent German type-specimens from 1592 onwards. The Greek capitals shown in the 1665 Luther specimen (Mori, 1955, 6) certainly are inferior copies. Up to now I have seen the Greek capitals of Garamont used only at the Plantin and Wechel presses.

SIZE Two-line Double Pica (*Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon*); : 14.3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1572, Antwerp, C. Plantin (*Biblia sacra*, vol. 5, f. †1; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 65⁵; Voet, 1980, 1: 286–7, no. 644^V).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Frankfurt**: 1598, Heirs of A. Wechel;

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, ST 3, MA 9, MA 78 (Early inv., 1960, 18, 44–5).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Poinçons fort grosses capit. commencees Garamont nombre 35 (Plantin, 1563); Grosses capitales commencees par Garamont et achevees par Jaques [Sabon] (Plantin, 1566); Poinçons des grosses Capitales Romaines extraordinaires de la taille de Claude Garramont (Plantin, 1572); Poinçons des Grosses Capitales extraordinaires de Garram[ont] (Plantin, 1581); Capitales extraordinaires de Garamond de 3 lignes de laugustine (Plantin, 1581); Grosses Capitales estraordinaire de Garamond, Capitales Grecques premier de Garamond (Plantin, 1588); capitales de Garamond extraord. et de H. du Tour (Plantin, 1590).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 18 (ST 3); 44–5 (MA 78); Dreyfus, 1963, 4; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 2, no. 1.

FIGURE 6 Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Double Pica [Gk 14.5] or *Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon* (1572) as photographed by Mike Parker from punches (ST 3) in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. The punch of the second Ω is broken.



7. Le Bé's Great Primer Greek [Gk 114] or *Gros-romain* (1548)

Le Bé's scrapbooks contain two Greeks: a 'Grec ecclésiastique' and a titling. The first is an upright Great Primer or *Gros-romain* (114 mm) which Le Bé says he cut in 1548 for Zanetti in Venice 'pour imprimer des alphabetz, petites heures qu'il nomme Horologi et aultres fatras et histoyres en grec vulgaire pour apprendre les enfans a lyre'¹¹ (Omont, 1887, 282). It is the only Greek text type studied here which does not follow the Vergikios-Garamont design; instead, like the 1542 Cervini Greek, it rather copies the formal Byzantine minuscule of the twelfth-fourteenth centuries (Barbour, 1981, xix; Irigoien, 1992, 22), including its ornate Byzantine capitals. Layton (1994, 33) records the first appearance of Le Bé's typeface in a Spinelli edition of 1548 and credits Spinelli with the type, but the contribution of the Venetian coin engraver rather may have been limited to another cursive Greek, which appears in his 1552 Aelianus and 1555 Callimachus editions together with newly cut Romans and Italics.

More research is needed here, as well as on an English-Bodied Greek, which Spinelli used (Layton, 1994, 477) and which is very similar to Le Bé's Great Primer. I have seen neither type used outside Italy.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 114 x 2.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1548, Venice, Barth. Giannini for Andrea Spinelli ([*Menaion*]; Legrand, 1885, I: 276–81, no. 121; after Layton, 1994, 476).

EARLY APPEARANCES Uses by C. Zanetti, G.B. Tauroceni, G. Aliprandi, A. Pinelli, D. de Poloni are mentioned by Layton, 1994, 33.

TYPE-SPECIMEN *post* 1543, G. Le Bé, Paris, *Espreuves des lettres*, 'Espreuue dun Grec Ecclesiastique' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 4528, f. 18–18v).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION *Espreuue dun Grec Ecclesiastique taille a Venise en lan 1548 pour Christoffe Zanetti* (Le Bé, c.1591).

LITERATURE Omont, 1887, 282; Howe, 1938, 3, n.4; Layton, 1994, 33.

FIGURE 7 Le Bé's Great Primer Greek [Gk 114] or *Gros-romain* (1548) as it appears in Le Bé's scrapbook, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 4528, f. 18v. Reproduced from Omont, 1887, pl. 3.

πάτερ ἡμῶν ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀγα-
θήτω τό ὄνομά σου ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία
σου γένηθήτω· τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐ-
ρανῷ ἔστω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς καὶ ἡμῶν ὁ
ἐπίσκοπος δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἀφες
ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡ-
μεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν
καὶ μὴ εἰσενεγκῆς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·
ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαις ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πονηροῦ ἔ-
στω αὐτῷ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ
κόλιας χαίρει ῥεχαίτη ζωὴ τῷ πύπρ
ἀλλάστω ἐξ ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμῶν ὁ
ἐπίσκοπος δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἀφες
ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡ-
μεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν
καὶ μὴ εἰσενεγκῆς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·
ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαις ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς πονηροῦ ἔ-
στω αὐτῷ ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ
κόλιας χαίρει ῥεχαίτη ζωὴ τῷ πύπρ

11. ... for printing alphabets, small Hours, which he calls Horologi and other trifles and stories in vulgar Greek to teach children reading.

8. Le Bé's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 3.9] or *Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte* (1548)

A second typeface mentioned in Le Bé's scrapbook is a titling on Two-line Brevier (3.9 mm), a companion Greek to a set of Roman capitals, cut in the same year 1548 also for Zanetti (Omont, 1887, 282). Punches for them are mentioned in the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 25). The Roman became quite popular in Italy and Germany; the Greek titling was used infrequently.

The Le Bé titling must not be confused with an older bold titling of the same size which at the end of the 1520s originated somewhere between Cologne and Basle and was popular in the German-speaking countries and Lyons, nor with the Lyons titling appearing in the 1550s in Lyons and probably cut by Granjon (Vervliet, 1998, no. 6).

SIZE Two-line Brevier (*Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte*); : 3.9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1561, **Venice**, C. Zanetti (Damaskenos Stoudites, *Biblion*; after Layton, 1994, 157, no. 106).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Frankfurt**: 1585, J. Spiess; **Heidelberg**: 1591, H. Commelinus; **Venice**: 1591, P. Zanetti.

TYPE-SPECIMENS *post* 1543, G. Le Bé, Paris, *Epreuves des lettres*, 'petites cappitales latines et grecques' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 4528, f. 19); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, 1628, f. 67 (except Ψ; Vervliet, 1967, 37, no. 67b).

KEY LETTERS Capital M without right hand top serif; Π with short right stem; bowed arms of Υ.

VARIANT LETTERS Capital M with two upper serifs.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS an 1548 *taille ces petites cappitales latines et grecques pour moy et pour luy* [C. Zanetti] servir (Le Bé, c.1591); *Lettres deux points de petit Texte venise mon pere* (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Omont, 1887, 282, no. 2; Audin, 1934, 2, pl. 1; Vervliet, 1967, 37, no. 67b.

FIGURE 8 Le Bé's Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 3.9] or *Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte* (1548) as shown in Le Bé's scrapbook, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 4528, f. 19. Reproduced from Omont, 1887, pl. 3.

ET ADORABVNT IN CONSPICE
CTVEIVSVNIVERSEFAMILIJE
GENTIVM QIA DIX ABCDEF
GHIKLMNOPQRSTVXYZ
Γ Δ Θ Ϝ Σ Ξ Φ Ψ Ω

9. Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553)

In 1553 Jean Crespin, a regular customer of Haultin, issued a Greek Gospel (Gilmont, 1981, 35–6, no. 53³); its introduction calls attention to the new format (a small octavo) and its enhanced portability. It exhibits two Greek body sizes: the main text is set in Haultin's Small Pica, described below in (10); the marginal notes are set in a Brevier. It is a new type entirely in Haultin's style. With new, slightly smaller capitals Crespin used this smaller size as the main text type of his 1560 and 1567 Homer editions. It differs from the Brevier Greek which Henri II Estienne uses in his Aristotle & Theophrastus edition of 1557, but is identical to Estienne's later Brevier Greek used, for instance, in his 1566 Pindar or 1569 edition of the Greek comics.

In the Plantin inventories a set of matrices (probably MA 59–60) is attributed explicitly to Garamont. Thus the 1566 inventory mentions a 'Lectre grecque iustifiee par Garamont sur le Breviaire' (Early inv., 1960, 29) and this attribution is repeated in the later inventories. Plantin's Ghent typefounder Hendrik van den Keere quotes a 'Grec de Garra[mont]' in his 1574 casting bills (Plant. Arch. 42, f. 1v–2; 153, f. 155).

Stylistically however this Greek is wholly in Haultin's manner. We suppose Plantin was mistaken or (less likely) that he referred to a set not cut but merely justified by Garamont. Moreover the Plantin inventories record two other small-sized Greeks; one, a Minion (described as a Brevier), was attributed to Haultin in Early inv., 1960, 23 (MA 140–141); apparently it was shown in the 1567 specimen of Plantin, f. B1 under the heading 'Eurip.'; the other, a Brevier, is shown in the c.1585 Folio Specimen; it seems to match the sets of matrices MA 59–60 and 104a. But for a firm attribution of these sets a thorough study of the small-sized Greek types, especially these appearing in Paris in the 1560s, remains a necessity. The c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 22 and 25) mentions small-sized Greeks by Granjon, Villiers, Picard and Haultin. Apart from their capitals, they are not easily distinguishable.

SIZE Brevier (*Petit-texte*); 20 54 x 1 : 1.5/1.6 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1553, **Geneva**, J. Crespin (*Kainè diathèkè*; Ghent, University Library, Theol. 3219; Gilmont, 1981, 35–6, no. 53³).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Geneva**: 1566, H. II Estienne; **Antwerp**: 1567, W. Silvius; 1571, C. Plantin; **Frankfurt**: 1572, A. Wechel; **London**: 1581, H. Bynneman; 1598, A. Hatfield; **Oxford**: 1586, J. Barnes; **London**: 1592, Regius Typographus.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen* 'Bible Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 66); 1666, J. Janssonius,

Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. B1 'Brevier Griex' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall 148); 1670, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen*, 'Petit Graecum' (Mori, 1955, pl. 8); 1682, J.D. Fievet, *Iehova*, Frankfurt, 'Petit Graecum' (Mori, 1955, pl. 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, f. B 3 'Galjard Grieks' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Brevier Griecx' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 9; 13; wrongly attributed to Garamont); c.1714, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Brevier Griecx', (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Fol. Var. ix, 110); post 1728, Voskens en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Epreuve de caracteres*, 'Brevier Griecx', (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:2, f. 65 [90]); post 1728, Voskens en Clerk, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, Amsterdam, 'Brevier Griecx', (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8:4, f. 87 [63]); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Grec Petit Texte de Gran: No 20' (Mori, 1955, pl. 14); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Griex' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13; 18; there attributed to Garamont); 1764, P.-S. Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, t. 2, 163 'Grecs de Petit-texte'; except capitals (Fournier, 1995, 2: 163); c.1767, J.-F. Fournier, Paris, *Caracteres grecs*, 'Grec de Petit Texte' (Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. NAF 22434, f. 228); 1768, J. Enschedé, Haarlem, *Proef van Letteren*, f. o 2 'Brevier Grieksch no. 2' (Lane, 1993, 70); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 99 'Grec de Petit-texte' (Carter, 1969a, 73–4; attributed to Jean Picard le Jeune); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Brevier Grieks' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102; 1782, J. James, London, *Catalogue and specimen*, f. 13 'Brevier' (Mores, 1961, 110, no. 45); 1785, A.G. Mappa, Delft, *Epreuves de caracteres orientales*, 'Grec, Gaillarde. N: 9' (McMurtrie, 1924a, 62); 1812, Binny & Ronaldson, Philadelphia, *Specimen of printing types*, 'Brevier Greek' (Philadelphia, Library Company, Am 1812Bin/Tq40 B516[HSP]); 1822, J. Ronaldson, Philadelphia, *Specimen of printing type*, 'Brevier Greek' (Philadelphia, Library Company, Am 1822Ron/54151.O).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 59–60, 104a (Early inv., 1960, 29; attributed to Garamont); Haarlem, Museum Enschedé, Greek 584 (Enschedé, 1978, 107); and (after Lane, 1996, 112–13) Sheffield, Stephenson Blake.

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, small N, doubly-bracketed serifs of T; duplicate lower case φ.

VARIANT LETTERS From about 1560 on slightly smaller capitals (1.5 mm) succeed to the earlier capitals (1.6 mm).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [Breuiare] Grec de Hautin (Plantin, 1563); Lectre grecque grandeur de Breviaire Hotin (Plantin, 1563); [Byble] Grecq de Pierre Haultin (Plantin, 1581); Grec de petit Texte hautin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 29 (MA 59–60), 23 (MA 140–141), 17 (LMA 1); Mores, 1961, 110, n.45; Carter, 1969a, 73–4; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 15; 10, no. 66; Enschedé, 1978, 107, n.5; Lane, 1996, 112–13.

FIGURE 9a (opposite, above) Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553) as it appears in *Novvm ... testamentum* [Graece], Geneva, J. Crespin, 1553, p. 6. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 9b (opposite, below) Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or *Petit-texte* (1553) as shown in Enschedé, 1978, p. 107. Courtesy of the Museum Enschedé, Haarlem.

10. Haultin's Small Pica Greek [Gk 76]
or *Philosophie* (1549)

In the second book published in 1549 by the associates Haultin, Prévost, and the Widow Arn. Birckmann, the Dioscorides (Renouard, 1964, 4: 61–2, no. 88), the preface of the 'Typographus' to the reader (f. a2r) was probably written by the punchcutter P. Haultin, not by the printer B. Prévost. He claims that the types he had cut ('literarum formae quas exculpsi') were well received and first used in the Scriptures, i.e. the Greek New Testament alongside. In his 1643 Memorandum, Guillaume II Le Bé relates that Haultin worked for a long time on its punches, starting on them in 1530 – an improbably early date (Carter, 1967, 31).

This attribution is confirmed by the Plantin inventories (Early inv., 1960, 13, MA 142–143) and a passage in a letter of C. Plantin, dated 7 July 1567, to his Paris friend and associate, Pierre Porret. Apart from the reference to Haultin it throws an interesting light on the ways matrices were commercialized in the mid-sixteenth century; it runs as follows:

'Dauantage ie vous prie aussi de macheter de Hautin vne frappe bien complete de son grec que nous appellons Cicero ou median qui est celuy dont iay imprimé la grammaire de Clénard in 8° et diuerses autres sortes. Or me seroit il besoing que ieusse le tout dedans la fin de ce mois de Juillet ou au commencement d'Aoust, ou au plus tard deuant la myAoust, dautant qu a la dernière foire de franckfort, ie me suis obligé d enuoyer ou de porter moymesmes audict franckfort vne frappe dudict grec de Hautin ce que toutefois il n est pas besoing de declarer audict Hautin de peur qu il ne se tint trop fier et cher (Plant. Arch. 7, 27v; Rooses-Denucé, 1883, 1: 119).

[Moreover I also beg you to buy from Hautin a very complete strike of his Greek which we call cicero of median, which is the one with which I have printed the grammar of Clénard in 8° and several other items. And I ought to have the whole before the end of the month of July or in the very beginning of August, or at latest before mid-August, because at the last Frankfurt Fair I have obliged myself to send or to bring myself to the said Frankfurt a strike of the said Greek of Hautin, which, however, is not to be told to the said Hautin for fear that he becomes too presumptuous and expensive.]

Despite the ascription of this typeface to Granjon in the 1592 Berner specimen, its style, dates of occurrence and distribution in Geneva and La Rochelle corroborate fully the attribution to Haultin by Plantin.

Technically the face is a Small Pica (72/76 mm), but it was usually cast on a Pica gauge and referred to in that way. In this size, it had to compete with the Garamont and Granjon Pica Greeks. Ostensibly it was modelled after the second Grec du Roy (a Pica or *Cicéro*) cut by Garamont and used by Robert Estienne from 1546 onwards (1). Haultin borrowed from the latter the example to inaugurate the new type with the publication of the Gospels. It was presumably this typeface that M. Ant. Muretus praised in a letter to Paolo Manuzio, dated 6 May 1558 (Muretus, 1580, 7).

Except for its capitals (which betray Haultin's hand) the lower case is hard to distinguish from Garamont's Pica Greek. They are so similar that Renouard (1843, 73, no. 1) and Proctor (1905, 107) were misled to think them identical. I found the long β and small φ the best letters for identifying Haultin's lower case, together with the non-descending iota in the αι-ligatures.

SIZE Small Pica (*Philosophie*); 20 76 x 1.5 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1549, Paris, P. Haultin & B. Prevost (*Novum testamentum Graece*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 27.27; Renouard, 1964, 4: 60–1, no. 87).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1549, Widow of A. Birckmann; 1557, G. Gourbin; 1558, M. Vascosan; 1561, G. Cavellat; Geneva: 1553, J. Crespin; 1594, Heirs of E. Vignon; Venice: 1557, P. Manuzio; 1570, A. II Manuzio; 1575, J. Varisco; Antwerp: 1562, C. Plantin; 1569, W. Silvius; Leipzig: 1563, E. Voegelin; 1572, A. Schneider; Strasbourg: 1572, T. Rihel; London: 1578, J. Day (more references in Proctor, 1905, 116); Oxford: 1586, J. Barnes; Naples: 1590, H. Salviani; La Rochelle: 1591, J. Haultin; Eton: 1610, J. Norton; Cambridge: 1619, C. Legge.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. B 1 'Menander apud Plut.' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 13); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 55 'Median Grecq' (Plant. arch. 43); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdruksel van alle de letteren*, 'Mediaen Griecx' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 15, nr. 18); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Philosophie Grecque'; 'Mediane Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9–10, nos. 42 and 51); 1592, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. Cicero de GranIon' (Mori, 1955, pl. 3; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2); 1608, H. Hornschuh, Leipzig, 'Ὁρθογραφία', p. 36 'Cicero Graecum' (Gaskell, 1972, 36); 1628, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. R2 'Grecologia' f. R4 'Grecologia Garamone' (Vervliet, 1967, 37, no. 66); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... druckerie*, f. A4v 'Mediaen Griex' (diverging sorts; Oxford, Bodl., Marshall 148); c.1686, Oxford University Press, Oxford [*Christ Church Specimen*], 'Pica Greek' (Morrison, 1967, pl. 10); 1693 [& 1695 & 1706], Oxford University Press, Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, f. 23, 'Pique Greek' (Hart, 1970, 179); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. 4v 'Grec de cicero Numero XXXVI' (mutilated; Johnson, 1965); c.1757, Oxford University Press, Oxford, *A Specimen of several sorts*, 'Pica Greek' (Simmons, 1956); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. 4v 'Grec de cicero Numero XXXVI' (mutilated; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); 1764, P.-S. Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, t. 2, p. 164 'Grecs de Petit-romain'; p. 166 'Grecs de Philosophie' (Fournier, 1995, 2: 164, 166); 1773, L. Delacolgne, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 101 'Grec de Philosophie'; f. 102 'Grec de Cicero' (Carter, 1969a, 74–5); 1782, J. James, London, *Catalogue and specimen*, f. 12 'Small Pica' (Mores, 1961, 110, no. 42).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 142–143; Early inv., 1960, 13).

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, broad N, doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; smallish φ; long lower case β and small φ.

VARIANT LETTERS Before 1553 Haultin added a doubly twisted ξ to the originally thrice twisted one and a broader φ.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [Mediane] grec de Hautin (Plantin, 1561); [Mediane] Grec de Hautin (Plantin, 1563); de Hautin une frappe de son grec cicero ou mediane (letter of Plantin to Porret, 1567); [Mediane] Grecq de Pierre Haultin (Plantin, 1581).

LITERATURE Proctor, 1905, 103; 107; Renouard, 1964, 4: 60–6; Early inv., 1960, 13 (MA 142–143); Mores, 1961, 110, no. 42; Dreyfus, 1963, 6; Morrison, 1967, 96, 106; Vervliet, 1967, 37, no. 66; Carter, 1969, 31; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 13; Layton, 1994, 41.

11. Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560)

The attribution of this Greek by Plantin to Haultin (Early inv., 1960, 10, MA 32–33) is confirmed by its use by Manuzio and Crespin, both known customers of Haultin and by the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 21). I failed to see it in Haultin's own imprints, but the style of its capitals are manifestly his. In his 1618 inventory, Le Bé lists three Greeks on English – by Haultin, Granjon, and Villiers. The lower cases of all three obviously are based on the Vergikios-Garamont design of the Grecs du Roy (1543) and they are hard to differentiate. Apart from their capitals, the best letters for identification are Haultin's ψ, which has a short right arm and his simple π, ending on a straight flat horizontal stroke.

The attribution to Haultin of Fell's Great Primer Greek no. 1 (Morison, 1967, 102–3) and Enschedé's *Augustyn Grieksch* no. 2 (Lane, 1993, 69–70) is disputable. As far as I know, the Fell type first occurs in 1556. It could have been cut by Villiers (22). Conversely, a Great Primer, appearing in 1590 at the press of F. Giuliani in Venice (Layton, 1994, 168, fig. 143) could be Haultin's.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 96 x 1.7 : 2.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1560, **Venice**, P. Manuzio (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thucydidis historia iudicium*; Amsterdam, University Library, O60-1405; Renouard, 1834, 181, no. 15); and 1560, **Venice**, A. Rartouros (A. Rartouros, *Didachai*; after Layton, 1994, 165, fig. 141a).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Antwerp**: 1562, C. Plantin; 1568, W. Silvius; **Geneva**: 1562, J. Crespín; 1580, J. des Planches; **Venice**: 1562, C. Zanetti; 1573, F. de Franceschi; 1590, F. Giuliani (more references in Layton, 1994, 54, n.138); **Bordeaux**: 1576, S. Millanges;

Zurich: 1579, Chr. II Froschauer; **Lyons**: 1581, A. Gryphius; **Rome**: 1581, F. Zanetti; 1591, Stampa Vaticana; **Franker**: 1588, G. van den Rade.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. B 1 'Qualis hominum vita' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 12); 1582, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdruksel van alle de letteren*, 'Augustijn Griekx' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 15, no. 17); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen* 'Augustine Grecque'; 'Petite Augustine Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, nos. 29, 35); c.1740, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, *A specimen of the letters*, 'English Greek much used' (McKitterick, 1984, 91, no. 74); c.1767, J.-F. Fournier, Paris, *Caracteres grecs*, 'Grec de Saint Augustin' and the lower case of 'Grec de Gros Texte' (Paris, Bib. nation., ms. NAF 22434); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 103 'Grec de St. Augustin' (Carter, 1969a, 75); c.1790, B. Franklin Bache, Philadelphia, *A specimen of printing types*, [f. 4] 'English Greek' (McMurtrie, 1925).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 32, 33 (Early inv., 1960, 10).

KEY LETTERS Steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, broad N, doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T; smallish Φ; small-bowled lower case β; simple π ending on a straight flat stroke.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Grec [augustin] dudit Haultin (Plantin, 1561); [Augustin] Grec de Haultin (Plantin, 1563); Grec St Augustin Haultin (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 10, MA 32–33; Carter, 1969a, 75; Vervliet-Carter, 3, no. 12; Layton, 1994, 41, 307; Lane, 1996, 125.

FIGURE 11A Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560), cast on a Great Primer body, as it occurs in *Lexicon sive dictionarium Graecolatinum*, Geneva, J. Crespín, 1562, f. az. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 11B (opposite, above) Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560) cast on a Great Primer body, as it occurs in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thucydidis historia iudicium*, Venice, P. Manutius, 1560, f. 43. Courtesy of the University Library, Amsterdam.

FIGURE 11C (opposite, below) Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* (1560) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (MA 32–33). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Ρ. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ

ΕΤ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ.



ΕΙΣ, δύο, ξεῖς ἐνιαυτοὶ, καὶ δὴ ἑτεταρτοῦ ἔτος, ὀλίγον δεῖν; ἥδη μοι πα-
ρελήλυθεν, ὡ φιλοφίλτατε Κύριε, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἀρχολούμην· ἔχω
παρὰ ταύτην τὴ συνταγματικῶν παραματείαν, ὥστε δύνανται μόνον τῇ ταῖν
χαλκογραφόντων πολυχειρὶ χαρκτηρίσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ὑποτυπώσαι
ἀπὸ καὶ πορώσας, ἃ σπασαίως γράφειν ἐπεχειρησάμην. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχω
τοιαύτῃ ἐργασίᾳ σφίγγειν, ὃ καὶ οὐκ ἐμοὶ βελομένῳ ἀνείη, ταῦτα ἐξ ὑπογίης καὶ παρημε-
λημένως ἀπεχιδιάσαι. Αἰεὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πορώχημα, καὶ δεινὸν ῥητόρων, οἱ τινες
τὸ δὲ ποιεῖν ἐκ παντὸς διώκοντες, καὶ τοῦ γλαφυρῶς μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦ ἀφελῶς ἃ ἀληθῶς γέ-
λυν σοχάζοντα. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμολογήσειον ἄνευ ὑποβολῆς, ὅτι οὐ καὶ ἀληθές αἰὶν
ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χύδην, καὶ ὑπερβατῶς ὡς αὐτοχρειασμά ἐστι φιλεῖ, ταῦτα ὑπομνήματα
ἡμεῖς ἐχεδιδίσαμεν, οὐτωσὶ φιλοπονεῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα τὸ, καὶ δι' ὄνυχον ἀκριβοῦν οὐχ' οἶον

12. Haultin's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier
or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* [Gk 4]
(1553)

The Greek titling, which Crespin uses as first title line of his delicious 1553 *Kainè Diathèkè*, is wholly in Haultin's style; no doubt these capitals were the companion sorts for his Roman titling on the same size, likewise introduced by Crespin in 1553. However, I doubt whether Crespin's Greek titling of 5.5 mm is Haultin's.

SIZE Two-line Brevier (*Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte*); 4 mm.
FIRST SEEN IN 1553, Geneva, J. Crespín (*Kainè Diathèkè*; Ghent, University Library, Theol. 3219; Gilmont, 1981, 35–6, no. 53³).

EARLY APPEARANCE 1560, Venice, A. Rartouros (after Layton, 1994, 165, fig. 141a).

TYPE-SPECIMEN c.1770, W. Haas, Basle, *Epreuves des caracteres d'usage ordinaire*, f. 13 'Gros-parangon' (Basle, Schweizerisches Papiermuseum).

KEY LETTERS Cupped terminal of capital A; steep-tailed capital K, dog-eared M, broad Σ; doubly-bracketed serifs of bar of T.

FIGURE 12 Haultin's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 4] or *Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte* (1553) as shown in *Lexicon sive dictionarium Graecolatinum*, Geneva, J. Crespín, 1562, f. az. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

ΙΑΚΩΒΩ ΤΩ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΥΞΕΜΒΟΥΡ-
ΓΙΩΝ, ΚΩΜΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΝΝΙΟΥ,
ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΜΕΡΣΕΤΟΥ ΛΙΓΕΡΙΣΚΟΥ
ΚΥΡΙΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ.

13. Granjon's so-called 'Nonpareil' for Rouille,
i.e. Long Primer Greek [Gk 67]
or *Petit-romain* (1548)

As early as 1550 Robert Granjon contracted with the Lyons publisher Guillaume Rouille to deliver a 'Nonpareil' Greek, along with an Italic of the same size. Typefaces of so small a size could not be found. But the vocabulary of the body sizes was unstable until the end of the sixteenth century and the Italic has been identified as a Long Primer or Petit-romain appearing in Paris printing from 1545 onwards (Vervliet, 1998, no. 2).

There are at least three Greek typefaces of this body size which may be linked to Granjon. The first appears at François Gryphius's press in 1545 with a Long Primer Italic, which could be Granjon's but is rather Gryphius's (Vervliet, 1998, 52, no. 28). Another, along with Granjon's first Long Primer Italic (Vervliet, 1998, 13, no. 2), occurs in Granjon's own imprints from 1549 onwards, e.g. in the Greek New Testament, co-published with Michel Fezandat, Jer. de Marnef, Denise de Marnef and Jacques I Du Puy (Vervliet, 2008, no. 319).

Another Italic attributable to Granjon (Vervliet, 1998, 19, no. 7) accompanies yet another Greek in the publications of Rouille, printed by Philibert Rollet, from 1550; two years before it appeared at the press of Jean I de Tournes. It is a faithful copy of a small Greek that appeared in Basle from 1535 onwards and probably was cut by Johann II Schoeffer. The De Tournes-Rouille Greek is not in Granjon's later style but it is well cut. The question whether it is the 'Nonpareil' Greek described in the Rouille contract, must wait for more research on the smaller-sized Greek typefaces.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 67 x 1 : 1.5 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1548, Lyons, J. I de Tournes (Lactantius, *Divinarum institutionum libri vii*; Cartier, 1: 266, no. 120).

EARLY APPEARANCE Lyons: 1550, Ph. Rollet & G. Rouille;

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Un grec semblable et de la petiteur et corps de ladite petite nompaille [italique] et de la beaute dicelle (Contract Granjon-Rouille, 24 June 1550; Parent, 1974, 71, n.3).

FIGURE 13 (opposite, above) The 'De Tournes' Long Primer Greek [Gk 67] or *Petit-romain* (1548) as it appears in L. Fuchs, *Methodus seu ratio compendaria*, Lyons, Ph. Rollet for G. Rouille, 1550, f. Q6v–7. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Π Ι Ν Α Ξ.			Π Ι Ν Α Ξ.		
Καρκίν	242	Λαγωφθαλμοί	220	Νομή	252
Καρκίνωμα	217	Λαγυρία	233	Νυκτολαπία	215
Κάρ	210	Λαγυρία	202	Ξ	περιπνυμονία
Κάταγμα	194	Λαγυρία	243	Ξυροφθαλμία	219
Κάτ'απότιον	479	Λαγυρία	243	Ο	πίψις
Κάτ'απότιον	227	Λαγυρία	ibidem	Ολοφθαλμία	225
Κάτ'απότιον	200	Λαγυρία	210	Οδοντοφθία	ibidem
Καχίξια	236	Λαγυρία	77	Οδοντοφθία	501
Κίρις	234	Λαγυρία	78	Οδοντοφθία	224
Κεράτις	400	Λαγυρία	232	Οδοντοφθία	250
Κεφαλή	209	Λαγυρία	212	Οδοντοφθία	198
Κήλη	240	Λαγυρία	259	Οδοντοφθία	213
Κηρίον	252	Λαγυρία	221	Οδοντοφθία	228
Κιόρις	231	Λαγυρία	212	Οδοντοφθία	223
Κοιλία	232	Λαγυρία	247	Οδοντοφθία	220
Κοίλωμα	216	Λαγυρία	217	Οδοντοφθία	81
Κόλπος	253	Λαγυρία	ibidem	Οδοντοφθία	185
Κόνδυλοι	242	Λαγυρία	221	Οδοντοφθία	229
Κονδυλώμα	235	Λαγυρία	217	Οδοντοφθία	198
Κορύς	224	Λαγυρία	240	Οδοντοφθία	215
Κράσις	204	Λαγυρία	224	Οδοντοφθία	212
Κρεμασθήρις	82	Λαγυρία	245	Οδοντοφθία	254
Κρίση	220	Λαγυρία	215	Οδοντοφθία	210
Κρήνη	8	Λαγυρία	N	Οδοντοφθία	222
Κυρσοκήλη	240	Λαγυρία	232	Οδοντοφθία	225
Κυψέλις	223	Λαγυρία	213	Οδοντοφθία	242
Κώφωσις	ibid.	Λαγυρία	217	Οδοντοφθία	225
Λ		Λαγυρία	238	Οδοντοφθία	225
		Λαγυρία	N	Οδοντοφθία	225

14. Granjon's Nonpareil Greek [Gk 40] for Plantin (1566/74)

Granjon cut in 1574–75 a lower case Greek in the size of Emerald or Jolie (44 mm) for Plantin; punches and matrices are attributed to Granjon in the 1581 inventory (ST 49 and MA 94–95; Early inv., 1960, 74 and 78). Plantin paid Granjon for a 'petit grec' between October 1574 and July 1575 through Gillis Beys, Plantin's son-in-law and since 1567 his representative in Paris (Plant. Arch., 98, 257–77). The strikes for the lower case remained unjustified and Plantin appears never to have used it. The lower case was intended to go with a small Greek titling which Plantin mentions in his 1566 inventory (ST 20b; Early inv., 1960, 26) and which he used from 1567 onwards. The Plantin inventories do not attribute the titling but the shanks of the punches are finished in Granjon's manner. The Greek

titling was kept with the capitals of Garamont's Brevier Roman, acquired by Plantin in 1562 or 1563 and to which Granjon added a capital and lower case w in 1565 (Early inv., 1960, 19, ST 20a).

SIZE Nonpareil; 20 40 x 0.7 : 1.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1567, Antwerp, C. Plantin (*Digestorum seu pandectarum pars septima*, p. 396; only capitals; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, OB 4.19.2; Voet, 1980, 2: 723, no. 1034^{vii}).

PUNCHES AND MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, ST 20b; ST 49; MA 53b; MA 94–95 (Early inv., 1960, 26, 43, 74, 78).

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS [Jolye] Grecq de R. Granjon (Plantin, 1581); [Jolye] Grecq de Robert Granjon (Plantin, 1581).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 26, ST 20b; 43, MA 53b; 74, ST 49; 78, MA 94–95.

FIGURE 14 Granjon's Nonpareil for Plantin [Gk 42] as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 95). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Γ Δ Θ Ξ Π Σ Φ Ψ Ω
α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ο ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ
ω
α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ο ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ
ω

15. Granjon's Long Primer Greek [Gk 66] or *Petit-romain* (1560)

Apart from its style, which is unmistakably Granjon's, the date and distribution of this Long Primer, serve to confirm the attribution to Granjon made in the inventories of both Plantin (Early inv., 1960, 11, MA 51–52) and Le Bé (Morison, 1957, 21, 25), and in the 1592–1622 Berner specimens. Though Le Bé owned the punches and matrices, this typeface has not been noticed in contemporary Paris printing.

SIZE Long Primer (*Petit-romain*); 20 66 x 1.2 : 1.8 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1559, Lyons, J. I de Tournes (*Novum testamentum Graece et latine*); Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, Theo 8° 357; Cartier, 2: 487–8, no. 431.

EARLY APPEARANCES **Antwerp**: 1560, C. Plantin; 1572, Widow of J. Steelsius & A. Tavernier; **Lyons**: 1561, G. Rouille; 1570, J. II de Tournes; **Leipzig**: 1563, E. Voegelin; 1570, A. Schneider; 1579, H. Steinmann; **Antwerp**: 1584, G. Radaeus; **Leyden**: 1584, C. Plantin; 1588, F. Raphelengius; **Frankfurt**: 1588, G. Radaeus; **Frankfurt**: 1591, Heirs of A. Wechel; **Heidelberg**: 1592, H. Commelinus.

TYPE-SPECIMENS **1567**, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. B1 'Soph. in Aiace' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 14); **1575**, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 47 'Colineus Grecq'; f. 49 'Garamonde Grecque' (Arch. Plant. 43); **1582**, W. Silvius, Leyden, *Afdrukssel van alle de letteren*, 'Descendiaen Griecx' (Valkema Blouw, 1983, 15, no. 19); **c.1585**, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Garamonde Grecque'; 'Colineus Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 10, no. 55; no. 62); **1592**, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. Garamond de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2); **1608**, H. Hornschuh, Leipzig, 'Ὠρθοτυπογραφία', 'Corpus Graecum' (Gaskell, 1972, 36); **1622**, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. Garamond de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3); **1658**, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Typi Graeci [4–5]' (Leyden, University Library, 743 f. 44); **1664**, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Garmont Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); **1666**, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... druckerie*, 'Garmont Griecx' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall 148); **1670**, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen*, 'Garmond Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 8); **1681**, [C. van Dyck &] Widow of D. Elsevier, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Garmont Grieks' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 12); **1682**, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Garmoud Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); **c.1684**, [C. van Dyck &] J. Bus & J. Athias, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Garmont Grieks' (Hellinga, 1962, pl. 159); **c.1686**, Oxford University Press, Oxford, [*Christ Church Specimen*], f. 7 'Long Primer Greek' (Morison, 1967, pl. 10); **1693** [& **1695** & **1706**], Oxford University Press, Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Small Pica Greek'; 'Long Primer Greek' (Hart, 1970, 23); **1695**, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerij*, f. B3 'Garmond Grieks' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); **c.1695**, Wid. D. Voskens,

Amsterdam, *Proefvan Letteren*, 'Garmond Griecx' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 8); **c.1710**, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Specimen typorum Hebraeorum*, 'Garmond sive Grobe Petit Graecum' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); **1713**, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerij*, f. B2 'Garmont Grieks'; 'Brevier Grieks' (Leyden, University Library, 743 f. 45); **ante 1714**, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Descendiaen Griex'; 'Garmond Griex' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Fol. var. 9: 110; Hellinga, 1962, pl. 160; Enschedé, 1978, 441, no. 41); **1727**, J.F. Halle, *Specimen characterum*, Frankfurt, 'Garmont Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 24); **post 1728**, Voskens & Clerk, *Epreuve de caracteres*, Amsterdam, 'Descendiaen Griex'; 'Garmond Griex'; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8: 2, f. 65 [90]; **1740**, J.F. Halle, *Specimen characterum*, Frankfurt, 'No. 35 Garmont Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 25); **c.1740**, Cambridge University Press, *A specimen of the letters*, 'Long Primmer Greek much used' (McKitterick, 1984, 91, no. 74); **1749**, J.W. de Groot, *Proeve der drukkerij*, Leyden, W. Boot, f. A4 'Dessendiaen Grieks'; 'Garremont Grieks' (The Hague, Royal Library, 3110 E 40); **c.1757**, Oxford University Press, *A Specimen of several sorts*, 'Long Primer Greek' (McMurtrie, 1931; Simmons, 1956); **c.1762**, J. Roman, *Proeven van letteren*, Amsterdam, 'Garmont Grieks' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13); **c.1767**, J.-F. Fournier, *Caracteres grecs*, Paris, 'Grec de petit romain' (Paris, Bibl. nat., ms. NAF 22434, f. 228); **1768**, J. Enschedé, *Proef van letteren*, Haarlem, f. [o 1] 'Garmond Grieksch No. 2' (Lane, 1993, 70); **1770**, J. Becker, *Specimen characterum*, Frankfurt, 'Garmont Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 32); **1773**, L. Delacologne, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 100 'Grec de Petit-romain', Lyons, (Carter, 1969a, 74); **c.1781**, A.G. Mappa, *Proeven van letteren*, Rotterdam, 'N. X. Descendiaen Grieks'; 'N. XI. Garmond Grieks' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); **1785**, A.G. Mappa, *Epreuues de caracteres orientales*, Delft, 'Grec, Philosophie N: 7' (McMurtrie, 1924a, 62); **1812**, Binny & Ronaldson, *Specimen of printing types*, Philadelphia, 'Long Primer Greek' (Philadelphia, Library Company, Am 1812Bin/Tq40 B516[HSP]).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MA 51–52 (Early inv., 1960, 66); Haarlem, Museum Enschedé, Greek no. 590 (Enschedé, 1978, 106); Oxford, University Press, Long Primer Greek, no. 22 (Morison, 1967, 107).

KEY LETTERS K with seriffless tail; splayed M; duplicate forms of γ, δ, ζ, θ, π, ρ, τ, υ, φ; three forms of σ.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Petit Rommain Italique et grec de Granjon (Plantin, 1561); Grec de Granjon accordant [audict petit Rommain] (Plantin, 1563); [Garramonde] grecq de Robert Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Grec de petit Romain Granjon (Le Bé, 1618); Graec. Garamond de Granlon (Berner, 1592; 1622).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 66 (MA 51–52); Morison, 1967, 107; Carter, 1969a, 74; Hart, 1970, 179; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3, no. 14; Enschedé, 1978, 106; Lane, 1993, 70.

FIGURE 15a (opposite, above) Granjon's Long Primer Greek [Gk 66] or *Petit-romain* (1552) as it appears in *Davidis psalmorum liber*, Antwerp, 1584, p. 144–5. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 15b (opposite, below) Granjon's Long Primer Greek [Gk 66] or *Petit-romain* (1552) as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (MA 51–52). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

44 Psal. lxxvij.

Dum & patres eorum
 conuersi sunt in ar-
 cum prauum. † Et in
 iram concitauerunt eū
 in collibus suis, & in
 sculpilibus suis ad a-
 mulationē prouocarūt
 eum. † Audiuit Deus &
 spreuit, & ad nihilum
 redexit valde Israel.
 † Et repulit tabernacu-
 lum Silo, tabernaculum
 quod habitauit in ho-
 minibus. † Et tradidit in
 captiuitatem virtutem
 eorū, & pulchritudine
 eorū, in manus inimi-
 corum. † Et conclusit in
 gladio populū suū, &
 hereditatē suā spreuit.
 † Iuuenes eorū comē-
 dit ignis, & virgines
 eorum non sunt la-
 mentatæ: † Sacerdotes
 eorum in gladio cecide-
 runt, & viduae eorū
 non plorabunt. † Et
 excitatus est tanquam
 dormiens Dñs, tanquā
 potens & crapulatus
 a vino. † Et percussit in-
 micos suos in postero-
 ra; opprobrium sempiternum
 dedit illis.
 † Et repulit tabernacu-
 lum Ioseph, & tribum
 Ephraim non elegit.

ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

θῶς καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν μετεστράφη-
 σαν εἰς τὸ ζῆν σκευδόν.
 8 καὶ παύοντο αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς
 βουαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς γλυπτῖς
 αὐτῶν περὶ ζῆλουσαν αὐτόν.
 9 ἡκούσθη ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὑπερέβη, καὶ
 ἐξεδίωκεν ᾠδοῦντα ἱσραὴλ.
 10 καὶ ἀπόσπερ πλὴν σκηνῶν σπῶν,
 ᾠδοῦντες ἐκτετακνύουσιν ἐν αἰ-
 θρώποις.
 11 ὁ παρέδωκεν εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν
 πλὴν ἰσχυρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πλὴν κακῶν
 αὐτῶν, εἰς χεῖρας ἑχθρῶν.
 2 καὶ συνέκλεισεν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ
 λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πλὴν κληρονομίας
 αὐτοῦ ὑπερέβη.
 3 τὰς νεανίσκους αὐτῶν κατέφαγε
 πῦρ, καὶ αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν σὺν
 ἐπιστήθουσιν.
 4 οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἔπεσον,
 καὶ αἱ χήραι αὐτῶν ἐκλαυθήσονται.
 5 καὶ ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπὸ νύκτα κυεῖς,
 εἰς δολοφονίας καὶ ἐκκρεμασίαν ὡς
 αἱ οἶνοι.
 6 καὶ ἐπάταξε τὰς ἐχθρὰς αὐτοῦ εἰς
 τὰ ὀπίσσω, ὅτι οὐκ αἰώνιον ἔδωκεν
 αὐτοῖς.
 7 καὶ ἀπόσπερ τὸ σκένωμα ἰα-
 σήν, καὶ πλὴν φυλῶν ἱερῶν σὺν
 ἐξελίξασθαι.

॥१॥

ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

καὶ ἐξηλέγετο τὴν φυλὴν ἰσραὴλ, τὸ 68
 ἕρως το σὺνὸν ἡγάπησε.
 καὶ ὥς δόκνησεν ὡς μογοκέραιος 69
 τὸ ἀνιμάω αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἐθεμε-
 λίωσεν αὐτὴν ὡς τὴν αἰῶνα.
 καὶ ἐξηλέγετο θανυδοὶ τὸ δὺλο 70
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνέλασεν αὐτόν ἐκ τῆ ποι-
 κνίας τῆς πνεύματι.
 ἐπέσπευον τὸ λοχὺς οὐμῶν ἔλα 71
 ἐξ αὐτόν, ποικαίνεν ἱακῶς τὸν
 δούλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰσχυρὴν τὴν κληρο-
 νομίαν αὐτοῦ.
 καὶ ἐπὶ ἔρχοντο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ 72
 κλαίει καὶ κλαίει αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σω-
 σεσθαι τὴν χειρὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ.

Ψαλμός τῷ Ἀσάφ.
Θη'.

Ὁ Θεὸς ἡλθοντες ἐξ ἡμεῖς πᾶσι
κληρονομίαν σου, ἐκίαναν
τὴν καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου.
ἔγεντο ἐξ ἡμεῖς ὡς ὁ παρθε-
νικός, ἔγεντο τὰ θεομακάρια τῶν
ἐλθόντων σου βράβειαν τοῖς πεπεισμένοις
ἐξ ἡμεῖς τὰς σάρκας τῶν ὁσίων σου
τοῖς θεομακάρις τῇ γῆς.

ἔξέχεαν τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, 3
κύκλω ἐσθυσσάλην, καὶ σὺν ᾧ ὁ
θάπτεται.

K *εγρή-*

Psal. lxxviii. 145

8 † Et elegit tribum Iu-
da, montē Sion quem
dilexit. † Et ædificauit
9 sicut vnicornis sancti-
ficium suum in terra,
fundauit eam in secu-
lum. † Et elegit Dauid
seruum suum, et susti-
lit eum de gregibus o-
uium. † Depost fatan-
tes accepit eum, pascere
Iacob seruum suum, et
Israel hæreditatem suam.

† Et pavit eos in innocentia cordis sui : & in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos.

I † Psalmus Asaph.
LXXVIII.

DEUS venerūt gen-
tes in h̄eredita-
tem tuam, polluerunt
templum sanctū tuū.
† Posuerūt Hierusalem
velut pomorum custo-
diam: posuerunt mor-
ticinia feruorum tuo-
rum escas volatilibus
celi, carnes sanctorum
tuorum bestiis terræ.

† Effuderunt sanguinem ipsorum tanquam aquam in circuitu Hierusalem, & non erat qui sepeliret.

16. Granjon's First Pica Greek [Gk 82]
or *Cicéro* (1556)

This Pica or *Cicéro* (82 mm) is again a problematic type-face. A Greek of this size appears from 1556 onwards at the press of Jean I de Tournes in Lyons, for example in the Pythagoras of 1556, in the introduction of the Clenardus of 1557, and the Ausonius of 1558. De Tournes was one of Granjon's most constant customers. The face is very similar to but not identical with Haultin's Small Pica (10). It could be by Granjon. At De Tournes's press, it succeeds to a German English-Bodied Greek (1531), probably by Peter II Schoeffer, which can be seen in Louise Labé's *Œuvres* of 1555 and 1556 and in the main text of the 1557 Clenardus.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 82 x 1.2 : 2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1556, Lyons, J. I de Tournes (*Poemata Pythagorae et Phocylidis*; Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, 345469; Cartier, 2: 424-5, no. 343).

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1727, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No 21 Cicero Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 24); 1740, J.F. Halle, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 31 Cicero Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 25); c.1767, J.-F. Fournier, Paris, *Caractères grecs*, 'Grec de cicero' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 22434, f. 227); 1770, J. Becker, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cicero Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 32).

FIGURE 16 Granjon's First Pica Greek [Gk 82] or *Cicéro* (1556) as it appears in Pythagoras, *Poemata*, Lyons, J. I de Tournes & G. Gazeau, 1556, p. 32-33. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque municipale, Lyons.

ΠΟΙΪΗΜΑ ΦΩΚΥΛΙΔΟΥ. 33

Χεῖρα πεινόντι δίδω, σῶσον δὲ ἀπειρίστου ἀδρά.
 Κοινὰ παθὴ πάντων. ὁ βίος τροχὸς, ἄστατος ὄλβος.
 Πλῆθ' ἔχων, σὺ χεῖρα πεινέουσιν ὄρεξον.
 Ὡς σοὶ ἔδωκε θεὸς, τότ' ὡς χεῖρα παραχρῆ.
 Ἔστω κοινὸς ἅπας ὁ βίος, καὶ ὁμόφρονα πάντα.
 Τὸ ξίφος ἀμφιβαλεῖ μὴ πρὸς φόνον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀμύμην.
 Εἴθε ᾧ μὴ χεῖρα μὴτ' ἐννομα, μὴτε ἀδίκως.
 Ἦν γὰρ ἀποκτείνεις ἐχθρὸν, σέο χεῖρα μιάνεις.
 Ἀγρῷ γειτονεύοντος ἀπόχρεο, μὴδ' ἄρ' ὑπερβῆς.
 Πάντων μέτρον ἄριστον, ὑπερβασία δὲ ἀλεεινὰ.
 Μὴδ' ἐπὶ τὴν αὐξομένην καρπὸν λωβήσῃ ἀρεῆς.
 Ἰσώσαν ὁμότιμοι ἐπὶ ἡλυδὲς ἐν πολυλήταις.
 Πάντες γὰρ πεινῆς περὶ μέθεα τ' πολυπλάγκτα.
 Χώρα δὲ ὅτι βέλαιον ἔχει πῆδον ἀνθρώποισιν.
 Ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη μήτηρ κακότητος ἀπάτης.
 Χρυσὸς αἰεὶ δόλος ἐστὶ, καὶ ἄργυρος ἀνθρώποισιν.
 Χρυσὸς κακῶν ἀρχηγὸς, βιοφθόρος, πάντα χαλέπτων.
 Εἴθε σε μὴ θοιτοῖσι γενέσθαι πῆμα ποθενόν.
 Σὺ γὰρ ἐκκῆτι μάχατε, ληλασάτω φόνος τε.
 Ἐχθρὰ δὲ τέκνα γονέουσιν, ἀδελφείοι τε συνεύμοις.
 Μὴδ' ἑτέρον κεύθεις κραδίη νόον, ἀλλ' ἀγορεύων.
 Μὴδ' ὡς πετροφυῆς πολύτρεξ καὶ χάραν ἀμείβει.
 Ὅστις ἐκὼν ἀδικεῖ, κακὸς αἰὶρ. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης.
 Οὐκ ἐρέω τὸ τέλος, βεβλήω δὲ εὐθυμῇ ἐκάστῃ.
 Μὴ γαυρῇ θοφίῃ, μὴτ' ἀλκῇ, μὴτ' ἐνὶ πολέτῳ.
 Εἰς θεὸς ἐστὶ θόρος, δυνατὸς, ἅμα καὶ πολύολβος.
 Μὴδ' ἐπαροχόμενοισι κακοῖς τρέψῃς τέον ἦτορ.
 Οὐκέτι γὰρ διώατ' τὸ τετυγμένον ἔτι ἀτυκτον.
 Μὴ προπετὸς ἐς χεῖρα, χαλίνῃ δὲ ἄγριον ὄργην.
 Πολλὰ γὰρ πλῆξας ἀέκων φόνον ἐξετέλεσας.
 Ἔστω κοινὰ παθὴ, μὴδ' ἐν μέγα, μὴδ' ὑπεροπλον.

Οὐκ

16a. Granjon's Second Pica Greek [Gk 84]
or *Cicéro* (c.1574)

This Pica or *Cicéro* (82 mm) is also a problematic typeface. Is the enigmatic 'Grec de Cicero Granjon', mentioned in the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 21)? If so, it may be the 'Grec de cicero' of the c.1767 Greek specimen of J.-F. Fournier (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 22434, f. 227).

A Greek Pica, appearing in a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German and Dutch type-specimens and which, mainly on grounds of style, may tentatively be attributed to Granjon. As 'Graec. Cicero de Granlon' it is shown in the 1622 Berner specimen, but the preceding 1592 Berner specimen wrongly displays Haultin's Small Pica Greek (10) under the same heading (Dreyfus, 1963, 6). I have not yet seen the face in question appearing in a sixteenth-century imprint, but I expect that a more thorough search in German imprints of the 1570s may lead to its uncovering. The type exhibits the same variant forms of K and ψ, appearing in German uses of Granjon's Greek on English (17) from about 1574 onwards. A good clue to differentiate it from the earlier French Renaissance Greeks on Pica or Small Pica, by Garamont (1) and Haultin (10) respectively, or from Granjon's first Greek Pica (16) is its broad lower case β.

SIZE Pica (*Cicéro*); 20 84 x 1.2 : 2 mm.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. Cicero de Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963,

pl. 3); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Typi Graeci [3]' (Leyden, University Library, 743 f 44); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1670, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen*, 'Cicero Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 8); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Cicero Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); 1691, H. Keyser, Stockholm, *Specimen characterum*, 'Cicero Graecum' (Stockholm, Royal Library, 82 Aa 18/72; Bengtsson, 1956, 181-3); 1692, P. Boeyes., Hoorn, *Proeven Van ... Letteren*, 'Mediaen Griecx' (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerye*, f. B3 'Kleyne Mediaen Grieks' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Mediaen Griex' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 8); 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerye*, f. Br 'Mediaan Grieks' (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 45); ante 1714, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Mediaan Griex' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Fol. var. 9: 110; Hellinga, 1962, pl. 160; Enschedé, 1978, 441, no. 41); post 1728, Voskens & Clerk, Amsterdam, *Epreuue de caracteres*, 'Mediaan Griex'; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8: 2, f. 65 [90]; c.1730, W. Goeree, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Mediaan Griex' (Leyden, University Library, 744 D 19); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Grec Cicero de Gran: No 15' (Mori, 1955, 14); 1749, J.W. de Groot, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerye*, 'N. 1. Mediaan Grieks'; N. 2. Mediaan Grieks' (The Hague, Royal Library, 3110 E 40); 1755, J.H. Schippelius, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'No. 9 Cicero Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 27); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'N. X Mediaan Grieks' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); 1785, A.G. Mappa, Delft, *Epreuues de caracteres orientales*, 'Grec, Cicero. N: 5' (McMurtrie, 1924a, 62). CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Grec de Cicero (Le Bé, 1618); Graec. Cicero de Granlon (Berner, 1622).

FIGURE 16a Granjon's Second Pica Greek [Gk 82] or *Cicéro* (c.1574) as it appears in A. Mappa, *Proeven van letteren*, Rotterdam, 1781. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

MEDIAAN GRIEKS.

Ο'ρθοι δι' αὐτὸν ραῖσιν, ἡ θεμελιὸς παιδοποιεῖται
γονῆς γνέσας ἑμεμοιραμένη καὶ ποτεχομισα ἔμω
υῶ πρὸς τὸ πατέρα, ἐπεδείκνυε πετῆρον, καὶ ὡς φρονό
πίστε διδοχῆς, εἰ καὶ βελήσῃ θεὸς μὴ τύχοι παιδ-
νησία. πρὸς αὐτὸν πέλεγρο. ἀναβρεψαμένη παῖδα
μορφῇ τε θεῶν καὶ φρονήματι γλοναῖον, θανμασίως ὃ
αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς ποταμῆς λαβῆσα χάρις

17. Granjon's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90]
or *Saint-augustin* (1561)

The attribution to Granjon is ascertained by the c.1618 Le Bé inventory, which lists punches and matrices (Morison, 1957, 21, 25) for it, and by the Berner 1592 and 1622 specimens (though in the earlier one the paper is damaged and the inscription partially torn off).

Le Bé possessed the punches and matrices but I have not observed this type in Paris sixteenth-century imprints. A reasonable assumption is that the market was occupied by the earlier Greeks on this size cut by Haultin (11) and Villiers (22).

Further research is needed to find out whether the punches mentioned in the 1666 Janssonius sale (Oxford, Bodl., Marshall 148) were original or later additions and what their relation is to the punches in the Le Bé collection.

About 1700 Johann Caspar Mueller cut in Leipzig a close copy of this typeface (Gessner, 1740, 140).

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 90 x 1.6 : 2.1 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1561, Lyons, J. I de Tournes & G. Gazeau (A.G. Costanus, *Polyhistor*; Ghent, University Library, BL 441; Cartier, 2: 514–5, no. 473).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Leipzig**: 1563, E. Voegelin; 1572, A. Schneider; 1579, H. Steinmann; **Strasbourg**: 1564, T. Rihel; **Basle**: 1567, J. Oporinus; 1571, Officina Henricpetrina; 1574, E. Episcopius; 1578, P. Perna; 1584, L. Ostein; 1590, S. Henricpetri; 1598, C. Walldkirch; **Lyons**: 1574, J. II de Tournes; **Wittenberg**: 1574, J. Crato; **Geneva**: 1575, H. II Estienne; **Heidelberg**: 1591, H. Commelinus; **Helmstadt**: 1593, J. Lucius; **Frankfurt a.d. Oder**: 1594, N. Voltz; **Rome**: 1598, Stampa Vaticana; **Augsburg**: 1599, J. Praetorius; 1601, Ad insigne pinus; **Leyden**: 1600, J. Paedts; **Amsterdam**: 1605, J. Hondius & C. Claesz.

TYPE-SPECIMENS **1592**, C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. S. Augustin d[e Granlon]'; variant with diverging K, M, ψ (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2); **1608**, H. Hornschuh, Leipzig, 'Ορθοτυπογραφία, 'Mittel Graecum' (Gaskell, 1972, 35); **1616**, G.L. Fuhrmann, Nuremberg, *Typorum & characterum officinae ... designatio*, f. F2 'Graecum, quod medium vocant' (Dresden, University Library, Techn. B.175); **1622**, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. S. Augustin de Granlon'; variant with diverging K, M, ψ (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3); **1628**, Stampa Vaticana, Rome, *Indice de caratteri*, f. 64–5 'Silvio'; variant with diverging K, M, ψ (Vervliet, 1967, 37); **1658**, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Typi Graeci [2]'; variant with divergent K, M, and narrower ψ (Leyden, University Library, 743 f.44); **1664**, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Mittel Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); **1666**, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. A4v 'Augustijn Griex'; incl. sale of its punches and matrices (Oxford, Bodl., Marshall 148); **1670**, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen*, 'Mittel Graecum'; variant with diverging K, M, ψ (Mori, 1955, 8); **1682**, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Iehova*, 'Mittel Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus,

Ἰ. Φ Ε Ψ Ὶ Ι Ο Υ.
Θαύματα πόλλα φέρει θνητοῖς πολυκαρπῶ ἄρξεα.
Πανδερκῆς ἄλιθ' θαύματα πόλλα βλέπει.
Κοσάνη δ' ἐδὲν ψυχῆς ἐπιδέρκεϊ μέζον.
Ὅς μὲν ὑπερβάλλει θαύματα πάντα λέγων.

18. Granjon's Paragon Greek [Gk 135]
or *Petit-parangon* (1565)

This Greek was cut by Granjon to Plantin's order in 1565 after the model of the 'Grec du Roy' by Garamont. The agreement is mentioned in Plantin's ledger on 3 February 1565 (Plant. Arch., 31, f. 86v). Granjon's copy is somewhat smaller than the last 'Grec du Roy', a Paragon cut by Garamont before 1550. But its smaller size accords exactly with that of the Hebrew text type by Le Bé which Plantin acquired at the sale of Garamont's goods in 1562 (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 2, no. 6). One guesses Plantin ordered Granjon to cut this type as a companion type for Hebrew as he planned a quadrilingual 'Biblia Complutensia' to which he alludes in a letter of a few weeks later to Andreas Masius (Rooses-Denucé, 1883, 3: 1-3, no. 333, dated 26 February 1565).

Strikes were justified by Jacques Sabon, 'fondeur de lettres' in June 1565 (Plant. Arch., 31 f. 98v). Type was cast in September 1565 by Laurent van Everbroeck (Plant. Arch. 3, f. 35v; 4, f. 10v). A casting register with smoke proofs of each sort is preserved in Plant. Arch. 153, f. 47. Sets of matrices ascribed to Granjon appear subsequently in the Plantin inventories of 1566, 1572 and 1581 (Early inv., 1960, 28, MA 16-17), as well as in the c.1618 Le Bé inventory (Morison, 1957, 21). The type is shown and attributed to Granjon in the 1592 and 1622 Berner specimens (Dreyfus, 1963, pls. 2-3).

Proctor (1905, 108) judged Granjon's type 'decidedly inferior to the original [i.e. Garamont's] in delicacy of

line and harmony'; Scholderer (1927, 11-12) too found it a 'somewhat coarse and heavy copy' of the Garamont Greek, but Morison (1967, 99) appreciated its 'extremely beautiful letters'. Despite these opinions, Granjon's copy, exhibiting the same rhythm and evenness in colour as those of its model, was remarkably well done, even taking into account its lower number of ligatures – some 180, that is the half of Garamont's – and its intentionally smaller size. These features and the typically Granjon capitals provide the best evidence for identifying the type.

To judge from its presence in a great number of type-specimens the Granjon type must have been very popular but so far I have not seen it in French sixteenth-century imprints. I presume it found the French market occupied by the Garamont and Villiers types on this size. A Greek Great Primer, of which I saw four words occurring at De Tourness's press in 1555 (L. Labé, *Euvres*, p. 125), could be an earlier Granjon Greek in this size range, but more research is needed here to ascertain the attribution.

SIZE Paragon (*Petit-parangon*); 20 135 x 2.5 : 3.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1565, Antwerp, C. Plantin (A. de Lens, *In geometrica elementa eisagoge*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 567; Voet, 3: 1325-6, no. 1516).

EARLY APPEARANCES Venice: 1578, A. Verghis; 1596, F. Giuliani; Leyden: 1587, F. Raphelengius; Augsburg: 1595, Ad insigne pinus; 1599, J. Praetorius.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1567, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Index characterum*, f. A4 (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 2, no. 11); 1575, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Inventaire des lettres*, f. 62 'Parangonne Grecque' (Arch. Plant. 43); c.1585, C. Plantin, Antwerp, *Folio Specimen*, 'Parangonne Grecque' (Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 8, no. 14); 1592,

ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΓΝΩ-
ΜΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΣΤΙΧΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ
ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΟΝ.

Ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων καὶ τέλος ποιεῖ θεόν.
Βίβ' τὸ κέρδιος ἐμβιοῦν κατ' ἡμέραν
Γίνωσκε πάντων τῶν καλῶν τὰ δράματα.
Δεινὸν πένεας· δεινὸν εὐπορεῖν κακῶς.
Εὐεργετῶν ἔτιξε μιμεῖας θεόν.
Ζῆται θεῷ σοὶ χρηστότητα, χρηστὸς ὢν.
Ἡ' σάρεξ κραλείδω καὶ δαμαζέδω καλῶς.
Θυμὸν χαλίνε, μὴ φρενῶν ἔξω πέσης.
Ἰσα μὲν ὄμμα· γλῶσσα καὶ σάθμιον ἔχοι.
Κλαῖς ὥσ' κείδω, μὴ δ' πορνεύοι γέλως.
Λύχν' βίβ' σοὶ παντὸς ἡγάδω λόγ'.

C. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. Parangon de Robert Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 3; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 2); 1608, H. Hornschuh, Leipzig, *Ὀρθοτυπογραφία*, p. 35 'Grobe Graecum' (Gaskell, 1972, 35); 1622, J. Berner, Frankfurt, *Specimen characterum*, 'Graec. Parangon de Robert Granlon' (Mori, 1955, 4; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 3); 1658, J. Elsevier, Leyden, *Specimen typorum*, 'Kau...' (Leyden, University Library, 743 f 44); 1664, J.Ph. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Jehova*, 'Parangon Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 15; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 4); 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, 'Paragon Griex' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall 148); 1670, J.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen*, 'Parangon Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 8); 1682, J.D. Fievet, Frankfurt, *Jehova*, 'Parangon Graecum' (Mori, 1955, 16; Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 5); c.1686, Oxford University Press, Oxford [*Christ Church Specimen*], 'Double Pica Greek' (except lines 1–2 and some ligatures; Morison, 1967, pl. 8); 1693 [& 1695 & 1706], Oxford University Press, Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Double Pique Greek' (except lines 1–2 and some ligatures; (Hart, 1970, 14); 1695, Heirs of J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, *Proeve der drukkerie*, f. D1 'Grieksche ... Text Kapitalen'; capitals only (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 30.14); c.1695, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van Letteren*, 'Paragon Griex' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 8); c.1710, J. Pistorius, Basle, *Specimen typorum Hebraeorum*, 'Parangon Graecum' (Mainz, Gutenberg Museum); 1713, A. Elzevier, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerie*, f. B1 'Paragon Grieks' (Leyden, University Library, 743 F 45); ante 1714, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Paragon Griex' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Fol. var. 9: 110; Hellinga, 1962, pl. 160; Enschedé, 1978, 441, no. 41); post 1728, Voskens & Clerk, Amsterdam, *Epreuve de caracteres*, 'Paragon Griex'; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8: 2, f. 65 [90]; c.1740, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, *Specimen of Letters*, Cambridge, 'Paragon Greek' (McKitterick, 1984, 90); 1745, H.E. Luther, Frankfurt, *Specimen ... characterum*, 'Grec Parang: de Robert Granlon No. 5' (Mori, 1955, 14); 1749, J.W. de Groot, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerie*, 'Paragon Grieks' (The Hague, Royal Library, 3110 E 40); c.1757, Oxford University

Press, Oxford, *A Specimen of several sorts*, 'Double Pica Greek' (McMurtrie, 1931; Simmons, 1956); 1766, P.-S. Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, f. 216 '54 Grec'; with some sorts added (Fournier, 1995, 2: 216); c.1767, J.-F. Fournier, Paris, *Caracteres grecs*, 'Grec de petit parangon' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 22434, f. 228); c.1770, W. Haas, Basle, *Epreuves des caracteres d'usage ordinaire*, f. 13 'Gros-romain' (Basle, Schweizerisches Papiermuseum); 1773, L. Delacolonge, Lyons, *Les caracteres et les vignettes*, f. 105 'Grec de Parangon' (Carter, 1969a, 76); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Paragon Grieks' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); 1785, A.G. Mappa, Delft, *Epreuves de caracteres orientales*, 'Grec, Parangon. N:2'; McMurtrie, 1924a, 62).

MATRICES PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 16–17); Oxford, University Press (Double Pica Greek, No. 12; with a number of ligatures added at the end of the 17th century by Peter de Walpergen).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; K with serifless tail; splayed M; flat-lined top of lower case π.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTIONS Poinçons du gros grec a la facon de celui du Roy de France accordant sur la Parangon (contract Plantin-Granjon, 1565); Des matrices grecques Parangon Grandion (Plantin, 1566); Le Grecq [Parangonne] de Granjon (Plantin, 1572); Le Grecq [Parangonne] de Robert Granjon (Plantin, 1581); Graec. Parangon de Robert Granlon (Berner, 1592; 1622); Grec de petit Parangon Granjon (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Early inv., 1960, 28 (MA 16–17); Dreyfus, 1963, 6; Morison, 1967, 98–9; Carter, 1969a, 76; Hart, 1970, 177; Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 2, no. 11; Layton, 1994, 42; Lane, 1996, 126.

FIGURE 18a (opposite) Granjon's Paragon Greek [Gk 135] or *Petit-parangon* (1565) as shown in the *Index characterum*, Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1567, f. A4. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 18b Granjon's Paragon Greek [Gk 135] or *Petit-parangon* (1565) from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp (MA 16–17). Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
 α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ ρ̃ ρ̃̃ σ ς ζ τ υ φ φ χ ψ ω
 ς ε ι λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ ρ̃ ρ̃̃ σ ς ζ τ υ φ φ χ ψ ω
 α ε ε̃ ε̃̃ ε̃̃̃ ε̃̃̃̃ ε̃̃̃̃̃ ε̃̃̃̃̃̃ η η̃ η̃̃ η̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃̃ ι ι̃ ι̃̃ ι̃̃̃ ι̃̃̃̃ ι̃̃̃̃̃ ι̃̃̃̃̃̃ ω φ̃

αι αι̃ αι̃̃ αι̃̃̃ αι̃̃̃̃ αι̃̃̃̃̃ αι̃̃̃̃̃̃ αι̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 η̃ η̃̃ η̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 ς̃ ς̃̃ ς̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 ε̃ ε̃̃ ε̃̃̃ ε̃̃̃̃ ε̃̃̃̃̃ ε̃̃̃̃̃̃ ε̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 η̃ η̃̃ η̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃̃ η̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 μ̃ μ̃̃ μ̃̃̃ μ̃̃̃̃ μ̃̃̃̃̃ μ̃̃̃̃̃̃ μ̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 π̃ π̃̃ π̃̃̃ π̃̃̃̃ π̃̃̃̃̃ π̃̃̃̃̃̃ π̃̃̃̃̃̃̃

πυ πυ̃ πυ̃̃ πυ̃̃̃ πυ̃̃̃̃ πυ̃̃̃̃̃ πυ̃̃̃̃̃̃ πυ̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 σ̃ σ̃̃ σ̃̃̃ σ̃̃̃̃ σ̃̃̃̃̃ σ̃̃̃̃̃̃ σ̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 ζ̃ ζ̃̃ ζ̃̃̃ ζ̃̃̃̃ ζ̃̃̃̃̃ ζ̃̃̃̃̃̃ ζ̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 ς̃ ς̃̃ ς̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃̃̃ ς̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 τ̃ τ̃̃ τ̃̃̃ τ̃̃̃̃ τ̃̃̃̃̃ τ̃̃̃̃̃̃ τ̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 υ̃ υ̃̃ υ̃̃̃ υ̃̃̃̃ υ̃̃̃̃̃ υ̃̃̃̃̃̃ υ̃̃̃̃̃̃̃
 φ̃ φ̃̃ φ̃̃̃ φ̃̃̃̃ φ̃̃̃̃̃ φ̃̃̃̃̃̃ φ̃̃̃̃̃̃̃

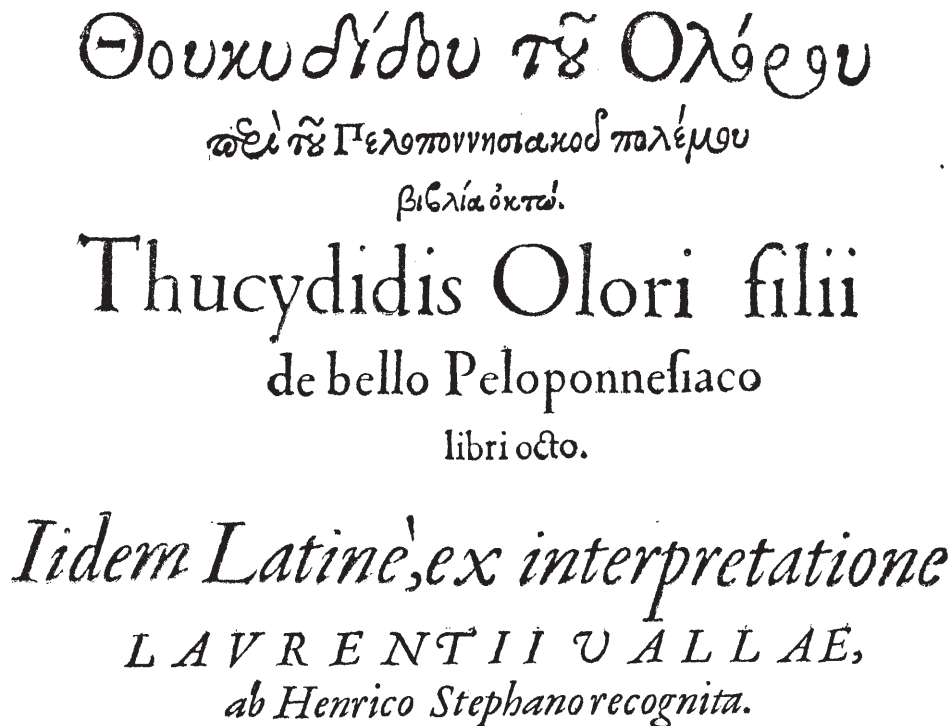
19. Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Greek
[Gk 240] or *Trismégiste* (1564)

A few words in a beautiful Two-line Great Primer Greek head the title-page of the Thucydides, printed in 1564 by Henry II Estienne. I have not found this typeface elsewhere, but as several other new Granjon types were introduced by Estienne in these years (e.g. two new Italics; Vervliet, 1998, 38–41, nos. 19–20), this Greek may also be attributed to Robert Granjon.

SIZE Two-line Great Primer (*Trismégiste*); 20 240 x 5,5 : 9 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1564, **Geneva**, H. II Estienne (Thucydides, *De bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo*; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, K 6739; Renouard, 1843, 123, no. 7).

FIGURE 19 Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Greek [Gk 240] or *Trismégiste* (1564) as it appears on the title-page of Thucydides, Geneva, H. II Estienne, 1564. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.



20. Granjon's Greek Titling on Two-line Small Pica [Gk 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1565)

This Greek titling is a companion type to Granjon's popular 'Petit-canon romain' (Vervliet, 1998a, 16–20, no. 4). While the Roman appears quite early in Granjon's career, viz. in 1547, I have not seen this Greek titling appearing before 1565. Though contemporary attributions to Granjon are lacking, there should be little hesitation to ascribe it to him: its style match well with that of the Roman and it occurs first in Antwerp during the period that Granjon stayed there.

The Greek titlings on this size occurring in the 1665 Luther, 1695 Blaeu, 1713 Elsevier, 1767 Ploos van Amstel specimens, though very similar, are probably are copies; that of the 1710 Pistorius specimen almost certainly is.

SIZE Two-line Small Pica (*Lettres de deux points de Philosophie*): 6.2 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1565, **Antwerp**, C. Plantin (*Nemesius, De natura hominis*; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, A 398; Voet, 1980, 4: 1598–9, no. 1728).

EARLY APPEARANCES **Paris**: 1575, J. Bienné; **Leyden**: 1588, F. Raphelengius; **Helmstadt**: 1593, J. Lucius.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. G1 'Numero Quatrième' (some divergent sorts; Johnson, 1965); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. G1 'Numero Quatrième' (some divergent sorts; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3).

TYPE PRESERVED Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, 49/46 (LE-GR 2).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with bold bar; E with bold middle arm; K with lower diagonal serif; T with parallel upper serifs; Ψ with straight arms.

FIGURE 20 Granjon's Greek Titling on Two-line Small Pica [Gk 6.2] or *Lettres de deux points de Philosophie* (1564) as it is preserved in cast type at the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΟ
ΠΡΣΤΥΦΧΨΩ

21. A Greek Titling on Two-line Pica [Gk 6.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro*, perhaps by Granjon (1666)

A Greek titling on Two-line Pica, perhaps cut by Granjon as a companion type to his Roman titling on this body, has been noticed in some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century type-specimens, Granjon's Roman titling on this size appears from the mid-1560s onwards (Vervliet, 1998a, 47–52, no. 13). This companion Greek of the same size could be a later addition by Granjon. But some mid-sixteenth-century appearance would strengthen an attribution to him. Plantin owned the Roman capitals but not the Greek ones.

SIZE Two-line Pica (*Lettres de deux points de Cicéro*): 6.9 mm.

TYPE-SPECIMENS 1666, J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, *Verkoopinge van een ... drukkerie*, f. A 1 'Dubbelde Augustijn Griexsche Capitalen' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marshall 148); ante 1714, Widow of D. Voskens, Amsterdam, *Proef van letteren*, 'Griex Capitalen [2]' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Fol. var. 9: 110; Hellinga, 1962, pl. 160; Enschedé, 1978, 441, no. 41); post 1728, Voskens & Clerk, Amsterdam, *Epreuve de caracteres*, 'Griex Capitalen' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, R 63.8: 2, f. 65 [90]); 1749, J.W. de Groot, Leyden, *Proeve der drukkerie*, f. D1 'Dubbelde Augustein Griexsche Capitalen' (The Hague, Royal Library, 3110 E 40); c.1781, A.G. Mappa, Rotterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'N. VIII Drieerlei Soorten Griexsche Capitalen [2]' (Plantin-Moretus Museum, BM 30.102); 1785, A.G. Mappa, Delft, *Epreuues de caracteres orientales*, 'Grec, Capitales. N:1'; McMurtrie, 1924a, 62).

KEY LETTERS Capital A with cupped top terminal; narrow E, N, Y; K with serifless tail; splayed M; rounded arms of Ψ; curled bowl of Ω.

FIGURE 21 (opposite) A Greek Titling on Two-line Pica [Gk 6.9] or *Lettres de deux points de Cicéro*, perhaps by Granjon (1666) as it appears in the second line of f. arv of the 1781 Mappa specimen. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

Γ Δ Θ Ξ Π Σ Φ
Φ Ρ Υ Γ Ι Α Ψ Ι Λ Ω.
Γ Δ Θ Ι Λ Ξ Π Σ Υ Φ Ψ Ω

22. An English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin* possibly by Villiers (1556)

This English or *Saint-augustin* (96 mm) appeared in Paris from 1556 onwards at the press of Thomas Richard. It is a close copy of Garamont's 1550 Great Primer (3). Its capitals and short characters are all but identical, but the extenders are a bit shorter, permitting a using a mould on the smaller body of English. I suggest that this was the face Le Bé entered in his 1618 inventory under the heading 'Grec St. Augustin de Viliers' (Morison, 1957, 21). The Le Bé inventory mentions three English-Bodied Greeks, respectively by Granjon, Haultin, and Villiers. As this type is in the line of none of the two first named (11 and 17) an attribution to Villiers seems to be the best option. Of Villiers, Le Bé owned also a Greek Great Primer and a Long Primer, which I failed to identify up to now.

The English was first employed in the mid-1550s in the printing of Thomas Richard, a customer of Villiers (Parent, 1974, 73, n.1.). Richard was a successor in the Loys firm, which specialized in Greek publications (Renouard, 1964, S4: 2). It replaced an older Greek on the same body, probably Petreius's, which Loys and later Richard had used from about 1544 onwards (Renouard, 1964, S4: pl. 10; Vervliet, 2002, no. 7). Ostensibly there was a group of Paris printers without access to the Royal Greeks.

This Greek type has aroused much interest in Great Britain. Known as the 'Silver Letter' it was thought (wrongly, I think; see 2 above) to have been used in 1610–13 for the Eton Chrysostomus. Its matrices were later bequeathed by Henry Savile to the Oxford University Press. Proctor (1905, 116) suggested that they were bought in 1608 in Frankfurt. Morison (1967, 102–3) found the history of this face 'complicated and perplexed'; he suggested an attribution to Pierre Haultin, on the basis of its appearance on the press of Martin Le Jeune, Haultin's cousin. But the type has not been seen in Haultin's printing nor is it in his style.

SIZE English (*Saint-augustin*); 20 96 x 1.8 : 2.7 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1556, Paris, Th. Richard (R. Guillon, *Tabulae perbreues*; Ghent, University Library, BL 642).

EARLY APPEARANCES Paris: 1561, J. Kerver & J. I Le Blanc; 1566, S. Nivelle; 1572, M. Sonnius; 1574, G. Buon; 1580, J. Borel, T. Brumen, J. Houzé, H. Le Bé, J. de Marnef & Wid. G. Cavellat; 1581, P. Huet; Douai: 1579, J. Bogard; Frankfurt: 1589, J. Spiess; Cambridge: 1632, T. Buck.

TYPE-SPECIMENS c.1686, Oxford University Press, Oxford, [*Christ Church Specimen*], 'Great Primer Greek' (Morison, 1967, pl. 8); 1693 [& 1695 & 1706], Oxford University Press, Oxford, *Specimen of the several sorts*, 'Great Primer Greek' (Hart, 1970, 14); 1707, P. Cot, Paris, *Essais de caracteres*, f. [6] 'Grec au corps de Gros Romain & S. Augustin' (McMurtrie, 1924); 1742, Cl. Lamesle, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. I 2v 'Grec de Saint Augustin Numero XLII' (Johnson, 1965); c.1757, Oxford University Press, Oxford, *A Specimen of several sorts*, 'Great Primer Greek' (McMurtrie, 1931; Simmons, 1956); 1758, N. Gando, Paris, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, f. I 2v 'Grec de Saint Augustin Numero XLII' (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, B 3051:3); c.1762, J. Roman, Amsterdam, *Proeven van letteren*, 'Augustyn Griex' (Dreyfus, 1963, pl. 13); 1764, P.-S. Fournier, Paris, *Manuel typographique*, t. 1, p. 270–1 (only capitals; except Π); t. 2, p. 169 (only lower case; Fournier, 1995, 1: 270–1; 2: 169); 1768, J. Enschedé, Haarlem, *Proef van letteren*, f. [n4] 'Augustyn Grieksch No. 2' (ascribed to Chr. van Dijk in the specimen and to Haultin by Lane, 1993, 69–70).

MATRICES PRESERVED Oxford, University Press (Great Primer Greek, no. 1; Morison, 1967, 102–3).

KEY LETTERS Capital M without right-hand top serif; narrow capitals N and P; duplicate capitals Π; .

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Grec St. Augustin de Viliers (Le Bé, 1618).

LITERATURE Proctor, 1904, 110–15; Scholderer, II, nos. 43; 36; Reed, 1952, 128–9; Morison, 1967, 102–3; Hart, 1970, 177–8; Lane, 1993, 69–70.

FIGURE 22a An English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Villiers (1556), as shown in the type-specimen of J. Enschedé, Haarlem, 1768, f. n4. Courtesy of the Museum Enschedé, Haarlem. See also fig. 23b.

FIGURE 22b (opposite) An English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or *Saint-augustin*, possibly by Villiers (1556) as it appears in C. Lamesle, *Epreuves générales des caracteres*, Paris, 1742, f. I 2v. Courtesy of the Ecole Estienne, Paris.

μετὰ τὸ πρᾶθῆναι αὐτὸν λύτρωσις ἔσται αὐτῷ ἑρρίψεν
ὅταν κλέψῃ καὶ ἀρπάσῃ καὶ λωποδοτήσῃ ἄββατ
ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔλυσε αὐτόν. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
Μαίταις τέτους Πατὴρ ἡμῶν φώτῃς χιλίαις μβ.
αββγδεζηθικλμνξοπρσςτῖυφχψω. ΑΒΓΔΖΘ
ΙΚΛΝΞΟΠΡΣΤΥΦΧΨΩ. Θέλος.

GREC DE SAINT AUGUSTIN,
Numero XLII.

Περὶ τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ, τῷ γενομένῳ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κα-
τὰ σάρκα.

Τῷ ὀριοθέντῳ μὲν Θεῷ ἐν δυνάμει, κατὰ πνεῦμα, ἀγίω-
συνης, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

Δι' ἧς ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ὑποστολὴν εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν
πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὑπὲρ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.

Εἰς οἷς ἔστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Πᾶσι τοῖς ἔσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἀγαπητοῖς Θεῷ, κλητοῖς ἀγίοις.
Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡτῶν, καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ.

Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μὴ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ
παντὸς ἡτῶν, ὅτι ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῶν
κόσμῳ.

Μαρτυρῶ γὰρ μὴ ἔσθιν ὁ Θεός, ὃ λατρεύω ἐν τῶν πνευματι-
κῶν, ἐν τῶν θιαγῆλόν τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνησθῆναι ὑ-
μῶν ποιῶμαι.

Παντοτε ὅπου τῶν προσευχῶν μὴ δεῖ μὲν, εἴπως ἤδη
ποτέ θυσιάζομαι ἐν τῶν θειῶν τῷ Θεῷ, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς
ὑμᾶς.

Ἐπιποσθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνε-
υματικόν, εἰς τὸ περιχέουσαι ὑμᾶς.

Τῷτο δὲ ἔστι, συμπαρακληθῆναι ἐν ὁμῖν διὰ τὸ ἐκ ἀλ-
λήλοις πίστεως, ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμῶν.

Οὐτέλω καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι πολλάκις πρὸς
ἀπὸ ἐμὴν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐκκοινοῦν ἀχρι τῷ δεῦρο ἵνα καρ-
πὸν τινα ᾗ καὶ ὅσον ὑμῖν, καθὼς καὶ ὅσον τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Ἐλλήσι τε καὶ βαρβάροις, σογοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις ὁφείλεται
εἶναι.

23. A Great Primer Greek [Gk 116]
or *Gros-romain* possibly by Villiers or
Du Boys (1554)

Only weak reasons underpin an attribution of this Great Primer or Gros-romain (116 mm) to Nicolas de Villiers. The time of its first appearance (in the Clenardus editions of Bonhomme, Lyons, 1554–57) is right and (apart from an unsightly Greek occurring in Frelon's printing), it is the sole sixteenth-century Greek Great Primer in France which by elimination may correspond to the set which Le Bé records in his c.1618 inventory as a 'Grec gros romain de Viliers' (Morison, 1957, 21).

However, it is strange that the type first occurs in Lyons and this may instead point to another punchcutter. Pierre Haultin, Robert Granjon, or Michel du Boys (Chaix, 1954, 176; Peter, 1978) reportedly were in Lyons in the 1550's. The face is certainly below the standard of Haultin or Granjon, and Du Boys (who cut also a Hebrew for Bonhomme in 1554) is a more likely candidate.

Moreover, the face differs much from the 'Grec de Gros Romain' which J.-F. Fournier shows in his c.1767 Greek specimen (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. NAF 22434). By exclusion the type shown on its f. 225 ought to be the one which the specimen's title attributes to Villiers, but I failed up to now to spot this latter type in a sixteenth-century imprint.

This type is an insolently exact clone of Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek (3). It contains meticulous copies of nearly all abbreviations of the Garamont type, even of the unusual and complex contractions, as those for γίνεται, ἐπειδή, επευ, κεφάλαιον. The likeness of the sorts in both types forms a real snare for every student of typographical history. Luckily (at least for the purpose of identification) the punches of this type were less well cut and its matrices badly justified, resulting in rough and unrestful page image, quite different from the elegant

Garamont displays. Cf. fig. 23a–d. But the individual sorts of each face can only be distinguished by a careful examination and extreme scrutiny. It would be impossible to describe the subtle differences in words; it may suffice to point to the differences in the capitals H, N, Ξ (all three a bit broader in this type), and in the lower case sorts β, descending and ascending η, λ, ξ, and extended υ. Small discrepancies can be seen in the αρ, ελλ, εξ, and three-character και ligatures.

So far this type has only been observed in Lyons in the years 1554–66.

SIZE Great Primer (*Gros-romain*); 20 116 x 2 : 3 mm.

FIRST SEEN IN 1554, Lyons, M. Bonhomme (N. Clenardus, *Institutiones*; Amsterdam, University Library, 1478 A21; Bakelants-Hoven, 1981, 55, no. 130).

EARLY APPEARANCE Lyons: 1561, G. Rouille; 1566, C. Senneton.

KEY LETTERS Most sorts are very similar to Garamont's Great Primer (2); slight differences in the capitals H, N, Ξ (all three a bit broader in Villiers's), in the lower case sorts β, descending and ascending η, λ, ξ, extended υ, in the αρ, ελλ, εξ, and three-character και ligatures.

CONTEMPORARY ATTRIBUTION Grec gros romain de Viliers (Le Bé, 1618).

FIGURE 23a (opposite, above) A Great Primer Greek [Gk 116] or *Gros-romain*, possibly by Villiers or Du Boys (1554) as it appears in N. Clenardus, *Meditationes*, Lyons, M. Bonhomme, 1557, p. 318. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

FIGURE 23b (opposite, second) The same paragraph set in Villiers's English-Bodied Greek (22), as it appears in N. Clenardus, *Meditationes*, Paris, P. Huet, 1581, p. 299. Courtesy of the Stadsbibliotheek, Antwerp.

FIGURE 23c (opposite, third) The same paragraph set in Garamont's Great Primer (2), as it appears in N. Clenardus, *Meditationes*, Paris, R. I Estienne, 1550, p. 70. Courtesy of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp.

FIGURE 23d (opposite, below) The same paragraph set in Garamont's Great Primer (2), as it appears in N. Clenardus, *Meditationes*, Frankfurt, A. Wechel, 1580, p. 317. The broad ligatures εϋ and τῶν are regular sorts. Courtesy of the University Library, Ghent.

Εὐχαὶ παρὸ τροφῆς ¹ ἀξίως ² γυέσθωσαν τῶν
 τῷ θεῷ ³ παροχῶν, ⁴ ὥν τε νῦν δίδωσι, καὶ ὧν
 παρὸς ⁵ ὁ μέλλον ⁶ ἐταμείνατο. εὐχαὶ μὲν
 τροφῆν, ⁷ εὐχαριστίαν τῶν ⁸ δεδομένων ἔχον
 καὶ αἰτεῖν τῶν ⁹ ἐπιγέλλομένων.

Figure 23a.

Εὐχαὶ παρὸ τροφῆς ¹ ἀξίως ² γυέσθωσαν τῶν
 τῷ θεῷ ³ παροχῶν, ⁴ ὥν τε νῦν δίδωσι, καὶ ὧν
 παρὸς ⁵ ὁ μέλλον ⁶ ἐταμείνατο. εὐχαὶ μετὰ τρο-
 φῆν, ⁷ εὐχαριστίαν τῶν ⁸ δεδομένων ἔχονσαι, καὶ
 αἰτεῖν τῶν ⁹ ἐπιγέλλομένων.

Figure 23b.

Εὐχαὶ παρὸς τροφῆς ἀξίως γυέσθωσαν τῶν
 τε νῦν δίδωσι, καὶ ὧν παρὸς ὁ μέλλον ἐταμείνατο. εὐχαὶ μετὰ τρο-
 φῆν, εὐχαριστίαν τῶν δεδομένων ἔχονσαι, καὶ αἰτεῖν τῶν ἐπιγέλλο-
 μένων.

Figure 23c.

Εὐχαὶ παρὸς τροφῆς ἀξίως γυέσθωσαν τῶν
 θεῷ παροχῶν, ⁴ ὥν τε νῦν δίδωσι, καὶ ὧν παρὸς
 ὁ μέλλον ⁶ ἐταμείνατο. εὐχαὶ μὲν τρο-
 φῆν, εὐχαριστίαν τῶν ⁸ δεδομένων ἔχονσαι,
 καὶ αἰτεῖν τῶν ⁹ ἐπιγέλλομένων.

Figure 23d.

Table 1: Greek Types by Body Size

Nonpareil 40 mm/20 lines	
13. Granjon's so-called 'Nonpareil' for Rouille, <i>i.e.</i> Long Primer Greek [Gk 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1548)	19. Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Greek [Gk 240] or <i>Trismégiste</i> (1564)
14. Granjon's Nonpareil Greek [Gk 40] for Plantin (1566/74)	
Brevier (<i>Petit-texte; Bible</i>) 54 mm	
9. Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1553)	
Long Primer (<i>Petit-romain</i>) 66/67 mm	
13. Granjon's so-called 'Nonpareil' for Rouille, <i>i.e.</i> Long Primer Greek [Gk 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1548)	8. Le Bé's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 3.9] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i> (1548)
15. Granjon's Long Primer Greek [Gk 66] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1560)	12. Haultin's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i> [Gk 4] (1553)
Small Pica (<i>Philosophie</i>) 76 mm	
10. Haultin's Small Pica Greek [Gk 76] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1549)	
Pica (<i>Cicéro</i>) 80/84 mm	
1. Garamont's Royal Pica Greek [Gk 80] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1546)	4. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i> (1545)
16. Granjon's First Pica Greek [Gk 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1556)	
16a. Granjon's Second Pica Greek [Gk 84] or <i>Cicéro</i> (c.1574)	
English (<i>Saint-augustin</i>) 90/96 mm	
11. Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1560)	
22. An English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> possibly by Villiers (1556)	
17. Granjon's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1561)	
Great Primer (<i>Gros-romain</i>) 114/118 mm	
2. Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1543)	
7. Le Bé's Great Primer Greek [Gk 114] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1548)	
23. A Great Primer Greek [Gk 116] or <i>Gros-romain</i> possibly by Villiers or Du Boys (1554)	
Paragon (<i>Petit-parangon</i>) 135 mm	
18. Granjon's Paragon Greek [Gk 135] or <i>Petit-parangon</i> (1565)	
Double Pica (<i>Gros-parangon</i>) 150 mm	
3. Garamont's Royal Two-line Pica Greek [Gk 150] or <i>Palestine</i> (1550)	
Two-line Great Primer (<i>Moyen Canon</i>) 240 mm	
Titlings	
Two-line Brevier (<i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i>) 3.9/4 mm/capital height	
Two-line Long Primer (<i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i>) 5.5 mm	
Two-line Pica (<i>Lettres de deux points de Cicéro</i>) 6.2 mm	
Two-line English (2 Points de Saint-augustin) 6.9 mm	
Two-line Great Primer (<i>Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain</i>) 9.5 mm	
Two-line Double Pica (<i>Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon</i>) 14.5 mm	

Table 2: Greek Types by Date of First Appearance

1543	1560
2. Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1543)	15. Granjon's Long Primer Greek [Gk 66] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1560)
1545	11. Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1560)
4. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i> (1545)	1561
1546	17. Granjon's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1561)
1. Garamont's Royal Pica Greek [Gk 80] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1546)	1564
1548	19. Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Greek [Gk 240] or <i>Trismégiste</i> (1564)
7. Le Bé's Great Primer Greek [Gk 114] or <i>Gros-romain</i> (1548)	1565
8. Le Bé's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 3.9] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i> (1548)	18. Granjon's Paragon Greek [Gk 135] or <i>Petit-parangon</i> (1565)
13. Granjon's so-called 'Nonpareil' for Rouille, <i>i.e.</i> Long Primer Greek [Gk 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i> (1548)	20. Granjon's Greek Titling on Two-line Small Pica [Gk 6.2] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Philosophie</i> (1565)
1549	1566/74
10. Haultin's Small Pica Greek [Gk 76] or <i>Philosophie</i> (1549)	14. Granjon's Nonpareil Greek [Gk 40] for Plantin (1566/74)
1550	1569
3. Garamont's Royal Two-line Pica Greek [Gk 150] or <i>Palestine</i> (1550)	5. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Great Primer [Gk 9.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain</i> (1569)
1553	1572
9. Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or <i>Petit-texte</i> (1553)	6. Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Double Pica [Gk 14.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon</i> (1572)
12. Haultin's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-texte</i> [Gk 4] (1553)	1574
1554	16a. Granjon's Second Pica Greek [Gk 84] or <i>Cicéro</i> (c.1574)
23. A Great Primer Greek [Gk 116] or <i>Gros-romain</i> possibly by Villiers or Du Boys (1554)	1666
1556	21. A Greek Titling on Two-line Pica [Gk 6.9] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Cicéro</i> , perhaps by Granjon (1666)
16. Granjon's First Pica Greek [Gk 82] or <i>Cicéro</i> (1556)	
22. An English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> possibly by Villiers (1556)	

Cyrillic & Oriental Typography in Rome at the End of the Sixteenth Century: An Inquiry into the Later Work of Robert Granjon; 1578–1590

Robert Granjon's Place in Typographic History

Among the great names of French typography – those of Vêrard, Tory, Estienne, de Tournes, Garamont, Fournier, Didot, come first to mind – that of Robert Granjon (1513–90) is rarely cited. A few specialized works¹ it is true, give him a place of some honour as the cutter of excellent Italic types² and as the ‘inventor’ of a typically French, sixteenth-century cursive Gothic, the *Civilité*.³ However, Granjon is never placed on a level with Garamont as a type designer nor with Estienne or De Tournes as a printer. He was never the subject of a good biography and such indications as the two principal French historical bibliographers, Baudrier⁴ and Renouard,⁵ give, are incomplete and sometimes inaccurate. Only in the last few years have specialized studies brought to light certain facts about his life.⁶ Granjon, however, did not merit this silence. As a punchcutter he was Garamont's equal. While it is true that the Roman faces which he cut follow the unsurpassable model of Garamont, they are freer, richer, more calligraphic. If, in the history of Roman typographic characters, Garamont's represent the sober, static, immutable beauty of the Renaissance, Granjon's for their part display the exuberance, ostentation, magnificent assurance and technical perfection of the Baroque. But as ‘inventor’ of new graphic forms, he far surpassed Garamont. From this viewpoint, Granjon is more the ‘artist’, Garamont more the ‘artisan’. To illustrate this thesis, we need only refer to Granjon's typographic fleurons, to his *Civilités*, and above all to his Italics (fig. A–B). Italic seems to have been a less than congenial type for Garamont. He chiefly made copies of the Aldine model (with upright capitals) and the ‘Old-face’ Italics which he cut often show strain. Those of Granjon, on the other hand, are extremely elegant; they were decisive in determining the subsequent form of these letters. If he wasn't the first to cut inclined capitals, it was he, in any case, who popularized them in a form which we still accept today. Furthermore, far in advance of his contemporaries, and his confrères in the centuries to come, Granjon's virtuosity revitalized Gothic characters, left moribund since the beginning of the sixteenth century by the italianizing wave which swept Europe. He invented and cut these ‘lettres de civilité’,⁷ the ultimate and otherwise vain Gallican reaction⁸ to the invasion of ‘Romans’ and ‘Italics’, two types whose names indicate their transalpine affiliation. As an engraver of music, Granjon is important, although not of the foremost. He became, nonetheless, one of the first⁹ to cut cursive notes, that is to say the round notes with which we are familiar today, and his tablatures for lute are a marvel of finish.¹⁰

Summary

This paper surveys the type-faces that Robert Granjon cut at the request of Gregory XIII, Sixtus V and Ferdinando I de Medici during his sojourn in Rome in the 1580s. He thus assisted to the creation of the two foremost institutional typographic undertakings in the Italian Cinquecento, namely that of the *Stamperia Vaticana*, and the *Stamperia Medicea*. In Rome, Granjon found himself associated with the religious publications for the non-Roman Christians, particularly those of the Near East and Slav countries, such as catechisms, professions of faith, Gregorian calendars, psalters, conclusions of the Council of Trent, missals, grammars, Gospels, or with profane publications, such as those of Euclid and Avicenna. Granjon's Roman sojourn is important for the history of Orientalism in occidental Europe during the sixteenth century, as well as for the study of palaeotypography in general, as an opportunity to observe what was possible, typographically speaking, in a single decade with the talent of a Granjon and the backing of the pontifical court and the Medici.

Revision of a paper that appeared in the *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge à Rome*, 38 (1967), 177–231. A separate reprint appeared the same year from Menno Hertzberger in Amsterdam. The English translation by Alastair Johnston was published in 1981 as a monograph by the Poltroon Press, Berkeley.

1. Updike, 1966; Johnson, 1966; Carter, 1969.

2. Johnson, 1941; Vervliet, 1998.

3. Carter-Vervliet, 1966.

4. Baudrier, 2: 49–63.

5. Renouard, 1965, 182–3.

6. Carter, 1967, 32; Parent, 1974, 71–4; Tinto, 1973; 1987; Vervliet, 1998.

7. Carter-Vervliet, 1966.

8. Just as *fraktur* was a

German reaction (Wehmer, 1955, 145–72).

9. The first was the printer J. de Channay of Avignon, in 1532, in Elzéar Gennet, *Liber primus missarum* (*La musique*

française, 1934, 41–2, n.121; Dalbanne, 1939, 226–32).

10. S. Gorlier, *Le troysieme livre contenant plusieurs duos ...*, Paris, R. Granjon & M. Fezandat, 1551 (Guillo, 1991, 121).

III. TVS CVL.

ILLA est perstans & diuina sapientia, præceptas penitus & pertractatas humanas res habere: nihil admirari cum acciderit: nihil, antequam euenerit, non euenire posse, arbitrari.

Sapientia nihil est melius. 2. de natura Deorum.

Ad rempublicam plurima veniunt commoda, si moderatrix omnium rerum præsto est sapientia: hinc ad ipsos qui eam adepti sunt, laus, honor, dignitas confluit.

1. de Inuent.

Oculorum, inquit Plato, est in nobis sensus acerrimus: quibus sapientiam non cernimus. Quam illa ardentes amores excitaret sui, si videretur! 2. de Finib.



AD LVCEIVM, LIB. V. FAMIL.

LAUDEM sapientiæ statuo maximam, non aliunde pendere, nec extrinsecus aut bene aut malè viuendi suspensas habere rationes.

Nihil est turpius, quàm sapientis vitam ex insipientium sermone pendere. 2. de Finib.

Qui ex errore imperitæ multitudinis pendet, is in magnis viris non est habendus. 1. Offic.

Ignobilitas, aut humilitas, aut etiam popularis offensio, sapientem esse non prohibet. 5. Tuscul.

Quum sapiens & bonus vir, qualis fuit C. Lælius, suffragiis præteritur, non populus à bono consule potius, quàm ille à vano populo repulsam fert? 5. Tuscul.

C



I. OFFIC.

IN rebus magnis, memoriaeque dignis, consilia, primum, deinde ad a-

posita euentus spectantur, quod dubites, equum sit, an iniquum.

Non debemus quidquam agere, cuius non possimus causam proba-

bilem reddere. 1. Offic.

Ad rem gerendam qui accedit, caueat, ne id modo consideret, quàm illa res honesta sit, sed etiam ut habeat efficiendi facultatem: in quo ipso considerandum est illi, ne aut temere desperet propter ignauiam, aut nimis confidat propter cupiditatem. In omnibus autem negotiis prius quàm aggrediare, adhibenda est preparatio diligens. 1. Offic.

Suum quisque noscat ingenium, acremque se, & vitiolorum, & bonorum futurum iudicem prebeat: ne scienici plus quàm nos videantur habere prudentiz, neve luxurio videat in scena, quod non videat sapiens in vita. 1. Offic.

Non est incommodum ex aliis iudicare: ut siquid dedecet in aliis, vitemus & ipsi: sit enim nescio quo modo, ut magis in aliis cernamus, quàm in nobismetipsis, siquid delinquitur. 1. Offic.

Ut pictores, & ij qui signa fabricantur. 1. Offic. in Similib. 90.

I. OFFIC.

AD ea eligenda, quae dubitationem afferunt, adhibere homines doctos debemus, vel etiam vsu peritos, & quid vti de vno quoque officij genere placeat, requirere.

Non est satis iudicare quid faciendum, non faciendum sit, sed stare etiam oportet in eo quod sit iudicatum. 1. de Vinib.

Melius curantur ea, quae celsis geruntur, quàm quae sive consilio administrantur. 1. de Inuent.

Domus ea quae ratione geritur, omnibus instructior est rebus, & apparatus, quàm ea quae temere, & nullo consilio administratur. 1. de Inuent.

Exercitum is cui praepositus est sapiens, & callidus imperator, omnibus partibus commodius regitur, quàm is qui stultitia & temeritate alicuius administratur. 1. de Inuent.

Hoc plerumque facimus, ut consilia euentis ponderemus, & cui bene quid processerit, multum illum prauidisse: cui sciet, nihil sensisse dicamus. Pro G. Rabir. Posthum.

Nedam hominum humilitatem, sed etiam amplissimarum virorum consilia euentu, non ex voluntate à plerisque probari solent. Lib. 9. ad Attic. Epist. 10.



PRO FLACCO.

Misérables conditione d'administrer, & régir les citéz & prouincés, & s'quelles diligence est pleine de rancune, négligence de blâmes & mépris: & s'quelles sécurité est dangereuse, libéralité non aggrable, & par les plain d'embuchés, flatterit pernicieuse, & se font familiar à tous, l'esprit de plusieurs plain d'indignation, courroux secrets, & flatterit ouuertes: toutes les- quelles choses attendent les preteurs & seruantes en possession de leurs dignitez, & s'quelles seurent à eux quand ils sont présents, & les délaissent lors qu'ils s'en vont.



III. DE LEGIB.

Il n'y a rien plus pernicieux aux Citéz: Rien tant contraire au Droit, et aux Voix, rien moins Civil & humain, que faire quelque chose par force, après que la république est dressée & instituée.

Les Voix se tiennent coy entre les armées, & ne commandent d'être attendues, seu qu'il faut que celui qui les sou- droit attendre soit iniquement puny, deuant que demander iustice amandement de l'offense. Pro Mir.

I. OFFIC.

Quand le iuge veut prononcer sa sentence, il se doit souuenir qu'il a Dieu pour tesmoing, c'est à dire son esprit, outre lequel Dieu n'a donné à l'homme chose plus diuine.

En ce gist la sagesse du iuge, qu'il prise & conside ney seulement ce qu'il peut: mais aussi ce qu'il doit, & ait souuenance ney pas combien il luy est permise, mais aussi in- quea ou se tend sa puissance. Pro Rab. post.

C'est à son iuge d'enfermer tousiours la verité. 2. Offic.

D 3

FIGURE B Page D3 of Plantin's *Index characterum* (Antwerp, 1567), showing (from top to bottom, and from left to right) a 'Nompaille Romaine' and 'Nompaille cursive', both by Pierre Hautin, and the 'Courante', a Civilité by Granjon, the 'Petite

Augustine' Civilité by Philippe Danfrie and Granjon's 'Cicero lettre française', the first Civilité to be cut. Cf. Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 3-5, nos. 21, 22, 38-42. The flowers are a six-piece fleuron by Granjon (Early inv., 1960, 30, no. LMA 8).

a. *pace* Renouard, 1965, 116.
 b. Renouard, 1964, 3: 202;
 Coyecque, 1905, 2: 6148.
 c. Carter, 1967, 32; probably
 he started working on types at
 the late 1530s or the early 1540s
 in the shop of François Gryphius
 (Renouard, 1965, 186; Vervliet,
 1998, no. 28), after leaving the
 paternal house in 1539 (Parent,
 1999, 140).

11. See Spey's appeal to the
 German princes, below, p. 447.

12. Granjon's presence
 manifestly influenced French
 orthography; it was doubtless
 he who was responsible for
 the special signs which the
 reformers insisted upon (J.
 Pelletier, 1550–55; P. Ramus,
 1572; J. A. du Baif, 1574; H.
 Rambaud, 1578). Each reforming
 wave corresponds exactly to
 a stay by Granjon, whether at
 Paris or at Lyons. Cf. Catach,
 1968, 218.

13. On Kirsten's attempt, (see
 below p. 449, n.167).

14. He is often called
Parisiensis: see for example the
 bibliographical address of his
 Armenian (fig. 1a) and Arabic
 specimen (fig. 3a) and of *Kitāb
 al-Bustān* (see below, p. 450,
 n.179).

15. The exact date is unknown;
 but he says he is seventy in the
 imprint of a type-specimen
 of his Arabic, dated 1583 (see
 fig. 4b below). In an archival
 document, dated 6 November
 1539, his age is given as being
 twenty-five (Parent, 1999, 143).
 One should therefore correct
 J.R. Lottin, 1789, 1: 22) when
 he cites, from an undisclosed
 source, the year 1523 as the
 beginning of Granjon's career.

16. Jean's last publication
 known dates from 1521 (Moreau,
 3: no. 192). He died before
 6 November 1539 when his
 wife is recorded as a widow
 (Parent, 1974, 140). La Caille,
 1689, 128; Lottin, 1789, 2: 7;
 Baudrier, 2: 49) mention Jean as
 a brother or younger brother to
 Robert. Michaux, 1843, s.v., and
 Renouard, 1965, 182 accept Jean
 as Robert's father. This thesis
 has recently been confirmed
 by archival documents (Carter,
 1969, 32; Parent, 1974, 140).
 Robert (*At the sign of the grandz
 Jons*) kept up the theme of Jean's
 printer's mark (*Sub signo magni
 Junci*). See Renouard, 1926,
 397–8.

17. Coyecque, 1905, 1: 3156.

Finally, as a cutter of exotic types, he not only made possible the Polyglot
 of Plantin (1568–72) and the *Stamperia Medicea Orientale* (c.1590–1614), but
 even excellent. If one surveys the typography of the sixteenth century, these two
 exploits constitute, along with the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* of Robert Estienne
 (1531), the highest expression of European humanistic erudition. Granjon, by
 his astonishingly abundant production, not only made them feasible¹¹ (like
 other projects of lesser importance which without him would not have been
 achieved),¹² but technically perfect.¹³

Granjon's biography

The facts of Robert Granjon's biography, as they are scattered through a series
 of publications, are sometimes difficult to assemble. I shall summarize the es-
 sential. Robert Granjon was born in Paris¹⁴ about 1513.¹⁵ He was the son of Jean
 Granjon, bookseller of Paris;¹⁶ Claude Granjon,¹⁷ the widow^a of the bookseller
 Thomas de Villiers¹⁸ (fl.1528–c.1554) probably was a sister. In 1551 Granjon
 put her son George into apprenticeship with François Barthelemy Honorat
 and Pierre, another son, was apprenticed to Granjon in 1552;^b his (elder) sister,
 Geneviève Granjon¹⁹ married the bookdealer Nicolas de Guignant (1539–57).
 We have no precise details about Robert's years of apprenticeship, but the
 c.1643 Memorandum of Guillaume II Le Bé notes that he was apprenticed
 to a goldsmith and that he thereafter set himself to work on engraving types.^c
 We know also that in February 1545, he acted as a master taking a typesetter
 as an apprentice, Hubert d'Armilliers.²⁰ From that time the particulars about
 Granjon become more numerous. The first types, attributable to Granjon with
 any certainty, are a Roman Long Primer from 1542 and an English-Bodied
 Italic from 1543.²¹ In 1546, Granjon contracted his neighbours Jean Corbon
 and Dimanche Le Page to clear the mud and dispose of the refuse during his
 absence on his habitual trip to Lyons.²² These trips should be put in relation to
 the appearance of Granjon types in Lyons, Italy, and Spain from 1542 onwards.
 In the contracts with Gaspar de Molina of 24 August 1547 and with Jacques
 Hus of 2 June 1548, both residing in Lyons, the delivery of several sorts of types
 is explicitly mentioned.²³ The contracts refer to customers of Granjon in Lyons
 such as Guillaume Rouille, Jean I de Tournes, Sebastian Gryphius, or Pierre
 Fradin.²⁴

From the 1540s onwards French Romans and Italics had begun to infiltrate,
 probably by the way of Lyons, the typography of the neighbouring countries. In
 Italy, major printers replaced the older, noble but worn Italian characters and
 their imitations from Basle.²⁵ Lorenzo Torrentino in Florence²⁶ and Gabriele
 Giolito in Venice²⁷ employed Granjon's types, while Paolo Manuzio preferred

18. Could this De Villiers be
 a parent of the type-engraver
 Nicolas de Villiers about whom
 we know so little? See Morison,
 1957, 24; Parent, 1974, 72; 188,
 n.3; Vervliet, 2002a, no. 22.

19. Coyecque, 1905, 2: 4576–
 4577. The spouses Guignant-
 Granjon ceded the paternal
 home to Robert in March 1545
 (Coyecque, 1905, 1: 1609).

20. Renouard, 1964, 1: 111. A

D'Armilliers is recorded from
 1553 onwards as a typefounder
 in London (Carter, 1969a,
 537–8).

21. Vervliet, 1998a, 9, no. 1;
 Johnson, 1941, 292–3, no. 1;
 Vervliet, 1998, 10–11, no. 1.

22. Coyecque, 1905, 2: 4170.

23. Baudrier, 1: 284–5; 2:
 51–3; Parent, 1974, 72, n.2.

24. The fact that precious
 stones and rings were pledged,

while none of the witnesses
 appeared to be specialists in
 this domain, leaves one to
 suppose that Granjon was
 acquainted with it. That
 supports the c.1643 Le Bé
 Memorandum reporting that
 Granjon had been apprenticed
 to a goldsmith (Carter, 1967, 20).

25. Vervliet, 1967, 24–5.

26. P. Giovio, *Vita Leonis*, 1548.

27. Tinto, 1967, pl. 28.

Haultin's.²⁸ In 1552, Andrea Alciati, in a letter to Paolo Jovio, specifically commended Lorenzo Torrentino's types as being more beautiful than Venetian or Swiss models.²⁹ In Spain, Bartholome de Najera began to use Granjon's first English-sized Italic from 1548 onwards.³⁰ Johnson and Vervliet, on the other hand, explored the allusion to de Tournes and Gryphius and described the first Italics of Granjon in use at Lyons and Paris from 1543 onwards.³¹

The first known publication of Granjon is dated 1549. It is a New Testament in Greek and Latin: H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *Novum Testamentum Graecè & Latinè*. Baudrier³² reproduces the title-page, which has the address *Parisiis. Apud Robertum Granion, in taberna Gryphiana*. 1549. The *taberna Gryphiana*, former residence of Franciscus Gryphius, was occupied from 1545 by Robert Granjon.³³ Normally one would attribute the types employed in this edition to Granjon, but since there are examples of the same publication bearing the addresses of Jacques I Du Puys, Michel Fezandat, Jerome and Denise de Marnef some caution must be enjoined.^d

Granjon entered into association with the same Fezandat, printer-bookseller of Paris, in 1550;³⁴ the apparently abrupt termination of this association is dated November 1551.³⁵ The associates deemed it opportune to stipulate quite clearly their respective commitments. Coyecque³⁶ reproduces the bill of dissolution which is of major importance to typographic history and which, apparently, has never been investigated. Besides interesting notes on the techniques of typesetting and -founding in the sixteenth century, one finds mention there of a Nonpareil Italic³⁷ and a Greek cut for Rouille of Lyons, another Italic cut for de Tournes, and a small music type cut for Fezandat.

Several years later, in 1557, Granjon found himself at the centre of typographical interest by the invention of the characters known as Civilité, a French cursive Gothic (fig. B), cut to counter the Italic of the Italians (1501) and the fraktur of the Germans (1513). The history of this typographical curiosity is well known. A study³⁸ attributes eight Civilité types to Granjon. The first came to light in Lyons in 1557, where he seems to have remained until around 1562. In any case, before 1559 Granjon married Antoinette Salomon,³⁹ daughter of Bernard Salomon,⁴⁰ named 'le petit Bernard', one of the great Lyonesse designers. In Bernard Salomon's will of 19 October 1559, Granjon is called 'master printer, citizen of Lyons'. Furthermore his known books from this period all bear his Lyons address until 1562.⁴¹ Marriage did not make Granjon a sedentary man; in the years which followed one finds him residing in Geneva, Antwerp, Frankfurt, Paris, Lyons and Rome.

The exact date of his arrival in Antwerp is unknown. The Plantin archives mention contracts between Granjon and Plantin from the beginning of January, 1565,⁴² but by October, 1564, Plantin had already sold books to him.⁴³ Passing through Geneva, where two of his new Italics first appeared in 1563–64,^e it is probable that Granjon was in Antwerp in 1563, the date, in fact, of the appearance of a Civilité belonging to the Antwerp printer Gulielmus Silvius.⁴⁴ Granjon's activity in Antwerp is known well enough. The Plantin collection still possesses forty of Granjon's types, which have been studied and commented upon.⁴⁵

The exact date of his departure from Antwerp is uncertain, but should be placed around 1570.⁴⁶ That year, Plantin sent him payment to Frankfurt, through which city Granjon was probably passing.⁴⁷ It was about this time that his new types appeared *en masse* in the typography of the German metro-

d. Vervliet, 2008, no. 319.

e. Vervliet, 1998, nos. 19–20.

28. Johnson, 1938; Vervliet, 2000.

29. Quod vero ad elegantiam dignitatemque voluminis multum pertinet, ethrusci praeli typos venetis et germanicis antepono; sic enim oculos meos delectant ut minime fatigent. Hac namque librum Florentiae excusum, quem de vita et rebus gestis insignium virorum edidisti, multa cum voluptate percucurri ... (*Pauli Iovi opera* (ed. D. Visconti, Rome, 1957–85, 3: 2).

30. Cruickshank, 2004, 988.

31. Johnson, 1940; Vervliet, 1998.

32. Baudrier, 2: 50; Delaveau-Hillard, 2002, no. 3809.

33. Renouard, 1965, 168.

34. Parent, 1974, 134–5. On 23 June 1551 the associates engaged an employee, Servais Fleurent, who sold their books at a 15 per cent commission (Coyecque, 1905, 2: 5846).

35. Parent, 1974, 135.

36. Coyecque, 1905, 2: 5985.

37. Possibly the Italic found in *Il nuovo testamento*, Lyons, Rouillé, 1558 (Baudrier, 9, 247; Vervliet, 1998, 30).

38. Carter-Vervliet, 1966, 42–57.

39. Baudrier, 2: 53–4.

40. Cartier, 1937, 1: 11–12; Sharratt, 2005, 21; Leutrat, 2007, 35–40.

41. Baudrier, 1: 54–64; Carter-Vervliet, 1966, nos. 1, 3–11, 18–21, 59–62. Add.

42. Early inv., 1960, 42 (MA 24).

43. Plant. Arch. 39, f. 194.

44. Carter-Vervliet, 1966, 48.

45. Johnson, 1940–41, 291–308; Carter-Vervliet, 1966; Early inv., 1960, 137.

46. Plantin notes a payment to Granjon, 14 July 1570. Cf. Plant. Arch., 31, f. 89.

47. Plant. Arch., 17, f. 177.

48. Johnson, 1937–38, 201–3. In fact, Granjon's Second Pica and Brevier Roman appeared in Germany from 1569 onwards (Vervliet, 1998a, nos. 8 and 9).

49. Paris, 1844, no. 233.

50. It could be an error in dating. Tchamerzine (1927, 2: 50) reproduces the title-page of an edition of the *Odes d'Anacréon*, translated by R. Belleau (Paris, R. Granjon, 1573). A copy of this edition is in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal in Paris.

51. Catalogue BN Paris Auteurs, s.v. C. Nouvelet; Carter-Vervliet, 1966, nos. 135 and 137.

52. Early inv., 1960, 73–4, (ST 30; ST 49).

53. Baudrier, 2: 54; 8: 322 and n.82 below.

54. Raimondi notes a last delivery of nine punches on 16 November 1589. Then he notes: 'Fin qui è stato pagato M[aestro] Roberto di tutti li sop[ra]detti ponsoni et madre a rag[ione] di scudo un oil po[n]sone co[n] la sua madre et p[er] la sua infirmità della quale morte no[n] fece altro.' [Till now Maestro Roberto has been paid for the above cited punches and matrices at the rate of one 'scudo' for each punch and its matrix, and due to the illness of which he died has done no more.] (Florence, Arch. di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., ii, 5, last page).

55. Rome, Archivio storico del Vicariato (San Lorenzo in Lucina I, Morti I, 1588–1610, 19v). Cf. Tinto, 1973, 295.

56. Michaux, 1843, 18: 355–6.

57. Saltini, 1860; See also Saltini, 1882, 490–5; Saltini mentions here his monograph on the history of the Medicean and the fact that he owned smoke proofs of the Medicean punches. It would be quite important to retrieve this documentation.

58. Bertolotti, 1878, 217–68; Baumgarten, 1922.

59. C. Korolevsky, 'La typographie médicéenne et les publications orientales à Rome à la fin du XVIe siècle', an substantial article of 49 pp., written for the *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (1946) but never published. It contains many interesting details about Oriental liturgical books printed in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth

polis.⁴⁸ In 1571 he was back in Paris. The sale catalogue of C. Nodier⁴⁹ includes a copy (now lost) of the *Odes d'Anacréon*⁵⁰ published that year by Granjon in Paris. The publications of his second Parisian period, which are known with more certainty, date from 1572 to 1574.⁵¹ Plantin paid him again in 1574 and 1575 through the intermediary G. Beys in Paris.⁵² Around 1575 and up to 1577 we find him back in Lyons. The last certain date there is 2 September 1577.⁵³ A year later he was in Rome where he worked until November 1589.⁵⁴ He is reported invalided in the late 1580s, died in the spring of 1590, and was buried in the church Trinità de' Monti on 14 March 1590.⁵⁵

Granjon in Rome

Up to the 1960s it was not easy to find precise information about Granjon's stay in Rome. Baudrier copied what Michaux had written⁵⁶ and Michaux largely transcribed the *Lettera sopra i principi e progressi della Biblioteca Laurenziana* (Florence, 1773) by Angelo Maria Bandini. Renouard (1965, 182) says nothing about the Roman stay. He, and consequently most of the transalpine scholars remained ignorant of Saltini's 1860 paper⁵⁷ in the *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani*, a rather rare periodical. The later publications of Bertolotti and Baumgarten⁵⁸ fared no better. Regrettably, an interesting study by Korolevsky⁵⁹ was never published.

Nevertheless, Granjon's Roman sojourn is important. Firstly, for the biography of one of the greatest of all French typographers; then for the history of Orientalism in occidental Europe during the sixteenth century, as well as in the history of Italian typography in the same period; and, finally, for the archaeology of the book in general, as this study will give us the opportunity to observe what was possible, typographically speaking, in a single decade with the talent of a Granjon and the backing of the pontifical court and of the Medici.

For a moment we will focus on the history of sixteenth-century Italian typography. From an international point of view it had, it seems to me, two culminating points: the first at the beginning of the century, with Aldo, Griffo, Soncino, Arrighi, and Blado; the other, towards its end, with the creation of the typographical societies – the *Tipografia Camerale*, the *Stamperia del Popolo Romano*, the *Stamperia Vaticana*, and, last and most important of all, the *Stamperia Medicea*, an enterprise undertaken at great cost and with a view to unequalled quality which enabled it to continue, in a certain sense, through the seventeenth century and until our time in the Press of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith.⁶⁰ Between these two peaks, one principally Venetian, the other Roman, one perceives a period of stasis or regression, beginning after the sack of Rome, around 1530, and not ending until 1580 when Granjon arrived in Rome. There are of course exceptions: Giolito in Venice, Torrentino in Florence, Manuzio in Rome, but, from an European perspective and compared with an Estienne or a Plantin, they were of moderate worth, albeit honest.

With the Medicean press the Italian book found itself once more at the forefront of European typography. Franciscus Raphelengius, son-in-law of Christopher Plantin, attests, in the preface to his *Alphabetum Arabicum* that he copied the *characteres elegantissimi* of the *Stamperia Medicea*; and, let there be no doubt, the founder of the school of Oriental printing in the Low Countries

centuries. An annotated proof is preserved in the Vatican

Library (Stampe, Res. iii 97). On the Medici Oriental press,

see also Jones, 1994.

60. F. Barberi, 1965, 432–56.

never equalled them.⁶¹ The man who was ultimately responsible for the technical perfection of Roman typography at the end of the sixteenth century – which even exceeded its philologic achievement – was Robert Granjon.

In Rome, Granjon was the able technician who was exploited to the full by Domenico Basa,⁶² technical director of the Stamperia Vaticana⁶³ and Giambattista Raimondi,⁶⁴ Orientalist and scientific director of the celebrated Oriental press of the Medici. Here Granjon found himself associated with the work, ardently undertaken by Gregory XIII, of reuniting the non-Roman Christians, particularly those of the Near East and Slav countries, and providing books in their own languages and scripts.⁶⁵ This missionary goal was the origin of a considerable number of Oriental publications,⁶⁶ sometimes of small scope, such as catechisms, professions of faith, Gregorian calendars, psalters, and the conclusions of the Council of Trent, at other times more important, like missals, grammars and profane works, which were unoffensive to the Christian faith, such as those of Euclid and Avicenna. The most important undertaking was the Arabic edition of the New Testament, 1590–91,⁶⁷ realizing the old vision of Christian Europe: the transmission of Christ's words in the language of his then bitterest enemy; and fulfilling the dream of French,⁶⁸ German⁶⁹ and Italian devotees,⁷⁰ Catholics and Protestants alike. And this project was little

& admodum difficile in hac Thypographia aggressi sumus, Benigne lector, quippe quæ inusitata & nova est, & adhuc nostris maiorumque nostrorum temporibus no[n] visa, impressionem nimirum librorum Araborum, Syrorum, Persarum, Ægyptorumque, et plurium qui apud plerasque alias nationes reperiuntur ...' [Dear reader, in this printing office we have started a hard and very difficult enterprise and one that is unusual and new and not seen either in previous or in our times, namely the printing of books of the Arabs, Syriacs, Persians, Copts and many other ones of several other nations].

68. Postel, 1561, f. A4v; Monantheuil, 1595, 25–6.

69. See the address of Spey (1583), below, p. 447.

70. In Venice the creation of a polyglot press had been projected since 1498 (Levi Della Vida, 1939, 322, n.1). In 1585 Raimondi summarized the aim of the Medicean printing office as follows: 'Commandò [Ferdinando de Medici] che in lingua arabica si stampasse principalmente la Bibbia sacra tutta insieme o vero principii a parte a parte, e tutti libri cattolici della Scrittura che si potessero ritrovare in detta lingua et questo per servizio de christiani arabi quali sono in Oriente, et Granatini in Spagna et che si stampassero tutti li libri che si potessero havere in lingua arabica di scientie humane lecite, nei quali libri non si trattasse niente di religione et questo per introdurre la stampa fra mahumettani, accio con questo mezzo pian piano vi possi penetrare la notizia dell'errori di mahumettani, et la verità della fede christiana' (Tinto, 1987, 94). [He [Ferdinando de Medici] ordered that particularly the whole Holy Bible be printed, and also its main parts separately, and also the main catholic books of the Scripture that may be retrieved in those tongues, in order to serve the Arabic Christians of the East and the Moriscos in Spain. And that all the books in Arabic of permissible human sciences be printed, as far as they are in no way dealing with religion; by introducing printing to the muslims the awareness of muslim errors may very slowly penetrate as well as the truth of Christian faith.]

61. Lane, 1997.

62. Baumgarten, 1922, 1: 104–9; A. Bertolotti, 1884, 47; Ascarelli-Menato, 1989, 123.

63. Vervliet, 1967, 13–17;

Ascarelli-Menato, 1989, 128–9.

64. Saltini, 1860, 257–308; Bertolotti, 1878, 217–68; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 230; Tinto, 1987.

65. Pastor, 1894, 9: 743–5.

66. Levi Della Vida (1948, 48–9) published a memoir (anonymous, but attributed by him to a secretary of Cardinal Santoro) which adequately covers the objectives of the Oriental typography under Gregory XIII. Having underlined the interests of the missions in the Near East, and the foundation of Orientalist seminaries and colleges, its author continues: 'Saria ancor molto utile il far stampare per quelli paesi diuersi libri in diuerse lingue, cioè in lettera Arabica, Caldea, Armena et Abessina, quali libri si potriano disseminare in quelli paesi per uia de Mercanti ouero per alcuni mandata di qua à posta; quali libri quelle nationi accetteriano molto uolontieri [per] hauerne [loro] gran carestia, et li libri che in ciascheduna lingua si douessero stampare saria la Biblia, la unione de Greci, Armeni, et Jacobiti fatta nel Concilio Fiorentino, la Epistola di S. Leone Papa à S. Flauiano, qualche buona dottrina

Christiana, qualche Catechismo particolare per loro, alcune cose più principali del concilio Tridentino, il Catechismo ad Parochos paucis mutatis, un direttorio per insegnare à confessori, una breue summa de [f. 127] decreti più principali fatti da tutti li Concilij generali, alcune cose del Pontificale Romano, et qualche bel libro spirituale et qualche catena de Dottori sopra la sacra scrittura, o almeno sopra li Euangelij, et altri libri che alla giornata si offerissero per questo medesimo fine.

[It would also be very useful to print for those countries various books in various tongues, that is, using Arabic, Chaldean, Armenian, and Abyssinian letters; such books could be disseminated throughout those lands by merchants or else by messengers dispatched for the purpose. Such books would find willing acceptance by those peoples due to the great shortage (of books) they suffer; and the books which should be printed in each of these various languages should be the Bible, the accord of the Greeks, Armenians, and Jacobites at the Florentine Council, the Tome of Leo (i.e., the Letter of Pope Leo the First to Saint Flavian, the Archbishop of Constantinople), some proper Christian doctrine, some special Catechism for them,

a few of the main things of the Council of Trent, a slightly adapted version of the Catechism for parish priests, a directory to instruct confessors, a digest of the most important decrees made by all the general councils, some things from the Roman book of ceremonies, some more lofty, spiritual books and some learned exegeses on Scripture, or at least on the Gospels, and other books which may at that time be deemed particularly suitable to our goal.

Since Your Holiness has already so generously begun to support publishing in Arabic, Chaldean, and Armenian and wishes, as you have given good evidence of wishing, that the publication of diverse (other) works continue, it would be well, in order that at no time in the future we should be without the personnel skilled in printing these works for the benefit of the Orientals, that a fixed entry be established in our annual budget of 1,000 or more scudi to be spent each year for publications of this kind and thus this spiritual aid would be ever available for those peoples; the administration of these monies might be let to some deputies responsible to some most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal.]

67. Raimondi introduces it as follows: 'Rem arduam

71. Raimondi, on the contrary, contents himself with six languages; Bandini, 1773, 19; Assemanus, 1742, 55–6.

72. Adler, 1783, 74; Saltini, 1882, 490–5.

73. On the other hand it is admitted that the Press of the Propaganda descends in a direct line from this intense activity of Oriental typography (Galeotti, 1866; Hoffmann, 1867; S. Morison, 1963; Vervliet, 1967).

74. As, for example, Roccha, 1591, 413–14; Zanetti (1581), in ms. Vat. lat. 6972, ii, f. 331–2 (= preface to the *Homiliai* of John Chrysostom, Rome, 1581; Adams, 1967, C 1524); the work of Marsilius, cited below, p. 438; the *Avvisi di Roma*, cited by Pastor, 1938, 19: 225, n. 4.

75. An as thorough as possible bibliography of Basa and of the Medicean press would be desirable. Besides the generally known bibliographies, one could profitably consult a document in the Vatican archives (*Libri stam-*

more, in the Roman scheme, than a preliminary step towards an immense polyglot bible in a dozen languages⁷¹ and running to thirty volumes,⁷² but which was never realized.⁷³

Of Granjon's work in Rome, an astonishing amount of documentation remains, though of varied quality. First of all, there are the documents preserved in the Vatican archives, in the State archives, and in private collections in Florence and Rome. Saltini, Bertolotti and Pastor drew on them, but more thorough study would certainly prove fruitful. In addition there are printed sources: foremost among them being type-specimens and the books of the end of the sixteenth century themselves, whether they demonstrate explicitly the details of the techniques employed in them,⁷⁴ or whether they simply show us the types employed.⁷⁵ Finally, we have the artefacts closest to the master himself: the punches and matrices for his types, in Rome, Florence and Paris.

pati in tempo di Gregorio xiii, Archivio Vatic, iii, 129, int. D, f. 158–158v and, Vatican Library, Vat. Barb. lat. 3158, f. 195), as well as the manuscript bibliographies of the Medicean which were duly circulated among erudite scholars at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Cf., among others, Florence,

Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. St. Or. iii, n. 48; Vat. lat., 6792, f. 197–200 (*Libri imprimendi in lingua Arabica, Persica, Syriaca, Ægyptiana, Libri impressi in lingua Arabica*); Barb. lat., 3135, f. 15–18, (*Relacion de la stampa de las linguas orientales que tiene el Gran ducque di Toscana in Roma: con el indice de libros*

manuscritos que se habban, e nella en lingua Arabica, Chaldea, Siriaca, Persica, Egyptiaca); London, British Library, ms. Sloane 2764, f. 30–3 (*Libri Arabici impressi liberalitate et munificentia Ferdinandi Medices*); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. Lat., 9340 (Fonds Peiresc), f. 309–313.

Conspectus of Types

1. Granjon's English-Sized Armenian [Arm 98]
or *Saint-augustin* (1579)
2. Granjon's Syriac on Paragon [Sy 130]
or Petit-Parangon (1579)
3. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Pica [Ar 160]
or *Palestine* (1580)
4. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line English [Ar 200]
or *Petit-canon* (1583)
5. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Great-Primer [Ar 260]
or *Trismégiste* (1585)
6. Granjon's English-Sized Arabic [Ar 98]
or *Saint-augustin* (1586)
7. Granjon's Arabic on Paragon [Ar 130]
or *Petit-parangon* (1585)
8. Granjon's Great Primer Cyrillic [Cy 118]
or *Gros-romain* (1583)
9. Granjon's Great Primer single impression plain
chant music [M 8.9] or *Trismégiste* (1581)
10. Granjon's Five-line Pica single impression plain
chant and mensural music [M 19.5/5] (1581)
11. Granjon's second English-Sized Roman [R 95]
or *Saint-augustin* (1580)
12. Granjon's English-Sized Hebrew [Hb 2.6]
or *Saint-augustin* (1585)
13. Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 6]
or *Petit-canon* (1589)
14. Granjon's Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 3]
or *Gros-romain* (1589)
15. Granjon's rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2]
or *Saint-augustin* (1589)

1. Granjon's English-Sized Armenian [Arm 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1579)

As said above, the last date, known with any certainty, of Granjon's residence in France is September 1577. In 1579 we find him in Rome, in the entourage of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro. This dynamic and influential prelate⁷⁶ – he was papabile in 1592 – played an important role in the organization of an Oriental press at Rome. Since 1577 he had been, with Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto and Filippo Vastavillano, named 'protector' of the Collegio dei Neofiti, a college intended for Mohammedan and Jewish neophytes; in this capacity he often had the opportunity to demonstrate his great interest in Oriental studies. He left an autobiography⁷⁷ and a diary.⁷⁸ Of the greatest relevance here, he mentions in a note of 14 May 1579 the outcome of an interview with Gregory XIII: '... Della stampa armenica, (reply:) Che li piace' [As for Armenian publishing: he approves].⁷⁹ A banal phrase, and at first glance inexplicit; but as I see it in the light of two subsequent facts, it should be interpreted as the Pope's consent in principle to the cutting of Armenian punches. In fact, several months later,⁸⁰ on 10 September 1579, Cardinal Santoro again notes: 'Di Roberto Francese intagliatore di caratteri singolariss[im]o che vuol baciare i piedi a S[ua] S[antità]', and, later, 'Baciò i piedi, offerse il carattere Armeno, etc.' [As for Robert, the extraordinary French type cutter, he sends his respects (literally, he wishes to kiss your Holiness' feet). He kissed the Pope's feet and offered him the Armenian specimen, etc.].⁸¹

Here then is Robert Granjon from the outset of his stay in Rome⁸² in audience with Gregory XIII. He presented

to the Pope the specimen of his Armenian types 'nunc primum Romæ incisi' [now firstly cut in Rome],⁸³ a copy of which was discovered on the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome⁸⁴ among Cardinal Santoro's papers. The specimen is explicit enough: the title announces the 'Armenici characteres Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. iussu nunc primum Romæ incisi'; at the foot one finds: 'Rob. Granlon Pariens. incidebat'. It displays an Armenian⁸⁵ on a body of English⁸⁶ with initials we suppose are engraved on wood [fig. 1a]. A complete showing of this Armenian alphabet is found in Roccha's work on the history of the Vatican Library, printed in Rome in 1591.⁸⁷

Granjon's Armenian is a superb type, far superior to that produced by a contemporary like Leonhard Thurneysen zum Thurm, several years later in 1583, at his Oriental press in Berlin.⁸⁸

Some of the punches for this Armenian still exist in the Medici Library at Florence.⁸⁹ Certain identification of the Laurentian punches will prove to be important. It will allow by the study of the exterior form of the shank of the punch (which is generally peculiar to each punchcutter), the exact identification of the typographic treasures of the Vatican and Medicean libraries.⁹⁰

The cutting of the Armenian should be placed – along with the other Oriental types which follow – in the great campaign led by Pius V and his successors with a view to affiliating the Oriental Christians to the church and in the ultimately vain attempts of Gregory XIII to promulgate and promote his Gregorian calendar in the Near East. The following note in Cardinal Santoro's journal on 15 December 1583, should therefore not astonish us: 'Del calendario armeno in lingue armena già tradotto e da

76. Baumgarten, 1922, I: 38–65; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 200–1, 405–6; Castellucci, 1923.

77. Ed. G. Cugnoni, 1889.

78. Ed. Krajcar, 1966.

79. Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, 17, f. 354v; Krajcar, 1966, 29.

80. I would estimate the time required in the sixteenth century to make a new cutting and casting of types to be between four and six months (Vervliet, 1967, 344).

81. Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, f. 365; Krajcar, 1966, 29. Santoro noted in his autobiography under the year 1579: 'Et a mia instantia [il Papa] diede ordine che si coprisse e ristorasse la chiesa di S. Maria Egithiaca al ponte Senatorio, assignata ala nazione armena, per celebrare secondo il rito loro; giacche s'erano dati in stampa non solo i caratteri dell'idioma armeno, ma anco l'illirico, l'abissino, caldeo, arabico et cofto, accio tutte le genti havessero i libri secondo il loro idioma' (Cugnoni, 1889, 365–6).

[And, at my suggestion, the Pope ordered that the Church of S. Maria Egithiaca al ponte Senatorio assigned to the Armenian nation, would be restored, so they could celebrate according to their tradition; because not only the Armenian types were to be printed, but also the Abyssinian, Chaldean, Arabic and Coptic, so that everyone would have books in their language].

82. The c.1643 Le Bé Memorandum mentions December 1578 as the month of Granjon's arrival in Rome (Carter, 1967, 32). A year earlier Gregory XIII had decided to install a new polyglott printing office (Tinto, 1973, 292, n.2).

83. It is generally accepted that Armenian types were introduced in Europe by Yakob (Venice, 1512), Teseo Ambrogio (Pavia, 1539)

and in Rome, in 1565, by Abgar dpir (Nersessian, 1980, 12–14).

84. Ms. K 17, f. 176; Krajcar, 1966, 29, n.44.

85. Granjon clearly copied the roundhand *bolorgir* writing style, employed from the twelfth to the fifteenth century and, for ecclesiastic works, even to the nineteenth century. This writing style succeeded uncial and preceded cursive scripts. The most beautiful and most painstakingly executed manuscripts are in *bolorgir* (MacIer, 1908, xxv–xxvi).

86. On millimetric measures, see above, p. 3–4.

87. Roccha, 1591, 155–8 and 371.

88. This German humanist, whose caprice was notorious, cut an ancient Hebrew, an Ethiopic, a Syriac, an Arabic, an Armenian, a glagolitic, a Cyrillic, a 'Jacobitic' (Georgian?), an 'Egyptian' (hieratic?), an Indian, Persian, Turk, and an Oriental Turk. His types were however of mediocre design. See the plates at the end of his *Das ist ein Onomasticum und Interpretatio*, Berlin, N. Voltzen, 1583. In 1584, he visited Rome (Hunger, 1927, 2: 401, n.132).

89. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana, Collection des Medici, No. 28 (177 pièces). The collection clearly also contains punches, which were added later.

90. Granjon cut two series of Armenian, but in fact these constitute one typeface with lower case and capitals. The Armenian punches of the Vatican (Series 8 'Armeno della Propaganda [punzione n.185]' and 'Armeno della Biblioteca Vaticana [punzione n.89]') are probably of a later date, since, until the seventeenth century, the Propaganda Press continued to use Granjon's Armenians. Possibly the matrices for these still exist among the Vatican Armenian matrices (nos. 14–17).

GREGORII XIII. PONT. OPT. MAX.

I V S S V,

nunc primum Romæ incisi.

Ռամանաւ առնասո՛ւրք տն մերոյ ԱՄ Ի Էրիգոր Էրրորդատասան չըռոմայեանկան
փափուս: Շինեցաւ և կատարեցաւ այս նոր գիրս և պատմաս ի մեծն՝ սբ և հրոչակաւ
որ մայրաքաղաքն չըռոմայ ընդ հովանեաւ սրբոց առաքելոցն Պետրոսի և Պողոսի: Ի ծն
ընդինն տն և փրկչն մերոյ Յիքիս և շհ Թ և ի Թվականէ մեծի հայոց և Ի Ե ամին
օգոստոս ի Ժ Թ ւաւն չորեքշաբթի: Ի հայրապետութիւն տր Թաթէոս ամ հայոց կաթողի
կոսին և տր Լաչատուրին:

Ա աղմոս ի դաւիթ Ծ Ժ Գ

Աւրհնեցէ զտր ամ աղգինք գովեցէ զնայ ամ ժողովորդք Սաւասցի ողորմութի
նորա ի վր մեր ճշմարտութի տն մասսցէ յաւիտեան փառք հաւր և որոյ և հոգոյն
սրբոյ այժմ և միշտ և յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից և ամին:

ԱՄ երոնական աղաթն

Սայր մեր որ յերկինսդ ես սբ եղիցի անուս քո՝ եկեցէ արքայութի քո՝ եղիցի տր կան քո
որպէս յերկինս և յերկրի՝ չաց մեր հանապազ որդ տուր մեզ այս աւր Թող մեզ զպար
տս մեր՝ որպէս և մենք Թողորմք մերոց պարտապանաց և մի տար զմեզ ի փորձութի այլ փր
կեան ի չարէ՝ և ապրեցոյ ի փորձութենէ: զի քոյն արքայութի և զօրութի և փառք յաւտեանս
յաւիտենից և ամին:

և ետիք Է աբրիէլ հրեշտակապետին

Ողոյն ընդ քեզ մարիամ լի շնորհօք տր ընդ քեզ օրհնեալ ես դու ի կանայս և օրհնեալ է
պըտուղ յորովայնի քո Յս սբ մարիամ մայր այ բարեխաւսեայ վս մեր մեղաւորացս
այժմ և ի ժամ մահու մերում և ամին:

Բ անք Ժ Բ առաքելոց պարտ գիտենալ յամենեքեան
որք են բարեպաշտ բրիստոնեան

Սաւատամ ի մի ամ հայրն առնական արարիչն յերկնի և երկրի: Եւ ի մի տրն մեր Յս
քս որդի նորա միածին: Ըր ըղացեալ հոգոյն սրբով՝ ծնեալ է ի մարիամն սրբոյ
կուսէն: Չարչարեալ ի ներքոյ պոստացոյ պեղատոսին խաչեալ մեռեալ և Թաղեալ է: Ի ջնեալ
ի դժոխն յերրորդ աւուր յարեալ է ի մեռելոց: Ելեալ ի յերկինս նստաւ ընդ աջմէ հաւն առնա
կարողի: և անտի գալոցէ դատել զկենդանիս և զմեռեալսն: Հաւատամ ի սբ հոգին: Եւ Է կաթո
ղիկէ եկեղեցին: Արբոյ հաղորդութի ի Թողութի մեղաց: Ի յարութիւն մեռելոց: Եւ ի կեանս
յաւիտենական և ամին:

Է ու հուծի և փառք և պատիւ և երկիրպագութի սրբոյ երրորդութեան և միասնական
անուծէ հաւր և որոյ և հոգոյն սրբոյ այժմ և միշտ և յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից և ամին:

Ըօպէրդոսի Լյրանթէօս փարեզացոյ գիրս անփորձ վարպետին ձեռամբ կազմեցաւ
այս նոր գիրս եւ այս յիշատակարանս ի մեծն հրոմ և շհ Թ:

Rob. Granlon Parisien. incidebat

Romæ. 1579.

sta[m]parsi. (Reply:) che si facci[a]’ [As for the calendar already translated into Armenian and ready to be printed: let it be done].⁹¹ This Armenian calendar (fig. 1b) was actually printed by Domenico Basa in 1584.⁹² There are copies in the Vatican, Bodleian, and British Library.⁹³ Towards the end of 1584 the calendar was delivered to the patriarch Azarias of the Armenians by Leonardo Abel, bishop of Sidon and special emissary of the Pope in the Near East.⁹⁴ Normally the Roman legate would have delivered at the same time a profession of faith in Armenian, but so far no copy of this has been uncovered.⁹⁵

I noticed Granjon’s Armenian again in the *Hydragia-logia sive De aqua benedicta* by the Bishop of Salerno, Marcus Antonius Marsilius Columna (1542–89), *Ex typis Bartholomaei Bonfadini*, Rome, 1586.⁹⁶ This work is dedicated to Sixtus V and to it the author appends the rites of the Oriental liturgy, copied from a *Pontificale Armenicum* of the fourteenth century, from the library of cardinal Santoro.⁹⁷ This connection explains why the pontifical types were available to a printer other than Domenico Basa.⁹⁸ They remained available for later editions of this work.⁹⁹ They are also to be seen in Roccha’s work [fig. 1c]. In 1596 the same types were employed by in the Armenian profession of faith printed by the *Stamperia Vaticana*.¹⁰⁰

Later uses of this type are of lesser incidence to my attribution to Granjon. Nevertheless I note several uses during the seventeenth century:¹⁰¹ this list could be completed with items of Davtyan’s or Kévorkian’s bibliographies.¹⁰²

Finally, I will point out the appearance of two other Armenian typefaces in Western Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century: the Milanese type of the *Collegium Ambrosianum*, in use around 1621 in the work of Fr. Rivola¹⁰³ and the Parisian type which was cut at the expense of Richelieu and employed by the well-known Oriental printer of Paris, Antoine Vitray, from 1633 onwards for the *Officium Librorum Ecclesiasticorum*.¹⁰⁴

FIGURE 1a (p. 437) Granjon’s English-Bodied Armenian [Arm 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1579) as shown in Granjon’s Armenian specimen (Rome, 1579), preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana (ms. K 17). Dimensions of the printed area, 285 x 180 mm.

FIGURE 1b (opposite) Granjon’s English-Bodied Armenian [Arm 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1579) as it appears on the title-page of the 1584 Armenian calendar, printed in 1584 by Domenico Basa (Vatican Library, R.G. Or. IV 598:1). The fleurons are possibly by Granjon (Early inv., 1960, 30, MA 188 f–g).

FIGURE 1c (pp. 440–1) The alphabet of Granjon’s English-Bodied Armenian [Arm 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1579), as it appears in A. Roccha, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, 1591, 156–7.

91. Archivio Vatic., Arm LII, f. 228; Krajcar, 1966, 69.

92. The printing was finished in September 1584 (Krajcar, 1966, 69).

93. R.G. Or. IV, 597 and 598:1 (Levi Della Vida, 1939, 212, n.1; Krajcar, 1966, 77, n.106); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ary.3.364; London, British Library, 17024.d.1 (Nersessian, 1980, no. 3).

94. Abel, 1866, 36; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 100; 204, n.3).

95. In the inventory of Abel (c.1610) forty-seven copies were mentioned (Levi Della Vida, 1939, 251; Archivio Vatic., XV, f. 109) but I do not know whether this concerns the 1596 edition or an earlier edition. I have not seen the profession of faith mentioned by Baumgarten (1922, 2: 150).

96. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, B 1554.

97. See the address to the reader, f. 5.

98. The Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian types were lacking when the printing of the work started, but from page 492 onwards Granjon’s Armenia, Arabic, and Syriac types appear.

99. They appear in the edition by Paulus Parisius (Rome, 1605; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, B 1535).

100. Levi Della Vida, 1939, 202; STCi, 1958, 231.

101. G.B. Della Porta, *De distillatione lib. ix*, Rome, Ex typographia Rev. Camerae Apostolicæ, 1608 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. v 1895, f. 14v, with some characters recut [e.g. the *zia* on line 11]); R. Bellarmine, *Summa doctrinae christianae christianae, ex mandato Cynthij Aldobrandini in linguam Armenicam traducta, ac iterum S.D.N. Gregorij xv ... decreto impressa*, Rome, St. Paulinus,

1623 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, D 14786 [3]); *Alphabetum Armenicum*, ibid., 1623 (Davtyan, 1963, 26; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, D 14786 [4]); *Concordia Romanorum*, ibid., 1623; *Dichiarazione più copiosa della Dottrina Christiana ... tradotta dalla Italiana nella lingua Armeno del P. Pietro Paolo, sacerdote Armeno*, Rome, Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1630 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, D 6488); A. Kircher, *Prodromus Coptus sive Ægyptiacus*, Rome, Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1636 (f. 311 v; Brussels, Royal Library, v 5537). This work is filled with exotic types. It could easily function as a specimen of these Oriental types of the Vatican press some of which are lacking in the official specimen of 1628 (Vervliet, 1967); J. Wemmers, *Lexicon Æthiopicum*, ibid., 1638 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. x 714 (1), p. 114. Employing many fleurons. Same comment as for the preceding work); *Ordo divinae Missae Armenorum*, ibid., 1642 (Paris, collection of M. Besson); J. Agop, *Puritas haygica seu grammatica Armenica*, ibid., 1675.

102. Davtyan, 1963, nos. 39, 43 sqq.; Kévorkian, 1986, nos. 157 sqq.

103. F. Rivola, *Dictionarium Armeno-Latinum*, 1621 (Davtyan, 1963, 24; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, x 126); Idem. *Grammatica Armenae libri quattuor*, 1624 (Davtyan, 1963, 27).

104. *Dictionarium Armeno-Latinum*, 1633 (Davtyan, 1963, 29; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. x 719); [*Dichiarazione più copiosa della dottrina christiana*], Davtyan, 1963, 30; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, x 1872.



Figure 1b.

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A L P H A B E T V M A R M E N V M			
nouem ac triginta litteris constans .			
Figura litterarum	Nomina litterarum		Pronunciatio .
ա	ա	Aip	a
բ	բ	Pien Bien	p.b.
գ	գ	Chiim Giem	c.g.
դ	դ	Ta Da	t.d.
ե	ե	Iec	ie.e.
զ	զ	Za	z.
է	է	Ac	æ.e.
ը	ը	Iet	ie.
թ	թ	Tho	th.
ժ	ժ	ge ze xc	g.z.x.
ի	ի	Inni	i.
լ	լ	Liun	l.
խ	խ	Hhe	hh.
ծ	ծ	Zza.Dha.Tza.	dh. tz. zz.
կ	կ	Chien.Gien.Kien.Quien.	c.g.k.q.
հ	հ	Ho.	h.
ճ	ճ	Tfa.Ssa.xa.	ff.tfx.
չ	չ	Chat.Glal.Gal.	gl.l.
ձ	ձ	Ie.Gie.Hie.	i.g.h.
մ	մ	Mien.	m.
յ	յ	Chi.	i.
ն	ն	Nu.	n.
շ	շ	Sa.Scha.	f.sc.
ո	ո	Vua.	o.
չ	չ	Scha.Zia.	f.z.
պ	պ	Be. Pe.	p.b.
զ	զ	Sche.Zche.	fc.ch. q.z.

Figure 1c.

V A T I C A N A .

157

Ր ր	ռա	Rha.Rra.	rh.rr.
Ս ս	սե	Se.	f.
Վ վ	վե	Viech.Vieu.Vieph.	u.
Ը ը	տուհ	Dun.Tuen.	t.d.
Ր ր	երե	Re.	r.
Յ յ	յոյ	Zzo.	zt.zz.
Ի ի	հիուհ	Yun.Phyun.	y.
Փ փ	բիուբ	Piur.Pfiur.	p.pf.
Ք ք	քե	Che.	ch.
Եւ եւ	եւ	Ieu.	eu.
Փ փ	փե	Phe	ph.
Օ օ	աբիուհ	Aipium.	o.

V O C A L E S .

ա. ե. է. ը. խ. հ. ճ. յ. ո. վ. ռ. ւ. օ.

D I P H T H O N G I .

այ. աւ. իւ. ու. եւ. ոյ.

Հայր մեր որ յերկինսդ.

SANCTVM Ioannem Chrysoftomum Armenicarum litterarum inuentorem fuisse Latina docet Inscriptio, ratioq. ipsa persuadet. Nam sanctus ille diu in Armenia relegatus vixit, vbi post multa in vetus ac nouum Testamentum conscripta, plurimos suæ vitæ sanctitate, ac lingua, ad Euangelicam doctrinam traxit, & Scripturam sacram in Armenicam linguam transtulisse dicitur: deinde in pusillum ac desertum Armeniæ oppidulum nomine Cucufon, ac demum Arabissum deportatus ex hac luce decessit.

Ex li. 10.
Trip. hist.

Figure 1c.

2. Granjon's Syriac on Paragon [Sy 130] or *Petit-Parangon* (1579)

Immediately after finishing the Armenian type, Granjon must have commenced his Syriac.¹⁰⁵ The Jacobite patriarch, Ignatius XVII Ni'mat Allāh (Na'mattallah), had arrived in Rome at the end of 1577 to negotiate with Cardinal Santoro and Leonardo Abel the reunion of his church with that of Rome.¹⁰⁶ The preparation for a Syriac press began in September 1579. Cardinal Sirleto transmitted the order, through Gaspar Viviano, Bishop of Anagni, to commence the 'carattere chaldei'.¹⁰⁷ The original receipt for an advance of twenty-five gold crowns is in the Vatican archives.¹⁰⁸ Even without other proof, one may infer that Robert Granjon cut this Syriac; his rapport with the Vatican, with Domenico Basa [fig. 2c], and the later accounts of Giambattista Raimondi,¹⁰⁹ and finally, the absence of other punchcutters in Rome capable of attaining so high a level would speak in favour of this hypothesis. Furthermore, Francesco Barberi lately uncovered in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana the original specimen [fig. 2a].¹¹⁰ It has exactly the same layout as the Armenian specimen shown above in fig. 1a; its imprint mentions 'Rob. GranJon Parisiensis incidebat. Romæ. 1580'.

In fact, this was not the first Syriac which Granjon cut: he also cut the Syriac, which Plantin had used in his great Polyglot Bible¹¹¹ (1568–72), copying, after some advice by the French Orientalist Guillaume Postel,¹¹² the Syriac of Kaspar Kraft engraved in 1555–56 for Michael

Zimmerman in Vienna. Later, the Plantinian types would turn up through the Raphelengii, at the Oriental press of Thomas Erpenius¹¹³ at Leyden. Compared to the Plantin types (which are on a slightly larger body) [fig. 2b], the Roman characters are cut more freely and have a decidedly more calligraphic aspect.

The first impression known to us of the Roman Syriac is the karshuni (Arabic written in Syriac letters) catechism¹¹⁴ (attributed to Fabio Bruno) for presentation to the Lebanese Synod of 1580.¹¹⁵ The book has no imprint but we can assume that it is by Domenico Basa, the usual custodian of the type. This publication is dated 7 April 1580, that is to say, about six months after the cutting had started and thus it corresponds to the time lapse established above.¹¹⁶ The existence of the Syriac type had become common knowledge in Rome by 1581, when Francesco Zanetti mentions it in the epistle dedicating his edition of the *Homiliai* of St. John Chrysostom to Gregory XIII.¹¹⁷

The second impression of this type was perhaps the *Professio fidei*,¹¹⁸ *sine die & sine loco*, which Leonardo Abel took with him to the Near East and, by 1583,¹¹⁹ had given to the Jacobite bishop Thomas, along with the Gregorian calendars mentioned below.¹²⁰ These Gregorian karshuni calendars,¹²¹ are dated 1583; they bear no imprint, but can be attributed to Domenico Basa since one finds on them the same ornamentation¹²² as on the works which follow.

The karshuni *Kitāb as-sab'a salawāt* (*Book of seven daily prayers ... Horologium maroniticum*) is a very well-known text;¹²³ Schnurrer mentions it in his *Bibliotheca Arabica*

105. In chronological order this would be the fourth Syriac in Europe: it was preceded by the Syriac of Teseo Ambrogio (Pavia, J. M. Simonetta, 1539), Zimmerman (Vienna, 1555), and that of Plantin's *Polyglot* (1568–72). See Coakley, 2006, 29–36.

106. Beltrami, 1933; Krajcar, 1966, 22–3.

107. The denomination of Syriac in texts of the sixteenth century fluctuates. Levi Della Vida (1939, 132, n.1) notes that the same term sometimes designates Ethiopian, Syriac (both *serto* or *estranghelo*), or the Aramaic, used by the Hebrews. In this paragraph I have included Arabic texts printed in karshuni, that is, with Syriac type.

108. Archivio Vatic., IX, f. 33; one must combine this decision with a note of Cardinal Santoro (Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, 18, f. 25, of 27 October 1580; Krajcar, 1966, 35): 'Della stampa della lingua malavar fatta nell'Indie Orientale, co[n]seque[n]tamente della chaldeia che desideranno. [Reply:] mostratoli un libretto di quello ordinò che si facesse la chaldeia par mandarla.' The 'libretto' would have been the *Doctrina Christaā* of the Jesuit Marcos Jorge translated into Tamil by Henrique Henriquez, s.j. and Manuel de San Pedro, s.j., printed in Quilon, 1578. Schurhammer-Cottrell (1952) ascribe the types to Juan Gonsalves, s.j., or to João de Faria, s.j. (Shaw, 1981a; 1982).

109. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., I, 2, f. 15 (the casting of 'caldo'); f. 24 (1 June 1585) shows a 'chaldeo grande'. Raimondi's report of 4 December 1587 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., III, no. 12) mentions a 'chaldea grande' and a 'chaldea piccolo', both paid to Granjon. In 1589 Granjon cut a 'chaldeo mezzano', the last type he made (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., II, no. 5). See also Saltini, 1860, 268, Tinto, 1987, 32–4; Coakley, 2006, 40–3. Concerning the other Syriacs Granjon may have cut for the Medicean press, see below, p. 444.

110. Inc. 284–285/11 (Tinto, 1973, 283).

111. Early inv., 1960, 38 (ST 57); Coakley, 2006, 54–6.

112. Cf. Durme, 1955, 111–12; on Postel, see Levi Della Vida, 1939, 322, n.1; Secret, 1962; Strothmann, 1971, 4–8.

113. Enschedé, 1978, 75, n.1; Coakley, 2006, 56–8.

114. Vatican Library, R.G. Or. IV 584 (int. 6) and IV 718. I have been unable to check the assertion of Nasrallah (1949, xviii) that Eliano edited a catechism in Arabic and Syriac with the aid of the printer G. Lutchā and an engraver Granier. He cites as reference L. Cheikho, [*The Maronite nation and the Company of Jesus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*] [in Arabic], Beirut, p. 34.

115. Graf, 1944, 4: 213; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 387–8.

116. See above, n.80.

117. Rome, Zanetti, 1581; f. 13v: '... Nam Chaldææ, Armenæ, Arabumq. linguarum characteres magnis sumptibus incidi curavit [Gregorius XIII], quò Æthiopes, Iacobitæ, Armeni, Maronitæ, Georgiani, et reliquæ gentes, quæ a nostra Religione dissident, catholicorum dogmatum formulas propriis linguis conceptas ... ab Apostolica Sede accipere ...' (Adams, 1967, C 1524).

118. Vatican Library, Stampe Barb. V., xv. 98; London, British Library, Ellis, 1894, 2: 531; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 246.

119. Cf. Abel, 1866, 17; several months later, in January 1584, Abel sent the same books to the prior Jacob of the Nestorians, *ibid.*, 28–30.

120. Abel, 1866, 15.

121. Vatican Library, R. G. Or. IV, 719; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 211; Schmid, 1882, 585; Krajcar, 1966, 60.

122. Most of the fleurons used there must be from the hand of Granjon, the cutting of composite fleurons being one of his specialities. See also: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or. I, 2, f. 40 (28 June [1586]): 'per 16 ponsoni di fregi et fiori ha havuto Ms. Roberto, scudi 6'.

123. Levi Della Vida, 1939, 424–5.

Caldaici Characteres.

Gregorij XIII. Pont. Opt. Max.

I V S S V

Nunc primum Romae incisi.

מְלִכָּה לֹא חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה
 יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה
 חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה
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 חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה
 חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה
 חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה
 חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה

*Rob. Granlon Parisiensis incidebat**Romae. 1580.*

Figure 2a.

Syriaque sur l'Augustine.

אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה
 חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה חֲסִידֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵלָּה

Figure 2b.

(no. 238). There are copies in the British Library,¹²⁴ the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris,¹²⁵ and in the Vatican Library.¹²⁶ Its Latin colophon reads as follows: 'Sanctissimi D. N. Gregorii XIII. P. M. impensa [arms of Gregory XIII]. Romæ, anno Domini 1584. Ex typographia Domenico Basæ.'

In 1585, the following year, in the same Syriac of Granjon and from the same printer appeared the *Officium defunctorum ad usum Maronitarum S. D. N. Gregorij XIII. Pont. Max. impensa Chaldaicis characteribus impressum*¹²⁷ [fig. 2c]. In 1586 one finds this type in the previously cited work of Marsilius, in 1591 in that of Roccha,¹²⁸ in 1605 in the third edition of Marsilius, and in 1608 in Della Porta.¹²⁹

In Rome Granjon engraved three more Syriacs that, however, wait for certain identification. From the accounts of Raimondi¹³⁰ one can deduce that he also cut a 'chaldea grande', a 'mezzana', and a 'piccola'.¹³¹ It is probable that the punches are preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, or they could well be those,¹³² only slightly larger than Granjon's first Syriac, which appear in Medicean impressions from around 1592,¹³³ for example in the Missal for the use of the Maronites and in 1596 in the books of Jac. Luna.¹³⁴ More thorough research will be necessary to identify with any certainty the individual

parts played by the succeeding engravers to the Medici and the Propaganda: Robert Granjon, Jean Cavaillon, Battista Sottile, Giacomo Antonio Mori, to whom Saltini and Bertolotti attribute the cutting of one or more Syriacs.¹³⁵ It will be interesting to solve this problem so that account can be taken of the Syriac types – smaller than Granjon's – which appeared in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth century, that is, in Kircher and Wemmers, cited above in note 101, in the *Rudimentum Syriacum*,¹³⁶ in Abr. Ecchelensis, *Linguae Syriacæ sive Chaldaicæ perbrevis institutio* (Rome, Propaganda, 1628), in the *Processio sanctissimæ Crucis* (ibid., 1647),¹³⁷ and in the *Catalogus librorum Chaldeorum* (ibid., 1653), etc.

FIGURE 2a (p. 443, above) Granjon's Syriac on Paragon [Sy 130] or *Petit-Paragon* (1579) as shown in Granjon's Syriac specimen (Rome, 1580), preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Inc. 284-5.

FIGURE 2b (p. 443, below) Granjon's serto 'Syriac sur l'Augustine', cut for Plantin in 1569, reproduced from Plantin's Folio specimen, Antwerp, c.1585. The second line is an Estrangelo Syriac, cut by Granjon for use with the serto Syriac. Cf. Vervliet-Carter, 1972, II, nos. 90-1.

FIGURE 2c (opposite) Granjon's Syriac on Paragon [Sy 130] or *Petit-Paragon* (1579) as it appears on the colophon page of the Maronitic *Officium defunctorum* (Rome, Dom. Basa, 1585). Fleurons are possibly also by Granjon (Vatican Library, R.G. Liturgia iv 30).

124. Ellis, 1894, I: 959.

125. Rés. B 19437.

126. Barb. C.I. 69; R.G. Liturgia v 32.

127. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, B 1583; STCi, 380; Vatican Library, R.G. Liturgia IV 30.

128. Whereas the Vatican Press used Granjon's new types for Roccha's work, the concurring work of Mutio Pansa (*Della libreria Vaticana*, Rome, G. Martinelli & G. Ruffinello, 1590; STCi, 487) was restricted for the reproduction of exotic languages to the use of rather primitive woodcuts, with the exception, however, of this Syriac which figures on page 259.

129. See above, n. 101.

130. See above, n. 109.

131. Nasrallah, 1949, xvii; Tinto, 1987, 32-4; Coakley, 2006, 40-3.

132. Twenty lines measure 150 mm, against 140 mm for Granjon's first Syriac. It has yet to be established whether this type corresponds to the Syriac no. 2 (Medici, no. 18) of the Medicean. Proofs may be found at Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or. iv, 2.

133. [Missale Chaldaicum], Romæ. In *Typographia Medicea*, 1592-94. Schnurrer, 1811, 240; Nasrallah, 1949, xix; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, B 44.

134. *Liber ministri missæ iuxta ritum Ecclesiæ Nationis Maronitarum*, Rome, 1596; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, b 1582, and George M. Amira, *Grammatica syriaca sive chaldaica*, Rome, In *Typographia Linguarum Externarum Apud Iac. Lunam*, 1596 (Vatican Library,

R.G. Or. IV 388; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, X 1694 (1); London, British Library, Ellis, I, 1960; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 343-394. One finds there on pp. 2-3 a complete alphabet of an estranghelò 'duplicatus' (open), and of an Oriental Syriac (Nestorian). Again, it was Raimondi who was at the centre of these activities. Amira mentions him in his preface (f. a4v) as follows: 'His accedebant multorum amicorum hortationes, inter quos præcipuus erat doctus, ac multarum linguarum peritus Ioannes Baptista Raymundus, qui sicut ex eo tempore, ex quo a Serenissimo, ac liberalissimo Principe Ferdinando Etruriæ magno Duce novorum typorum conficiendorum, ac totius suæ impressionis curam suscepit, summo labore, et industria elegantissimos Orientalium linguarum characteres excudi curavit, semperque huiusmodi linguas quantum in se fuit promovit.'

135. Saltini, 1860, 268-9, attributes to Granjon the 'caldee grandi e piccole' (2 August 1587) and a type 'mezzano sirocaldeo' (20 February 1589). In July 1590, Cavaillon cut a 'caldaico secondo i Maroniti' (Coakley, 2006, 43-5), Sottile in 1593 a 'caldaico antico'. Bertolotti, 1878, 38-40, attributes to Giacomo Antonio Mori the Syriac on a large body, made at the expense of Paul V and which was used in 1621 to print *Grand Sehim* (Vatican Library, Stampe Barb., b-x-32). Sottile was later employed at the Medicean and Vatican printing offices (Tinto, 1987, 51-2; Henkel, 1971, I: 337).

136. Romæ, *Ex Collegio Maronitarum, excudebat Stephanus Paulinus*, 1618 (Vatican Library, R.G. Oriente, V 264; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 1671).

137. British Museum, Ellis, I, 959.

Rūbirtū al-Kranyānī: the Arabics of Granjon

When Granjon arrived in Italy, at the end of 1578, Arabic typography had been practiced there for more than half a century. In 1514, Gregorio de Gregoriis had printed in Fano (a small town on the Adriatic coast south of Pesaro) the first book in Arabic types, a book of hours, the 'Precatio horarii' or 'Horologium'.¹³⁸ Two years later, in 1516, the learned bishop of Nebbio, Agostino Guistiniani and the Genoese printer Pietro Paolo Porro, produced the 'Psalterium Hebræum, Græcum, Arabicum et Chaldeū'.¹³⁹ For the third book in Arabic types one used to cite the enigmatic *Qur'an* of Alessandro Paganino (Venice, c.1537) – an enigmatic work because before 1987 no one had retrieved a copy; its existence, however, was never in doubt: as proof there is the assertion of Guillaume Postel¹⁴⁰ and that by Alessandro Paganino himself.¹⁴¹

At Rome, Arabic types appeared in 1566. Pius IV, eager to diffuse the conclusions of the Council of Trent in the Orient, charged the Jesuit Giambattista Eliano¹⁴² in 1564 to acquire Oriental types at papal expense, and to incorporate them with the materials of the *Tipografia del Collegio Romano*, the Jesuit press at Rome (1556–1615).¹⁴³ Although in its later days it showed no more than sporadic signs of life, it produced under the impulse of Eliano a first Arabic work in 1566,¹⁴⁴ the *Fidei orthodoxæ brevis et explicata professio*¹⁴⁵ in Latin and Arabic [fig. D, p. 448]. Korolevsky¹⁴⁶ mentions a second edition of the same work,¹⁴⁷ without date, but with the same types, which he dates between 1570 and 1578.

The third Arabic impression with these Jesuit types is the *Muṣāḥaba*¹⁴⁸ or 'Spiritual dialogue between Sinān and Aḥmad', a polemic attacking Islam. Its author is not identified; perhaps it was Eliano himself,¹⁴⁹ or, more likely, Leonardo Abel.¹⁵⁰ The date too is uncertain, but it must have been prior to the 1580's when Granjon's Arabic types, far superior to those of the press of the Roman college, became available.

A fourth impression with the same Jesuit types appears with the imprint of the Roman printer Francesco Zanetti. In 1580 he published a third edition of the *Brevis orthodoxæ fidei professio, quæ ex præscripto Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ ab Orientalibus ad sacrosanctæ Romanæ, Ecclesiæ unitatem venientibus facienda proponitur*.¹⁵¹ It is a small book, not a major production, but well printed and agreeably illustrated with copper engravings [fig. C, p. 448].

A fifth and last impression is an anonymous proof, without date, preserved within a pamphlet volume in the Vallicellian Library in Rome.¹⁵² In the same volume is found the Armenian specimen of Granjon, a report (made possibly at the instigation of Gaspare Viviano) on Oriental typography under Gregory XIII and other papers concerning the Greek College. The Arabic proof was clearly pulled from worn characters: it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that it was shown to Gregory XIII or Cardinal Santoro before the decision to cut new Arabic types was made or, perhaps, to compare them with the new Arabics cut by Granjon from 1580 onwards.

Arabic typography had interested Gregory XIII since 1578. On February 21, Cardinal Santoro noted in his journal¹⁵³ that the Jesuit's Arabic types had to be 'refreshed', that Eliano would take them to Venice¹⁵⁴ (for which the nonce would receive a credit of 150 crowns), and they would finally be delivered to Domenico Basa. On 24 January 1579 the matrices returned to Rome; the series appeared to be, however, incomplete and only usable at considerable extra cost.¹⁵⁵ The arrival of Granjon in the Eternal City opened a whole new perspective to Gregory XIII and Santoro. They would not miss the opportunity of acquiring new types to replace the old Jesuit ones, which, a generation later, Thomas Erpenius, the renowned Orientalist of Leyden and connoisseur of Arabic types, would call 'inelegantes typi Romæ'.¹⁵⁶ Granjon arrived in Rome, as we have said, at the end of 1578. He had travelled a lot, having worked in Paris, Lyons, Geneva, Antwerp, Frankfurt. His reputation as a typographer was

138. Norton, 1958, 23; Galbiati, 1946, 409–13; Dannenfeldt, 1955; Pinto, 1964, 8–16; Krek, 1979, 197; Piemontese, 1987; Bobzin, 1995. An unpublished survey on Roman sixteenth-century Orientalism is to be found in the Vatican Archives, Arm. XI, 93, f. 20–iv.

139. Norton, 1958, 38.

140. Levi Della Vida, 1939, 30–99.

141. Norton, 1958, 105, 117, 145. A copy was uncovered in 1987 by Angela Nuovo; see Nuovo, 1987; Borrmans, 1991; Barbieri, 1991.

142. Eliano was as if designated for this task, first as a converted Jew, then as grandson of Elias Levita, the renowned Talmudic scholar and collaborator of Daniel Bomberg, under whom he worked in the Oriental press at Isny. Cf. Graf, 1944, 4: 210–17; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 246, n.15; 257, n.3; Sola, 1935, 291–321; Scaduto, 1958, 236–7; Weil, 1963, 163–4.

143. Castellani, 1933, 11–16; Ascarelli-Menato, 1989, 114.

144. The Latin imprint erroneously bears the date 1556.

145. Vatican Library, R.G. Or. IV 584 (int. 8); Rome, Biblioteca nazionale, 34.6.E 23/3; London, British Library, Ellis, ii, 530–61; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 246, n.1; 257, n.3.

146. Korolevsky, 22.

147. Vatican Library, R.G. Or. IV 584 (int. 5).

148. Vatican Library, R.G. Or. V 341 (int. 1); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, d 14786 (8); London, British Library, Ellis, ii, 628–9.

149. Korolevsky, 23.

150. Levi Della Vida, 1939, 287, n.3; 348–9, no. 37; 388, no. 253.

151. Vatican Library, Stampe Barb., v, xv, 89; London, British Library, Ellis, ii, 531; Levi Della Vida, 246, n.1b.

152. Ms. Val. K 17, f. 174.

153. Archivio Vatic., Arm. 17, f. 296; 329; 330; Korolevsky, 1928, 11–13; Levi Della Vida, 1948, 13.

154. Baumgarten, 1922, 2: 149–50.

155. Tinto, 1973, 284–5.

156. Thus he described the *Muṣāḥaba* in his *Rudimenta*, 1620 (Schnurrer, 1811, 235, no. 236). His opinion seems a little harsh. The Jesuits' Arabic represented great progress over the Arabics of Fano and Genoa. It is a rather thin type, not contrasty, without tapering, more of a scribe's handwriting than that of a calligrapher. In this sense, Paganino's and Granjon's Arabics are far superior. The ulterior Arabics of the Propaganda return to this more simple style.

great. Bandini reports¹⁵⁷ that he had been approached by Protestant printers and scholars about collaborating on their Oriental publications. He subsequently became a pawn in the semi-political, semi-religious combat to which – at the same moment as their positions became fixed in Europe – Protestantism and Roman Catholicism harnessed themselves for the spiritual conquest of this immense domain of such importance, the Near East. Alternatively one might infer from Bandini's report that Granjon was dramatizing the situation to derive most profit from his presence in Rome. It is quite unlikely to suppose that this was the case.¹⁵⁸ German Orientalism had lost Kaspar Kraft of Elwangen (1555–62) – who cut the Syriacs of Zimmermann and those of Raphael Hofhalter¹⁵⁹ through his emigration to Debreczin. On the other hand, one must evaluate Bandini's information in taking account of the efforts of the German Protestant Orientalists,¹⁶⁰ of Jacob Christmann in 1582,¹⁶¹ of Rutger Spey in 1583,¹⁶² to develop an Oriental press; such attempts were fruitless; the Germans had to be contented with unimpressive woodcuts. That the Germans were bent on proselytizing among the non-Roman Christians of the Near East is explicit in the foreword of Spey's *Epistola ad Galatas*,¹⁶³ addressed to the Protestant German princes:

‘... Quamvis hic non tam rationem habendam existimo nostrorum commodorum ... quam ut tot populis atque nationibus, (quid enim est hodie Christianismus, si spectes gentes Mahometi? Nimirum quod olim Iudæa comparata mundo reliquo) in tam profundis tenebris hactenus ob scripturæ sacræ et verbi Dei ignorantiam, quæ illis ex parte ob sacrorum librorum ablationem contigit, immersis, succurrantur. Quod certe nulla alia rei commodius fieri posse existimo, quam si per artem typographicam sacri codices semel impressi et multi-

plicati, ex quibus veram religionem haurire, et veram Evangelii lucem percipere possint illis mittantur ... Quod si nunc Deus illos ... respiciens, Iosiam aliquem ex Christianis principibus excitaret, qui typis sacros codices, et inter hos præcipue novum Testamentum, multiplicari, atque divulgari curaret, non dubito quin ... suum splendorem sit redditura ... Adde, quod et magna ex parte sumptuum recompensatio esset speranda, si aliquot millia excusorum exemplariorum per Bibliopolas, vel alios Venetias deportarentur, atque illic par totam Asiam atque Africam dispergerentur. Si enim Hebraica Biblia Venetijs alijsque in Germania locis impressa, et inter Iudæos per totum Orientem, in illorum usum dispersa videmus quare idem non de Arabicis exemplaribus sperabimus... Unico enim Novo Testamento semel Arabice impresso, et per artem typographicam multiplicato, perq[ue] Asiam atque Africam disperso, plus apud illos efficeretur, quam si aliquot millia contionatorum linguam Arabicam ignorantium eo mitterentur.’

[We should not think here immediately of our own advantages, but rather to the aid which would be provided to so many (indeed, how small is Christianity, when compared with the peoples of the prophet Mahomet – not much more than Judea compared with the rest of the world) countries and nations, which are immersed in the darkest ignorance, because they do not know the Holy Scripture and the word of God, in part because they miss the contact with our holy books. In my opinion, this aid can best be provided by printing and multiplying the holy books and by sending these to them, so that they may draw the true religion from them, and they may perceive the light of the true Evangile. If God looking to them, would incite among

157. Bandini, 1733, 76–8: ‘E primieramente per quello che riguarda il getto de’ Caratteri, si trova, che per eseguirlo colla maggior perfezione furono ricercati più valentuomini, e tra gli altri Maestro Roberto Granione di Parigi, che per eccellenza intagliava in acciaio dette lettere, per le quali, oltre a scudi dieci al mese, e la casa, il Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici gli passava uno scudo d’oro per lettera, e questi fu il migliore intagliatore, che fosse mai stato. Oltre di che il Pontefice Gregorio xiii. dava al medesimo scudi 300. per ogni Alfabeto, e colle sue beneficenze impedi, che non passasse in Germania, dove cercavano di condurlo alcuni Oltramontani. Ordinò inoltre il Pontefice, che non andassero via di Roma i pulsoni, perciocchè si temeva che gli Eretici disseminar volessero per mezzo dell’Arabica favella le loro massime ne’ paesi Orientali, dove la Religione Ortodossa, o non vi era ancora, o era tuttavia nascente.’ [And finally with regard to the typefounding, we found that to execute this to the greatest perfection, several of the best men were sought, and among the others, Robert Granjon of Paris, who excelled at cutting types in steel; for this Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici paid him, besides 10 scudi a month and the lodgings, one golden scudi per letter; and he was the best cutter who ever lived. On top of that, Pope Gregory xiii gave him 300 scudi for each alphabet and by his generosity prevented him from traveling to Germany, as some transalpinians wished. The Pope also ordered that the punches would not leave Rome, for fear that the heretics would try to spread their word by

means of the Arabic alphabet, especially in those Oriental countries where the orthodox religion was not yet implanted or only just arising.]

158. Bandini is based on a report of Raimondi, the ‘Breve ragguaglio delle cose fatte dal’ illustrissimo signor cardinale de Medici intorno la protezione datali del patriarca d’Antiochia’, which explicitly mentions the German demand. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or. III, 15. It is undated but dateable after April 1585 (Tinto, 1987, 11–12).

159. Fritz, 1924, 21–3; Gulyas, 1930, 198; Coakley, 2006, 31–4.

160. Fück, 1955, 45–7; Welti, 1964, 261–9.

161. J. Christmann, *Alphabetum arabicum cum Isagoge scribendi legendique Arabice*, Neapoli Nemetum [Neustadt], impensis Matthæi Starnisch, 1582 (Schnurrer, 1811, 19–20, no. 39; London, British Library, Ellis, i, 45).

162. R. Spey, *Epistola ad Galatas*..., Heidelbergæ, Jacob Mylius, 1583 (Schnurrer, 1811, 339–41, no. 317); W.C.J. Chrysander, *Hypomenema historico-philologicum de primo scripto Arabico, quod in Germania typis excusum est*, Halæ, 1749; Graf, 1944, i: 174. In 1592 B. Radtmann (*Introductio in linguam Arabicam*, Frankfurt, Andreas Eichorn, 1592) was still using woodcuts (Schnurrer, 1811, 20–1, no. 40).

163. R. Spey, *Epistola ad Galatas*, Heidelbergæ, Mylius, 1583, f. B1v–B2v.

انا اقول لك انك انت الصخرة وعلى هذه الصخرة ابني بيعتي
وابواب الجحيم لا تقوي عابها واعطيك مفاتيح ملاكوت
السموات وما ربطته على الارض يكون مربوط في السموات وما
حللته على الارض يكون محلول في السموات



Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, & portae inferi non prevalebunt aduersus eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum. Et quodcumque ligaueris super terram, erit ligatum & in coelis. Et quodcumque solueris super terram, erit solutum & in coelis. Matth. 16.

Figure C.

التمسار الامانة الارثوذكسية كنيسة ترومية مقدسة
وكسيرة التي تعلم وتقدم لكل النصارى الذين
درجوا اعني طائفتهم لصحة الايمان الكاثوليكي
وليس اثنان يتوافق معها وهو مستعد
لدفن الطائفة ابابا رومني الذي هو
ديش جمع البطركه والاساقفة
وسائر المؤمنين بالمسيح



FIDEI ORTHODOXAE BRITANNICAE
explicata confessio, quam Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia docet, et
uis maxime proponendam, edit, quicunque ab hereticarum
errore, ad Catholicam veritatem communionem accedere,

ad Romano Pontifici prestare obedientiam
statuunt.



مختوم في مدينه رومه العظمى بامر مدينا
بابا بنوا خامس سنة ميلاد ربنا يسوع المسيح
الف وخمسين سنة وستين

Rome, iussu sanctiss. D. N. Pij V. In Collegio Societatis
Anno M. D. DV I.

Figure D.

the Christian princes a new Iosias, who may take care to print and to divulgate the holy books, initially the New Testament, doubtless would this increase His fame. Moreover a great part of the cost could be hoped to be recovered, when some thousand copies would be exported through booksellers or through Venice, and from there could be spread throughout Asia and Africa. If the Hebrew Bibles printed in Venice and in other places in Germany can be spread to the Jews of the whole Orient for their use, why not expect the same for copies in Arabic. Once the New Testament has been printed for the first time in Arabic and multiplied through the art of printing and spread over Asia and Africa, the result would be much greater than by sending several thousand missionaries, who do not know Arabic.]

If I dwell a little longer on this interesting preface to an otherwise mediocre work, it is because I believe that Rome had taken this German menace to the letter. It was not by chance, in my opinion, that in the Vatican copy¹⁶⁴ of Spey's book this preface is missing, as it is no more a chance that the proof of Granjon's small Arabic¹⁶⁵ (on a body particularly fitting to a long text in a small format) exactly reproduces the first eight lines of the Arabic text chosen by Spey (St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians).

Such inferences would shed some light on the genesis of Granjon's first Arabics and also on the first of the Medicean publications, the Gospels of 1590–91, which were not to be printed in pocket format with the piccolina of Granjon, but in folio, and with illustrations, and which proved as a result to be practically unsalable to Muslims.

Granjon and the Medicean Arabics directly and markedly influenced Oriental typography in the seventeenth century. Franciscus Raphelengius, the learned son-in-law of Plantin and predecessor of Thomas Erpenius, refers to them in the preface to his *Alphabetum Arabicum* of 1595.¹⁶⁶ The influence was also felt in Germany where Peter Kirsten¹⁶⁷ had Peter von Selow¹⁶⁸ copy not only the Arabics,¹⁶⁹ but also the Roman and Italic types of Granjon. The influence on French Orientalism from

Casaubon, impassioned collector of Medicean editions,¹⁷⁰ to Guillaume II Le Bé¹⁷¹ and Savary de Brèves¹⁷² is manifest and has been discussed elsewhere.

We left Gregory XIII and Santoro in 1579 while they were occupied with the Jesuits' Arabic types. The challenge of the German Orientalists then, did not reach unprepared adversaries. The *Confessio Fidei* of 1580 by Francesco Zanetti, made with the Jesuits' types, was shown to the Pope on 12 April of that year.¹⁷³ We must suppose that Gregory XIII was not entirely satisfied: two months later, on 9 June 1580, there is the echo of another decision, hard to decipher from Santoro's journal, the general tenor of which, however, is quite clear:

'Del far tutta la stampa arabica [haven]do si [questo] eccellente scultore di carattere [...] poichè quella di Pio 40 è ma[lfat]ta etc. e della spesa che viva etc. o che si presti al Basa. (Reply:) Che si faccia ma che la stampa bisogna darla al Basa; che ne tenga cura etc.'¹⁷⁴

[To do the whole Arabic printing, as we have this excellent typesetter ... (and) since Pius the Fourth's Arabic is badly done, etc. and (also) concerning the expense that goes into it or which we loan to Basa. (Reply:) Let it be done, but the (actual) printing, should be given to Basa that he take care of it.]

The decision seems clear: all of the Arabic typography must be given over to the *eccellente scultore di carattere* which could be none other than Robert Granjon. In effect, in the course of the years to come, he would cut Arabic punches first for Gregory XIII and Santoro, and then for Raimondi and the future *Stamperia Medicea*. I have identified five series of them. Two series are identified from original specimens printed by Granjon himself; of the other three, the punches still exist and all five are completely documented by archival sources and by contemporary impressions.

FIGURE C (opposite, above) The *Brevis professio*, printed with the Jesuit Arabic types by Francesco Zanetti (Rome, 1580).

FIGURE D (opposite, below) The *Brevis confessio*, printed in Latin and Arabic at Rome (1566) by the Jesuit *Tipografia del Collegio Romano*.

164. R.G. Or. V 260 (int. 1); Levi Della Vida, 1939, 328, n.1.

165. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., 4 (5), f. 10; see below, fig. 12.

166. Vervliet, 1968, 315–17; Lane, 1997; on Erpenius' Arabic types, see Enschedé, 1978, 68–9.

167. *Tria specimina characteribus Arabicum Petri Kirsteni*, Breslau, *Typis Arabicis ac sumptibus Authoris, in officina Baumanniana*, 1609, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, X, 86 (6); X 87 (3); X 87 (3); London, British Library, Ellis i, 861.

168. For the later career of this punchcutter, see Bengtsson, 1956, 117–63.

169. Levi Della Vida, 1939, 331, n.2.

170. A large part of the Medicean impressions in the Bibliothèque

nationale in Paris bear his bookplate.

171. Schnurrer, 1811, 506–16. The Plantin-Moretus Museum (Arch., 153, f. 20) possesses a specimen of an Arabic usually attributed to him (1599); cf. Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 15; Vervliet, 2008, no. 408.

172. Fück, 1955, 56–7; Vaccari, 1923; Duverdier, 1973.

173. Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, 18, f. 7v: 'della profess[io] della fede per gli Orientali stampato in Arabico e latine. Darne doi essempij a SSa retuli et dedi. Della qu[an]tità stampata dixi.'

[concerning the profession of the faith for the Orientals, printed in Arabic and Latin: Give two copies to His Holiness. I brought and gave them. I told him about the number printed.]

174. Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, 18, f. 15.

3. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Pica [Ar 160] or *Palestine* (1580)

This first Arabic of Granjon datable with accuracy (1580) was clearly intended to replace that of the Jesuits. It is on the same size and cut in a rather meagre style, close enough to that of the Jesuits; it differs noticeably from the more calligraphic Arabics which Granjon cut during the period 1583–86.

An Arabic specimen [fig. 3a], dated 1580 and composed in an analogous manner to the Armenian and Syriac specimens, bears the imprint: 'Rob. GranJon Parisieñ. Typographus Incidebat Romæ. 1580.'¹⁷⁵ The specimen is illustrated by the papal arms in copper-engraving; without doubt it was destined to be shown to the Pope.

By the end of 1581,¹⁷⁶ the new Arabic was cut and cast: 'Della stampa Arabica *nuova* finita e chi si gettata per 100[000] lettere sopra que Sua S[antit]a presto 200 [scudi] per pigliarne opere e si attendera a stampare'. [Concerning the new Arabic just completed and which was cast up in 100,000 letters for which Your Holiness made available 200 scudi to begin work and (with which) one will (soon) set about printing.]¹⁷⁷

I know of no Arabic impression made at Rome in 1582. Perhaps the difficulties¹⁷⁸ which Basa experienced in finding convenient premises explain this. The 1580 type appeared only on rare occasions. Its first use discovered thus far is in the *Kitāb al-Bustān*,¹⁷⁹ a little treatise on geography, the first profane work which the Arabic press has left us [fig. 3b]. One supposes that Giambattista Raimondi was its editor.¹⁸⁰ This rare opuscle is known

to us in only three copies,¹⁸¹ one in the Medicea, another in the Marciana, and a third (incomplete) copy in the Bodleian.¹⁸² It has two bibliographic addresses, one in Arabic which Pinto¹⁸³ translates as follows: 'Printed in Rome-the-Great by Rūbirtū al-Kranyānī al-Pārīsiyyānī in the year 1584 of the Incarnation'; the other, the colophon, is in latin: 'Romæ, ex typographia Domenici Basæ, 1585.'

The book, which numbers one hundred and six folios, is decorated with several illustrations on copper, the simple style of which recalls those in the Arabic *Professio fidei* of Zanetti (1580) and the Russian catechism of Basa (1583). Fleurons abound, and it is tempting to attribute them to Granjon. One also finds two Arabics: one on a large body which was later in the possession of the Medicean Library (see below p. 454), employed only for titles, and the small Arabic here under discussion.

I have never seen this type in a Medicean publication. On the contrary, it seems to me that the press of the Propaganda used it from time to time. In the sixteenth century I have only seen it in an anonymous and undated proof, which is preserved among the papers of Raimondi¹⁸⁴ – a fragment of a geographic text, of the *Cosmography* of Qazwīnī.¹⁸⁵

FIGURE 3a (opposite, above) Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Pica [Ar 160] or *Palestine* (1580) as shown in Granjon's first Arabic specimen (1580) preserved in Rome, Biblioteca nazionale, Misc. Valenti, 1827/3. Reduced. Dimensions of the printed area, 290 × 110 mm.

FIGURE 3b (opposite, below) Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Pica [Ar 160] or *Palestine* (1580) as it appears in the *Kitāb al-Bustān* (Rome, R. Granjon and D. Basa, 1584–85).

175. Rome, Biblioteca nazionale, Misc. Valenti 1827/3; Tinto, 1973, 286.

176. Francisco Zanetti notes in his preface (dated *xv Kal. Oct.* 1581) to his edition of the *Homiliai* of St. John Chrysostom (Adams, 1967, C 1524): '... Nam Chaldeæ, Arabumq. linguarum characteres magnis sumptibus incidi curavit [Gregorius XIII], quo Æthiopes, Iacobitæ, Armeni, Maronitæ, Georgiani ... catholicorum dogmatum formulas propriis linguis acceptas ... accipere' (f. 13v).

177. Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, 18, f. 93.

178. Baumgarten, 1922, 1: 105.

179. *Kitāb al-bustān fī 'arab al-ardh wa'l biladhain* (Book of the garden of marvels of the earth and of the countries) by Ibn al-Abbas Ahmad ben Ḥaggi as-Šālihī (Sarkis, 1928, 1037; Brockelmann, 1937, Suppl. 2: 489).

180. Assemani (1742, 197) gives the following description of the copy in the Medicean; 'Hortus rerum mirabilium, Arabice impressum, cum versione Italica interlineari manuscripta: sive collectanea Historiarum, et variorum Observationum in rebus naturalibus, quæ in Asia, Ægypto, et reliquis Africæ partibus cernuntur; auctore Salebo, cuius nomen integrum' Abul-Abbas Acmet, Chalidi filius,

cognomen Alsalehus, id est Justus. Claruit in Syria circa annum Hegiræ quingentesimum quadragesimum quintum (Christi 1150) sub Maado Mostansero Billa, filio Daheri, filii Hachemi, patre Tamini, e stirpe Phatemitum septimo, Cairi, et Bagdadi Chalipha, hoc est imperatore. Codex in 4. chartaceus, constat 105. Arabicis characteribus, et sermone impressus Romæ typis Mediceis, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo quinto, cura et studio Ioannis Baptistæ Raimundi: cuius manu exarata videtur Italica eiusdem Operis interlinearis interpretatio, quæ ibidem legitur'.

181. Schnurrer, 1811, no. 189; Zenker, 1846, 120, no. 978, who attribute it to Salāmiš ibn Kündogdū as-Šālihī (16th cent.); the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris possesses a manuscript version of it (ms. Arab. 2212; DeSlane, 1883, 389).

182. Venice, Bibl. Marciana, ms. Or. 98; Florence, Bibl. Medicea, Ms. Pal. Or. 92; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Or. 213.

183. Pinto, 1967, 48.

184. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., 4: 6, f. 18 sqq.; folio 17 displays a Persian which could be that of Cavaillon (Saltini, 1860, 269; Tinto, 1987, 48, n.129).

185. Brockelmann, 1937, 1: 481, no. 12.

4. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line English [Ar 200] or *Petit-canon* (1583)

In 1583, three years after the creation of the preceding Arabic, Granjon published another Arabic specimen [fig. 1a];¹⁸⁶ it has the same layout as the Armenian [fig. 8c], Syriac [fig. 2a] and Cyrillic specimens [fig. 8e], except that it adds in passing Granjon's age. The new type is on the same body as the preceding Arabic; it could therefore be cast in the same mould. But its x-height was larger and it could serve for titling. In this second Arabic, Granjon freed himself of the dry scribal hand of the Jesuits' Arabic. An exuberant calligraphy, quite close to Granjon's Italics, characterized these new types which I feel have never been equalled – a remark I can repeat for all of his typefaces which follow. They fully justify Bandini's descrip-

tion of Granjon as 'il migliore intagliatore che fosse mai stato'.¹⁸⁷

This type appears only exceptionally: apart from the specimen, I have seen it only on the last page of the *Alphabetum Arabicum* from the Medicean press,¹⁸⁸ where it is found in the same text from St. John the Evangelist¹⁸⁹ already reproduced in the specimen; it could even be from standing type. The *Stamperia Medicea* later used the Arabics [fig. 4a] by Granjon's successor, Jean Cavaillon.

FIGURE 4a (below) Specimen of a large Arabic possibly by Jean Cavaillon and preserved in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., 4 (5), f. 15.

FIGURE 4b (opposite) Granjon's Arabic on Two-line English [Ar 200] or *Petit-canon* (1583) as shown in Granjon's second Arabic specimen and preserved in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., 4 (5), f. 10.

سَجِّوْا الرَّبَّ يَا عِبْدَ الرَّبِّ سَجِّوْا اِسْمَ الرَّبِّ
مُبَارَكًا يَكُوْنُ اِسْمُ الرَّبِّ مِنَ الْاَنَ وَاِلَى الْاَبَدِ
وَإِلَى اَبَدِ الْاَبَدِ مِنْ مَشَارِقِ الشَّمْسِ إِلَى مَغَارِبِهَا
تَبَارَكَ اِسْمُ الرَّبِّ الرَّبِّ عَالِي عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْاُمَمِ وَعَلَى
السَّمَوَاتِ تَسْبَحْتُهُ مِنْ مَثَلِ الرَّبِّ الْاَهْنَا
السَّاكِرِ فِي الْعُلَا يُعَايِرُ الْمُتَوَاضِعِينَ فِي
السَّمَاءِ وَالْأَرْضِ يُقِيمُ الْمُسْكِنِينَ مِنَ التُّرَابِ يَرْفَعُ
الْفَقِيرَ مِنَ الرَّبَالَةِ يُجْلِسُهُ مَعَ رُؤَسَاءِ شَعْبِهِ
يُقْعِدُ الْعَاقِرَ فِي الْبَيْتِ اُمُّ الْاَوْلَادِ تَقْرُؤُ عِبْنًا.

Figure 4a.

186. Six copies have been found in the Archivio di Stato in Florence (Misc. Med., Stamp. Or. 4: 6, f. 10–14); Tinto (1973, 268) indicates the existence of a damaged copy in the Bibl. Med. Laur., ms. Or. 457, f. 533.

187. Bandini, 1773, 77; Granjon copied a round cursive script (*Naskhi*), not the more angular and hieratic *Kufi* (Hosking & Meredith-Owens, 1966, 17–18).

188. See below, n. 195.

189. John, 1, 1–9.

Arabici Characteres:

GREGORII XIII. PONT. OPT. MAX.

I V S S V.

Nunc primum Roma incisi.

فِي الْبَدْءِ كَانَ الْكَلِمَةُ وَالْكَلِمَةُ كَانَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ
 وَاللَّهُ هُوَ الْكَلِمَةُ كَانَ هَذَا قَدِيمًا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ
 كُلُّ شَيْءٍ بِهِ كَانَ وَبَعِثَ لَمْ يَكُنْ شَيْءٌ مِمَّا كَانَ بِهِ
 كَانَتْ الْحَيَاةُ وَالْحَيَاةُ هِيَ نُورُ النَّاسِ وَالنُّورُ
 أَضَاءُ فِي الظُّلْمَةِ وَالظُّلْمَةُ لَمْ تُذَكِّرْهُ كَانَ إِنْسَانٌ
 أُرْسِلَ مِنَ اللَّهِ أَسْمُهُ يُوحَنَّا هَذَا جَاءَ
 لِلشَّهَادَةِ لِيَشْهَدَ لِلنُّورِ لِيُؤْمَرَ الْكُلُّ بِهِ وَلَمْ
 يَكُنْ هُوَ النُّورَ بَلْ لِيَشْهَدَ لِلنُّورِ الَّذِي هُوَ
 نُورُ الْحَقِّ الَّذِي يُضِيُّ لِكُلِّ إِنْسَانٍ أَتِ

Rob. GranIon Parisien. Typographus &
 Characterum incisor. incidebat Romæ.

1583.

ÆTATIS SVÆ. LXX.

Figure 4b.

5. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Great-Primer [Ar 260] or *Trismégiste* (1585)

The attribution of this large Arabic type, familiar from its use in the Medicean Gospels of 1590–91, is well founded. The Medicean archives at Florence mention payment to Granjon for an Arabica grande and an Arabica piccolina (probably the following type) between 1 June 1585 and 28 August 1586. On 1 June 1585 Robert [Granjon] was paid one crown for 'due cascie per le vocali dell'Arabico grande'.¹⁹⁰ Non-accented types were used in the *Kitāb al-Bustān* which appeared in 1585.

The same type was seen in the following year in the work cited above of Marsilius, *Hydragiologia &c.*, Rome, Bartholomeo Bonfadini, 1586. The author's connection with Cardinal Santoro¹⁹¹ may explain the use of the Medicean types by a non-Medicean press.

The history of this type has been told many times: one finds it, in 1590–91, in the famous Medicean New

Testament in Arabic,¹⁹² in 1591 in Roccha's *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, p. 370, and in 1592 in the grammar called *Caphiah*,¹⁹³ in that called *Giarrumia*,¹⁹⁴ in the *Alphabetum Arabicum*,¹⁹⁵ in the Idrisi (for the titles), and in the Avicenna and the Euclid (chapter headings).¹⁹⁶

In 1595, it is seen in the Arabic *Professio fidei* of the Medicean.¹⁹⁷ After this date its use becomes less frequent. I noticed a late use in the Vatican specimen of 1628, p. 12 (with several letters apparently mutilated or recut). The punches for this Arabic are preserved in the Imprimerie nationale in Paris, with the appellation 'Arabic of the Four Gospels'.¹⁹⁸

FIGURE 5 Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Great-Primer [Ar 260] or *Trismégiste* (1585) as it appears in A. Roccha, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, 1591, 370.

إبانا الذي في السموات يتقدس اسمك تاتي ملكوتك
تكون مشيتك كما في السماء كذلك على الارض
خبزنا كفافنا اعطنا في اليوم واغفر لنا خطايانا لاننا
نغفر لمن لنا عليه ولا تدخلنا التجارب لكن تجننا من

Figure 5.

190. Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., i, 2, f. 19v and f. 24. A casting, apparently for the Gospels, is mentioned, *ibid.*, i, 8 (1588–90): 'Conto della gittatura dell'Arabico'. A report of G.B. Raimondi of 4 December 1587 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., 3: no. 12) mentions an 'Arabiche grande' and an 'Arabica piccolina'. An autograph signature of Robert Granjon is present in Raimondi's notebook, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or. 2: 2 (courtesy of James Mosley).

191. See above n.97.

192. Schnurrer, 1811, 343–51, no. 318; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. 459bis; Vatican Library, R.G. Biblia Arab. ii, 1, 2, 3, 4; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 352, no. 16.

193. Schnurrer, 1811, 22–3, no. 42; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, X 1740; Rome, Vatican Library, Or. iv 4473; Or. iv 512; Levi Della Vida, 1939, 356 (no. 163); 359; 378 (no. 21); 390 (no. 270).

194. Schnurrer, 1811, 23, no. 43; London, British Library, Ellis i, 233; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, X 1741; Rome, Vatican Library, R.G.Or. IV 447 (1); Or. IV 512 (1); Levi Della Vida, 1939, 19 n.2; 247 (no. 50); 348 (no. 20).

195. Schnurrer, 1811, 21–2, no. 41; London, British Library, Ellis i, 306; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Rés. X 705; Rome, Vatican Library, R.G. Or. IV 112 (int. 3); iv, 1579. This grammar is interest-

ing from the standpoint of the history of Oriental typography, for one finds, on pp. 62–4, no less than four different arabics: [1] the small arabic of Granjon (3); [2] Granjon's first arabic (6); [3] the *Arabico grande*, which concerns us at present; and, [4] lastly, an equally large type as that of Granjon, but clearly different and less well cut. Could it be the work of Jean Cavaillon which Saltini (1860, 269; Tinto, 198, 47–8) reports was cut in 1591? I have never seen it in another impression, except in a proof [fig. 4a] preserved in the Medicean Archives (Misc. Med. Stamp; Or. 4(5), f. 15). Otherwise it is the same text and the same composition as page 62 of the *Grammatica arabica*, except that the interlinear transliteration is lacking.

196. See [fig. 7b] below.

197. London, British Library, Ellis, ii 531; Rome, Vatican Library, R.G. Or. II 123, IV 447; Stampe Barb. v XIII 104 (2); cf. Levi Della Vida, 1939, 19 n.2; p. 230; he notes on page 251 that in 1610, there were 246 copies in the legacy of Leonardo Abel.

198. Cabinet des poinçons, 1950, s.v. It could be that the *Stamperia Vaticana* preserves a part of this set under the title *Arabo della Biblioteca Vaticana*. It could also be that this is a copy. I have not seen the punches.

6. Granjon's English-Sized Arabic [Ar 98]
or *Saint-augustin* (1586)

In the preceding section, a disbursement to Robert Granjon was cited from Raimondi's 1586 accounts for an Arabica piccolina. I mark the first appearance of this type in 1590–91 in the catchwords and pagination of the Medicean Four Gospels;¹⁹⁹ as main text, it appeared

in the Avicenna of 1593.²⁰⁰ One can see it also in the *Confessio fidei* of 1595.²⁰¹ The punches are preserved in the Imprimerie nationale in Paris under the name 'Arabic of Avicenna'.²⁰²

FIGURE 6 Granjon's English-Sized Arabic [Ar 98] or *Saint-augustin* (1586) as it appears in *Avicenna*, Rome, *Stamperia Medicea*, 1593.



Figure 6.

199. See above, p. 449.

200. See fig. 6.

201. See above, n.197.

202. Cabinet des poinçons, 1950, s.v.

7. Granjon's Arabic on Paragon [Ar 130]
or *Petit-parangon* (1585)

This type probably was intended to accompany Granjon's second Arabic (4). Although it is cast on a nearly identical body size, its x-height is much smaller. We do not have explicit proof that this type was cut by Granjon, but its cutting and finish are so perfect that an attribution to him leaves little in doubt. I may also add that a specimen (undated, but probably from around 1584) preserved in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome²⁰³ displays this type (cast on 200 mm, that is to say, in the same mould as the Arabic of (4) in a passage of the Epistle to the Galatians by St. Paul, displaying the same text as the one used by Rutger Spey in 1580.²⁰⁴ The specimen [fig. 7a] gives the text, once with vowels and again without them. Perhaps it is not too rash to suppose that this proof was pulled to establish a comparison with Spey's specimen. This small type appears in the Medicean editions dating from the beginning of 1592; firstly as text type in the summary

of the *Geography* of Idrisi,²⁰⁵ then in the Euclid of 1594 [fig. 7b];²⁰⁶ it is seen also in the chapter headings to the Avicenna of 1593²⁰⁷ and in a single line, on p. 62, of the *Alphabetum Arabicum*.²⁰⁸

The punches for this type, like those of the two preceding 'Medicean' Arabics, are preserved in the Imprimerie nationale in Paris; those for the present type are there known under the name of the 'Arabic of Euclid'.²⁰⁹ They have the typical form of Granjon's punches. The *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* in Florence could well possess the matrices, but attempts to locate them have been in vain.²¹⁰

FIGURE 7a (below) Granjon's Arabic on Paragon [Ar 130] or *Petit-parangon* (1585) as shown in Granjon's third Arabic specimen and preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, ms. K 17, f. 174.

FIGURE 7b (opposite) Fragment of the Arabic Euclid (Rome, *Stamperia Medicea*, 1594, p. 59), showing Granjon's Arabics on Paragon [Ar 130] or *Petit-parangon* (1585) and Two-line Great-Primer [Ar 260] or *Trismégiste* (1585).

بِسْمِ الْآبِ وَالْأَبْنِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدُسِ رِسَالَةٌ غَلَاظِيَّةٌ وَهِيَ رَابِعَةُ الرِّسَالِ
مِنْ بُولُسِ الرَّسُولِ لَا مِنْ بَشَرِيٍّ وَلَا مِنْ جِهَةِ إِنْسَانٍ إِلَّا يَسُوعُ الْمَسِيحُ
وَاللَّهُ الْآبُ الَّذِي أَقَامَهُ مِنَ الْأَمْوَاتِ وَمِنْ جَمِيعِ الْأَخَوَةِ الَّذِينَ مَعِي

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس رسالة غلاظية وهي رابعة الرسايل
من بولس الرسول لا من بشري ولا من جهة انسان الا يسوع المسيح
والله الاب الذي اقامه من الاموات ومن جميع الاخوة الذين معي

Figure 7a.

203. Ms. Val. K 17, f. 174.

204. See n.163 above.

205. Schnurrer, 1811, 167–77, no. 187. Only the Arabic-Latin edition is dated. Copies in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (G 3065), in London, British Library, (Ellis, ii, 226; s.v. Nuzhat al-Mushtāk), in the Vatican Library (R.G.Or. IV 429); Levi Della Vida, 1939, 356 (no. 169); 359; 378 (no. 16); 384 n.1.

206. Schnurrer, 1811, 457–8, no. 401; Vatican Library, Stampe Barb. i, v, 78; London, British Library, Ellis i, 515; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (Rés. V 109a); Levi Della Vida, 1939, 352 (no. 78).

207. Schnurrer, pp. 449–50, no. 393; Vatican Library, R.G.Or. ii 123; British Museum Ellis, i, 670; Bibl. Nat., Paris (Rés.T 29, 4, 4bis, 5); Della Vida, p. 352, no. 77.

208. See n.195 above.

209. Cabinet des poinçons, 1950, s.v.

210. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, a manifestly new casting of the Arabics of Granjon was available in Florence. It was readily employed there by the press of Felice Le Monnier, e.g. for the works of the Orientalist Michel Amari (*I diplomi arabi, Firenze, Della tipografia di Felice Le Monnier con i caratteri della Stampa Medicea*, 1863–67). The types were then at the disposition of the Institute of Higher Studies in Florence (*Saggi di caratteri della Tipografia Orientale del Reale Istituto di Studi Superiori*, Florence, 1878; A. de Gubernatis, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des études orientales en Italie* (Paris, 1986, 206–8).

7

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Figure 7b.

8. Granjon's Great Primer Cyrillic [Cy 118]
or *Gros-romain* (1583)

On Thursday, 9 November 1581, Cardinal Santoro noted in his journal²¹¹ that the cutting of the 'littera serviana' had begun:

'Della stampa Illyrica o Serviana com[m]inciata con esser si fatto qualche pulsone. Del Catechismo e Dottrina Christiana in lingua schiavona lettere serviane, finiti²¹² per Simone can[onico] di Zara et Alessander Dalmata... [Concerning the Illyrian or Serbian printing begun by the making of some punches. Concerning (also) the Catechism and Christian doctrine compiled by Simon the Canon of Zara and Alexander the Dalmatian in the Slavic tongue and with Serbian letters...]

In the last phrase, Santoro clearly refers to the Russian catechism [fig. 8a], printed at Rome in 1583. We know of copies of this in Leningrad (Academy of Sciences),

the Vatican Library, in Lviv.²¹³ Badalic indicates copies at Zagreb and in the Lenin Library in Moscow.²¹⁴ In Oxford (Bodleian Library, Mason FF 45), in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale (D 5144) and in the Biblioteca nazionale at Rome (8, 4, K.9). These latter libraries possess, besides, another edition, printed on paper of lesser quality and with a different title-page.²¹⁵ The arms of Gregory XIII have been replaced by a representation of the Madonna and the bibliographical address has disappeared. Apparently this edition was destined to be exported. The catechism is printed from new types and is illustrated with copper-engravings, a technique used also in the Arabic profession of faith of Zanetti, 1580,²¹⁶ in the *Kitāb al-Bustān* of Granjon, 1585, and in his first Arabic specimen [fig. 3a].²¹⁷

The first paragraph of the cited passage from Santoro's journal refers to the 'Illyrian or Serbian types' cut at Rome around 1581. However, as with the Syriac, a prob-

ѠДЗ ЗАПОВІЄДНІ ЦЕРКВЕНІЄХЗ
Ї Ѡ ПРЄДАВАНІНЫ НІЄЇ ❖

~ ІЕСУСН КОНЕ ЇНЕ ЗАПОВѢДЫ, КОНЕ ХРИСТІАНННЬ ~
ЇМА ѠБСЬЛОУЖИТИ ЛѢШЕ ДЕКАЛОГА, ЇЛЫ
ДЕСЕТЪ ЗАПОВѢДНІ?

ИЕСУС ОУЇСТНОУ, Ї ЇНЕ ЗАПОВѢДЫ, КОНЕ
ХРИСТІАНННЬ ѠБСЬЛОУЖИТИ ЇМА. ІЕРЄ ЗА ІАК. Д.
КОНОДАВАЦЪ, Ї НАОУЧИТЕЛЬ НАШЪ ІСОУ. МАТ. КГ.
КЕРСТЬ, НЕ САМО НАОУЧИЮ НЕСЬ ЗАПОВѢДЫ МАТ. ФІ.
ДЕКАЛОГА, ДА НОЩЕ ѠПЩЕНО ПОВЕЛІО, Ї ЗАПОВѢДАО,
НЕСЬ ѠНЕ РѢЧЫ, КОНЕ ПРНСТОЕ ПОСЛОУХОУ, КНМЕ ПО-
СЛОУХОМЪ ЗАПОВѢДЫ АПОСТОЛЬСКЕ, Ї ЦЕРКВЕНЕ ѠБ-
СЛОУЖИТИ СЕ НМАЮ. ТѠГА ЦНЦЪ ІСОУ КЕРСТЬ ГОСПО-
ДННЬ НАШЪ РЕЧЕ, [ІАКО ПОСЛА МЕНЕ ѠАЦЬ, Ї АЗЪ ШАЛЮ] НЕБЛН. К.

Figure 8a.

211. Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, 18, f. 93 (Krajcar, 1966, 46).

212. The edition was in preparation from August 1578. See Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, f. 320 (Krajcar, 1966, 25).

213. Karataeff, 1878, 204–6, no. 95: *Summā Nauka Kristianskoga*, etc. [Treatise of Christian doctrine composed by Pierre Canisius, theologian, translated from Latin into Slavonian and printed with the permission of Pope Gregory XIII, Rome, D. Basa, 1583].

214. Badalic, 1959, no. 179; Badalic also mentions another Cyrillic

impression made at Rome (no. 177), but he is not sure of its existence. Slavic impressions before 1583 made at Rome (1552, 1582) all by F. Zanetti (Badalic, 1959, nos. 58, 172, 175), seem to have all been made with Roman types.

215. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, D 5145; Rome, Bibliot. nazion. (8.31. D.32; Tinto, 1973, 291).

216. See n.151 above.

217. See n.179 above.

lem of terminology arises: Santoro does not seem to distinguish consistently between 'littera Illyrica', a term which at first glance designates glagolitic characters, and 'littera Serviana', which applies rather to Cyrillic. But it is certain that he is concerned with Cyrillic types. Santoro speaks elsewhere of the 'lingua glagolita' and he would have known the difference.²¹⁸ Ten years later, Rocca expresses himself in the same ambiguous manner²¹⁹ when, on p. 375, he prints the *Pater Noster* in Cyrillic letters under the title 'Illyrice vel Sclavonice', while on p. 171 he distinguishes Cyrillic from glagolitic²²⁰ in the following manner: '[Alphabetum]... Servianum non Illyricum nuncupatum... cum hæ litteræ Servianæ non Illyricæ dicantur nec ab Illyricis, seu Dalmatis dignosci quæ[n]t, nisi laboriose perdiscantur'. The 'litteræ Servianæ', he goes on, were employed in Serbia as far as Russia and Muscovy.

The Cyrillic types [fig. 8b–8c] on Great Primer body (118 mm) appeared in the Catechism of 1583, and in 1591 in Rocca (1591, 169–71; 375); from this fact alone there would be good reason to assume that Granjon cut them, because at that time there was no other engraver at Rome capable of making them, particularly in such a manner. But there is more. On 3 January 1583, the Jesuit Possevino wrote from Poland, where, in conjunction with the apostolic delegate Bolognetti, he had broached negotiations with the Polish and Russian authorities,²²¹ to Cardinal Tolomeo Galli, pontifical Secretary of State, the following:²²²

'Prima du[n]q[ue] la supp[li]co di ottenerci i caratteri im piombo tratti dalle madre fatte in Roma della lingua Rutenica et Moscovitica, acciò [che] da qui per Russia et Moscovia possano con dilig[enti]a stamparsi catechismi et altre cose le quali mai non si sono stampate et a seminarii nuovi et a mercatanti, i quali co'l benef[ici]o della pace han[n]o commercio adesso, insieme appor-teranno frutto incredibile. S[ua] B[eatitudi]ne per farsi le dette madri fece dare al Granjone overo a chi gli era sup[er]iore dugento scudi. Il fare condurre solo i libri che costi si stampassero, in Polonia, più spesa appor-terebbe di q[ue]l ch[e] si farà mandando una piccola cassetta di forme di piombo al S[igno]r Nuncio di Venetia, per Vienna.'

[First of all, therefore, I beseech you to obtain for us the lead types cast from the matrices made in Rome for the Ruthenian and Moscovite languages, in order that

by diligent effort, catechisms and other things which have never been printed before and which would bear incredible fruit both to new seminaries and to the many merchants who are now, thanks to the peace, enjoying increased trade may be printed here for use in Russia and Muscovy. Your Blessedness had given 200 scudi to Granjon, or to his superior, for the making of the said matrices. Having sent out to Poland books that might be printed there (by you in Rome) would cost more than it would by sending out a little box of leaden forms to the Venetian nonce by way of Vienna.]

The Jesuit wanted to convert, as he says at the outset of his letter, 'non solo heretici, ma trinitarii e athei', and for this purpose he asks to be shipped to Poland, not printed books, but rather type or matrices struck by Granjon. Possevino is well informed: he knew that the Cyrillic had been cut and that 200 crowns had been paid for it, not directly to Granjon, but to an intermediary, Caspare Viviano perhaps,²²³ or Domenico Basa, the technical director of the Vatican press. One could reproach him from a technical point of view for confusing lead types with copper matrices; but it is obvious that he wishes to obtain the latter, when at the end of his letter he speaks of 'una piccola cassetta di forme'. As a diplomat, too, Possevino shows himself to be up to his task: he discussed Cyrillic typography with the Duke of Ostroc (an ancient Polish castle, near Poznan). The famous Bible of Ostroc had appeared in July 1583,²²⁴ not only was it a fine example of the competence of the Russian archtypographer, Ivan Fedorov,²²⁵ entirely worthy of being the first complete Bible of the Orthodox Slavs, but, above all, it had great cultural influence in diffusing the ideals of orthodox panslavism [fig. 8d]. In 1583 Possevino had the occasion to show the new Granjon Cyrillic to Prince Ostrozhskii, who found Granjon's type to be rather 'Serbian' and less suited for Russian printing;²²⁶ the prince even offered to send one of his most skilled typographers to Rome²²⁷ (Hryn Ivanovic, a disciple of Ivan Federov), considering this offer a counterpart to the service which Rome had shown him in lending a manuscript for establishing the text of the Ostroc Bible.²²⁸

The Roman court did not share the opinion of the Slavic prince. On 15 December 1583, several months after Possevino's request, the Ostroc Bible came before Gregory XIII and Cardinal Santoro; the latter noted

218. Krajcar, 1966, 51, n. 53.

219. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, 1591.

220. I know of no printing in glagolitic characters made in Rome during the sixteenth century.

221. Pieling, 1887; Ammann, 1945, 136–7; Pastor, 1894, 9: 679–82; Cugnoni, 1889, 152.

222. Archivio Vatic., SS. Germ. 94, f. 8 (Kuntze, 1923, 2: 21).

223. Caspare Viviano, bishop of Anagni, received, in 1579, funds with which to begin a Syriac. See above, p. 442.

224. Cf. Barnicot-Simmons, 1957, 117–18. Printed copies bear the date of 1580 or 1581, but the Bible was not completed before early

summer 1583 (Krajcar, 1969, 194).

225. No less than four bodies of Cyrillic appeared there: a Pica (80 mm) for marginal notes, an English (90 mm) for text, and two large bodies for titling (respectively of 160 and 300 [240] mm). In addition there are Greek types for the Greek version (Mathiesen, 1981).

226. Kuntze, 1923, 2: 412; Ostrozhskii's remark is exact; in 1596 several typical Russian characters were added to the Cyrillic of Granjon. Krajcar, 1966, 132, n. 14a.

227. Kuntze, 1923, 2: 422.

228. Kuntze, 1923, 2: 401.

VATICANA.

169

ALPHABETVM SERVIANVM
tribus & quadraginta litteris constans.

Figura litterarum	Nomina litterarum	Pronunciatio, vel potestas.
А а	Азъ	Аf a
Б б	Буки	Buki b
В в	Вѣде	Viede v consonans
Г г	Глаголе	Glagoglie gh
Д д	Добро	Dobro d
Е е	Есть	Iest e ie
Ж ж	Живѣте	Xiviete gg
З з	Зело	Selo z
И и	Иже	Semglie f
Н н	Н	Ixe i vocalis
К к	Како	I i consonans
Л л	Люде	Kako k q
М м	Мислѣте	Liude l
Н н	Нашн	Mislete m
О о	Он	Nasci n
П п	Покон	On o
Р р	Рци	Pokoi p
С с	Слово	'rzi r
Т т	Тврѣде	Slovo s
У у	Укъ	Tvrde t
Ф ф	Ферѣта	Vk v vocalis
Х х	Хнта	Ferta f
Ц ц	Церѣ	Thita th
Ч ч	Черѣ	Her hh
Ш ш	Шерѣ	Ier e ie
Щ щ	Щерѣ	Ieri i
Ъ ъ	Ѥтъ	Ot od ot

Y

Figure 8b.

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BIBLIOTH. VATIC.

Ѡ	ѠѠ	Od	od
Ѳ ѳ	Ѳ	O	o vocalis
Ц ц	Ц	Zi	zz
У у	УѲѲѲ	Cierv	cc ci
Ш ш	ШѠ	Sciai	sc
Щ щ	ЩѠ	Sctai	fct
Ѣ	ѢѢ	Iat	ia
Ѥ	ѤѤ	Ea	æ
Ѧ	Ѧ	E	e angusta
Ѩ	ѨѦѦ	Iako	ia
Ѫ	Ѫ	Ie	ie
Ю ю	Ю	Iu	iu
Ѯ ѯ	ѮѮ	Pfi	ps
Ѱ ѱ	ѰѮ	Kfi	ks
Ѳ ѳ	Ѳ	Giu	giu
Ѵ	ѴѴ	Cchia	cch

SANCTVS Cyrillus, quē Seruiani Alphabeti Inuentorem fuisse docet Inscriptio, Illyricus siue Sclauorum fuit Episcopus, & S. Clementis, qui tertius post B. Petrum Apostolum Pontificatum tenuit, corpus Romam deferendū, & in Basilica eiusdem Clementis nomine insignita recondendum curauit, vt anchora etiā illa fortasse innuit: Clemens enim, alligata ad eius collum anchora, in mare præcipitatus martyrio fuit decoratus. Eadem in Ecclesia sancti Clementis Cyrillus & Methodius Sclauorum Episcopi miraculis clari sepulti sunt: quorum sacras reliquias sub altari in eiusdē Ecclesiæ sacello peruētusto repertas fuisse constat: nunc vero Sixtus V. Pont. Maximus eiusdem sancti Cyrilli corpus in Ecclesiam sancti Hieronymi Illyricorū ab eodem Pontifice constructam transferendum mandauit.

Alphabetum hoc loco conscriptum, vt ad rem nostram reuertamur, non est illud, quod in Bibliotheca extat Vaticana, sed eo copiosius. Hoc autem nominibus item, ac pronun-

ciatio-

Figure 8b.

in his journal:²²⁹ 'Della Biblia Serviana mandata a S[ua] S[antit]à dal duca di Ostrocovia e da Lei a me che e bella ma che il carattere n[ostr]o e piu bello di quello.' [Concerning the Serbian Bible sent to Your Holiness by the Duke of Ostroch and (then) by you to me: it is handsome but our type is handsomer.] Santoro appears here as a connoisseur and bibliophile by whom the subtle distinctions of typography would not go unnoticed. He saw rightly that 'their' type, that is to say Granjon's, was more beautiful. It is a fact, but what cannot be forgotten is that the comparison should end there: against the great and imposing publication of Prince Konstantin Ostrozshkii, Rome could only boast the Catechism of 1583.

The preceding evidence points directly to the candidacy of Robert Granjon as cutter of the Roman Cyrillic. This hypothesis is confirmed by the recent discovery by Francesco Barberi of the original specimen in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome.²³⁰ The specimen [fig. 8e] has the same layout as the other Roman specimens of Granjon; it bears the imprint: 'Rob. Granjon Parisien. Typographus incidebat Romæ. MDL XXXII'.

Henceforth Rome, and with it Granjon, can claim a place of honour in the history of Cyrillic typography. As

usual Granjon produced a work of exceptional quality²³¹ which crowned the work of the earlier Slavic printers in Italy, specifically in Venice.²³²

We have seen Granjon's types in the Catechism of 1583 and in Roccha, both previously mentioned; in Della Porta, *De distillatione*, Rome, Typographia Camera Apostolicæ, 1608.²³³ It remains to be seen in which other Roman imprints Granjon's Cyrillic reappeared.²³⁴ For, on the contrary, the Cyrillics employed by the Propaganda around 1628²³⁵ were no longer those of Granjon.

FIGURE 8a (p. 458) Granjon's Great Primer Cyrillic [Cyr 118] or *Gros-romain* (1583) as it appears in the Catechism of Canisius (Rome, Domenico Basa, 1583).

FIGURE 8b (p. 460-1) Granjon's Great Primer Cyrillic [Cyr 118] or *Gros-romain* (1583) as it appears in A. Roccha, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, 1591, 169-70.

FIGURE 8c (below) The capitals of Granjon's Cyrillic, as shown by A. Roccha, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, 1591, 171.

FIGURE 8d (p. 463) The title-page of the Ostroc Bible (1583).

FIGURE 8e (p. 464) Granjon's Great Primer Cyrillic [Cyr 118] or *Gros-romain* (1583) as shown in Granjon's Cyrillic specimen (1582) and preserved in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Inc. 284-5/15.

КАТАРНИН КРАЛНЦН БОСАНЗСКОН
СТНПАНА, ЖЕРЦЕГА СВЕТОГА
САВЕ, СПОРОДА ЕЛННЕ Н КЪМЕ
ЦАРА СТНПАНА РОЕНН ТОМАША
КРАЛА БОСАНСКѦГА ЖЕНН
КОІ. ЖНВН ГОДННН Н. Н. Д.
Н ПРННННХ Ж РННН НААНТА ГНА
У. Ж. О. Н. АНТО НА.К.НЕ.
ДНН ОКТОБРА, СПОМННАКЗ
НЕ ПНЕСМОМЗ ПОСТАВЛЕНЗ
У 2 Itali:

Figure 8c.

229. Archivio Vatic., Arm. LII, 18, f. 227v.

230. Inc. 284-285/15; Tinto, 1973, 289.

231. In August and November 1583 he asked for an augmentation of his salary which was granted (Krajcar, 1966. 66-8).

232. It seems acceptable that the beautiful Venetian cyrillic of Bozidar Vukovic (Badalic, 1959, nos. 2, 23) served as a model for Granjon.

233. With several modified characters; see n.101 above.

234. Karataeff, 1861, mentions two of them: no. 581 a *Brevis expositio orthodoxæ fidei* [in Russian], made on the order of Urban VIII, and printed at the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in 1648, and no.

612, [Prayers in Bulgarian], Rome, n.p., 1651; this latter doubtless refers to the first book in Bulgarian, the 'Abagar' of Philip Stanislavov. To judge based on the reproduction in *Slavischer Rundschau*, 12, 1940, 62, it could be printed with Granjon's Cyrillic.

235. R. Bellarmin, [Christian doctrine in Slavonic], Rome, Congregatio, 1628 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, D 25592 [1]) shows three sizes (2, 3 and 4 mm) of Cyrillic and one glagolitic. This latter letter no longer figures in the Vatican Specimen of 1628 where it is reproduced, on p. 13, by a woodcut. In the Bellarminus 1629 edition (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, D 25592 [2]), four sizes of Cyrillic appear (5.5, 3.8, 3, 2.4 mm), all appreciably inferior to those of Granjon.

СВЯТАГО СИНГЛА КНИГЪ БѢТХАГО ИНОУГО ЗАВѢ ТА, ПОИЗЫКЪ СЛОВЕСИКУ.

СВѢРЕНКА, ВЪЛАННЬСКИ ИЗЫКЪ,
СЕМЬ ДЕСЯТЬ И ДВѢМА, БГОМЪ
ДРЫМН ПРОВОДНИКЪ. ПРЕЖЕ ВОПЛОЩЕ
НІА ГЛА И ПСА НАШЕГО ІС ХА, П Н
ЛѢТА, НАЖЕЛѢМОЕ ПОВЕЛѢНІЕ ПТОЛО
МЕА ФЛАДЕЛЬФА ЦРЯ ЕГѢПЕТСКА.
ПРЕВЕДЕНАГО ЗВОДЪ СЪТЦАНІЕМЪ,
И ПРНЛѢЖАНІЕМЪ ЕЛНКО МОЩНО,
ПОМОЩІЮ БЖІЕЮ ПОСЛѢДОВАЕА, ІН
СПРАВНЕА. ВЛѢТО, ПОВОПЛОЩЕНІИ
ГА БГА И ПСА НАШЕГО ІС ХА.



Figure 8d.

ILLIRICI CHARACTERES

Quibus Seruia, Bulgaria, Vallachia, Moldauia;
& Moschouia, ac multæ aliæ Illiricæ
regiones vtuntur.



Gregorij XIII. Pont. Opt. Maximi
I V S S V.

Всповѣдаю тебе господи бже мой все грѣхъ
моє. еже сътворихъ въ помышленіихъ злѣ
ихъ. ѿ вѣклетаніи мнозѣхъ злѣихъ. ѿ вѣ
зреніи неправдѣхъ. ѿ вѣ послоушаніи
скверныи. ѿ вѣ оудѣшеніи нечистѣ, ѿ
оубыденіи. ѿ вѣ оукомніи смрадѣхъ ѿ оубзаніемъ
оубквернави. ѿ хожденіемъ неправды. ѿ оуб
заніемъ ластивіи, еже въ зетіемъ тоуждаго іменіа
ѿ еже клѣхсе іменемъ твоимъ стѣмъ, ѿ еже похуланъ
въ помислехъ злѣихъ. ѿ еже оудѣхъ члѣкы. само еже.



Rob. Granjon Parisien. Typographus incidebat
Romæ. M D LXXII.

Figure 8e.

9. Granjon's Two-line Great Primer single impression plain chant music [M 8.9] or *Trismégiste* (1581)

In 1582 Granjon published the *Directorium chori* of Giovanni Guidetti,²³⁶ chaplain to Gregory XIII. I can discern no reason why Granjon himself felt impelled to patronize this publication. Perhaps no one else was ready to sponsor a musical publication, which, since other Roman printers at this period do not seem to have had any music fount available, necessitated the cutting and founding of a series of music types.

Be that as it may, in 1582 the *Directorium chori ad usum sacrosanctæ; Basilicæ Vaticanæ, et aliarum Cathedralium et Collegiatarum Ecclesiarum* appeared under the address 'Romæ, Apud Robertum Granjon, Parisien. 1582'. The pontifical arms—the winged dragon of Gregory XIII—figure as a title vignette: an honour Granjon shared with printers D. Basa and F. Zanetti. The author, Giovanni Guidetti, was a friend of Palestrina; this volume is sometimes considered a sort of partial and anticipatory publication of the Gradual of the great Italian master. There are copies of this work in the Vatican Library (Racc. I, v. 1039) and in the British Library (A 218c). In contrast to the meticulously well-made editions published by

Granjon in Lyons, Paris, and Antwerp, this book is not outstanding from a typographical point of view; on the contrary, one can justly rebuke him for a lack of finesse in the execution: the non-musical types do not seem to be those of Granjon and suggest that the *Directorium* was actually printed by some common Roman press.

Set against such a backdrop, the music types (one pull printing: 8.9 mm/4) stand out as new and could well be from the hand of Granjon [fig. 9]. There is little stylistic ingenuity displayed in this simple square music type, commonly known as 'Roman'. Such simplicity does not immediately suggest the master, with the possible exception perhaps of the perfectly formed interlinear figures and the organ points.

Guidetti's work is dated 1582; a privilege was accorded on 13 November 1581. It seems likely, then, that this music type was cut during 1581. I have encountered it in later editions of Guidetti, that is, in the edition of Coattinus (Rome, 1589). One also finds it in the Vatican specimen of 1628.²³⁷

FIGURE 9 Granjon's Two-line Great Primer single impression plain chant music [M 8.9] or *Trismégiste* (1581) as it appears in the *Directorium chori* of Giovanni Guidetti (Rome, Granjon, 1582, f. B4).



Figure 9.

236. Molitor, 1901, 2: 2–7; Lozzi, 1908.

237. Vervliet, 1967, 39, n.72.

10. Granjon's Five-line Pica single impression
plain chant and mensural music [M 19.5/5]
(1581)

In the same Vatican specimen of 1628 (pp. 37–9, nos. 69–70) appear two large music types, one plain chant [fig. 10a], the other mensural [fig. 10b]. Both were clearly made in imitation of the 'Grande Musicque' cut by Guillaume I Le Bé in Paris, 1555, for Adrien Le Roy and Robert Ballard,²³⁸ or of the similar type made by Hendrik van den Keere for Christopher Plantin in 1577.²³⁹ These Granjon musics first appear in the printing of Domenico Basa in 1581, for example, in the *Hymni totius anni secundum Sanctæ, Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem*, etc. Romæ, Ex typographia Domenici Basæ, mdlxxxi. (Colophon:) *Romæ. Apud Franciscum Zanettum. mdlxxxi*. This first edition of the work of Tomas Luis de Victoria,²⁴⁰ was dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII. Probably one should assume that here, as in the case of the other new type Granjon cut at Rome during the years 1578–84, Gregory

XIII was personally interested in having this new music type made.

The date (1581), the combination of personalities involved (Gregory XIII, Domenico Basa), and finally the high quality of the type design, allow us to attribute this type with all probability to Granjon.

These music types were much used by Basa in Rome during the period 1581–85,²⁴¹ both in the works of Victoria, mentioned above, and in those of Francesco Guerrero, who came to Rome from Spain for the purpose of having his music printed.²⁴² The black Roman notation or 'plain chant' appearing on folio 69 of the Vatican specimen is not found in extensive use. It occurs sporadically in mensural music to indicate a change of rhythm.²⁴³

FIGURE 10a (opposite, above) Granjon's Five-line Pica single impression plain chant music [M 19.5/5] (1581) as shown in the 1628 Vatican specimen (Vervliet, 1967, 39).

FIGURE 10b (opposite, below) Granjon's Five-line Pica single impression mensural music [M 19.5/5] (1581) as shown in the 1628 Vatican specimen (Vervliet, 1967, 39).

238. Omont, 1887, pl. 3.

239. Vervliet, 1968, 334–5.

240. Cf. Haberl, 1896; Eitner, 1898, 9: 77–80; Casimiri, 1934 (pp. 72–9 of the offprint); Llorens, 1960.

241. Llorens, 1960, nos. 48, 50, 74, 81, 161, 164, 169.

242. *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 5, 1956, 1035–6.

243. Wolf, 1913, 393–402; Reese, 1954, 235.

V A T I C A N A. 69

Israel es tu Rex, Daudis

inclyta proles: Nomine qui in

Domini, Rex benedicte venis.

S

Figure 10a.

V A T I C A N A. 70

O vos omnes qui transi-

tis per viam attendite

S ij

Figure 10b.

11. Granjon's Second English-Sized Roman [R 95] or *Saint-augustin* (1580)

In working for Christopher Plantin, Granjon had learned of the interest that printers have, for reasons of economy, in characters of a large x-height. For Plantin, he adapted to a slightly smaller body, the English, the Pica, and the Long Primer Romans of Garamont²⁴⁴ [fig. 11a]. In 1569, he cut his very popular shortened Large Pica.²⁴⁵ In this same mature style, he cut in Rome – the attribution is scarcely in doubt – another Roman which resembles it enough to be mistaken for it, but which is a little larger [fig. 8b, 8e, 11b]. I noticed it for the first time in a *Brevis orthodoxiae fidei professio*, published by F. Zanetti in 1580; it occurs also in Granjon's Arabic proof of 1583 [fig. 4b].

The type was also used in a new *Rituale Romanum*,²⁴⁶ a project of Cardinal Santoro which was never authorized,

but of which proofs exist, dating from 1584.²⁴⁷ Granjon's new Roman figured there as the main text type. Perhaps the hypothesis would not be too bold that Granjon had cut it specially for the printing of this work in which his benefactor held such a large interest. After 1584, this Roman became quite popular in Rome, but it has not been seen outside of Italy. Roccha and the Latin-Arabic Gospels used it²⁴⁸ in 1591 as a text face. One sees it again in the Vatican specimen of 1628 under the denomination 'Giubilare'.²⁴⁹

FIGURE 11a (opposite, above) Garamont's 'Vraye Mediane Romaine' and Granjon's shortened version of it (1566), 'Mediane sur la Philosophie', as shown in Plantin's Folio specimen, Antwerp, c.1585. Cf. Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, nos. 38, 45.

FIGURE 11b (opposite, below) Granjon's Second English-Sized Roman [R 95] or *Saint-augustin* (1580) assembled from A. Roccha, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, 1591, 144.

244. Early inv., 1960, 8 (MA 48); 42 (MA 25b); 43 (MA 36b); Vervliet-Carter, 1972, 9, nos. 37 and 45; 10, no. 59; Vervliet, 1998a, nos. 14–16.

245. Vervliet, 1998a, no. 9; 2008, no. 75.

246. Vatican Library, R.I.III 209.

247. The work was begun in 1583 (Mercati, 3: 499, 503–4).

248. British Library, Or. 75-c.5. Accounts of the type appear again among the papers of Raimondi, who purchased a fount from D. Basa: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or., I, 7: 'Conto delle spese per li Evangelij Arabici-latini', dated 8 October 1588: 'philosophia maggiore latine'.

249. Vervliet, 1967, 33, no. 39.

Vraye Mediane Romaine.

Romulus primus vr̄bis Romanæ conditor legitur vini fuisse parcissimus. Is ad cœnam vocatus, quum ibi minimum bibisset, eò quòd postridie negotium haberet, dicunt illi familiares: Si ad istum modum bibant omnes homines, vinum esset vilius. Ille respondit, Imò verò carius, si quantum quisque volet, bibat: nam ego bibi quantum volui.

Porſena demiratus egregium animum Mutij Scæuolæ, qui iratus dextræ suæ, quòd in stringendo ferro errasset, foculo impostam eam exuri passus est, dixit illi: Reuertere ad tuos Muti, eis-que refer, te quum vitam meam petieris, à me vita donatum.

Mediane sur la Philosophie.

Agis Laconicorum regum vltimus, per insidias captus, ac præter meritum ab Ephoris condemnatus, quum ad laqueum duceretur, conspiceretque quendam è liçtoribus flentem ob indignitatem rei, cuius cogebatur esse minister: Desine, inquit, ô homo vicem meam flere. Nam sic moriens præter ius & æquum, melior, feliciorque sum his, qui me occidunt. Hæc loquutus vltro collum laqueo induit. Quo nemo Stoicorum docuit quicquam fortius, hoc ille iuuenis non verbis, sed re præstitit, felicitatem omnem solo honesto metiens, eosque iudicans infeliciores, qui faciunt iniuriam, quàm qui patiuntur.

Figure 11a.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz

Figure 11b.

12. Granjon's English-Sized Hebrew [Hb 2.6]
or *Saint-augustin* (1585)

Though not documented by any archival record and pending further research into the Hebrew typography in Italy, I am tempted to ascribe to Granjon some apparently new Hebrews types that start appearing in Rome in the 1580s. One of them appeared in the *Institutiones linguae*

Hebraicae of R. Bellarminus, printed by Domenico Basa in 1585. It is also shown in Roccha, 1591, and in the 1628 Vatican specimen (f. 11, s.v. Esdras).²⁵⁰

FIGURE 12 (opposite) Granjon's English-Sized Hebrew [Hb 2.6] or *Saint-augustin* (1585) as it appears in A. Roccha, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, Rome, 1591, 91.

250. Vervliet, 1967, 30a, no. 11a (with an erroneous reference to a specimen in the Medici archives).

- 13. Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 6] or *Petit-canon* (1589)
- 14. Granjon's Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 3] or *Gros-romain* (1589)
- 15. Granjon's rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2] or *Saint-augustin* (1589)

15. Fleurons attributable to Granjon

It is tempting to attribute to Granjon most of the typographic fleurons which appear in Roccha, in the Armenian calendar of 1584, and in the Syriac publications of Basa. Granjon was an accomplished master of this genre of typographic decoration but more research is in order here to identify this part of Granjon's output.²⁵³

A specimen, dated 1589, is found at Florence, Misc. Med. Stamp. Or. iv, 6, f. 25 [fig. 13]. It displays a passage from the Babylonian Talmud²⁵¹ and shows one rabbinical on English and two square Hebrews, respectively on Great Primer and Two-line Great Primer, whose engraving, I think, was recorded in Raimondi's papers on 15 May 1589. I am tempted to hypothesize that these types were engraved especially for the printing of an new Talmud, which the Jewish communities of Ferrara and Rome tried to get published in the more tolerant years after the death of Gregory XIII.²⁵²

FIGURE 13 (opposite) Granjon's Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 3] or *Gros-romain* (1589), Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 6] or *Trismégiste* (1589), and Granjon's rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2] or *Saint-augustin* (1589), as they appear in a 1589 Hebrew specimen preserved in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Misc. Med. Stamp. Med., 4 (6), f. 20.

251. Courtesy of Simon Schwarzfuchs (Jerusalem) and Adri Ofenberg (Amsterdam).

252. Vogelstein-Rieder, 1895, 2: 179–80; Simonsohn, 1977, 418–19.

253. Nersessian, 1980, 14; Tinto, 1987, 41–2.

אור לארבעה עשר

אור

לארבעה עשר בחדקין את החמץ פה שלא לעבור כל יראה
וכל ימצא וקם לרי' כיון דכריך כיוול כדא' בב' הבורק דריך
סיבטלו ימראווייתא בביטול בעלמא קנא אחאי חזריכו חכמים דריקה כלל
נראה לר' דאש' דס' בביטול בעלמא החמירו חכמים לבדיק חמץ ולבערו
שלא יבא לאכלו וכן משמע לקמן דברי

ר'א בכר בשמי קורה וכו' או דילית זיתנין
דיכסל ואתי למיכלי והטעם שהחמירו באין
טפי מבשר איסורי הנאח שלא חזריכו
לבערם משום דחמץ מותר כל השנה ולא
נאסר רק בפסח ולא בדילימני' כדאמ'
לקמן ולא דמי לבשר בחלב ועלה וכלאי
הכרס שאיסורם נזוה איסור עולם ונכזי
נמי איסור' שרי' לאחריניו אי נמי שאני חמץ
שהחמירו בו תורה לעבור כל יראה וכל
יתבא החמירו חכמי' לבדוק ולבער אפי'
היבא דביטולו משום דילמא אתי למיכליה
ונראה לר' שבא דאפי' לפי טעם האחרון ז'ל
דהחמירו חכמי' בכל חמץ אפילו בחמץ
נוקשה ועל ידי תערובת אשב' דלמא כל
יראה לפי' ת' בריש אילו עובדין דהא את'
שאר יסורא והיינו חמץ נוקשה כדמוכח
התם ואיבא לת' ד נמי התם דכ' חמץ
במור על ידי תערובת משמע דאסור ל'
להשתנות דאי מות' להשתנות אחאי יסורא
יטהר אותו עד אחר הפסח ויהא מותר



לארבע עשר בחדקין את החמץ לאור הנר
כל מקום שאין מכניסין בו חמץ אין צריך
בדיקה ובמה אמרו ש' שורות במרתף מקו'
שמכניסין בו חמץ בש' או ב' שורות על פני
כל המרתף ובית הלל אומרים שתי שורות
החיצונות שהן העליונות : גמ' מאי אור
רב הונא אמר נהי' ר' יהודה אמר לילי' קס'ד
דמאן דאמר נהי' נהי' מכיש וכמאן דאמר
לילי' לילי' כמש' בור'י' הבוקר אור
והאנשים שולחו ארלמא אור יומא הוא

אור

לארבעה עשר בחדקין : לאור הנר במרתף מפרט טעמא : בודקין
שלא יעבור עליו בכל יראה' ובכל יומ' : ובמה את לקמ' במתני'
מתי שור' של חזקי' הסודרי במרתף של יין כרי' לבדוק בינונין אחרי שאמרו
כל מקום שאין מכניסין בו חמץ אין צריך לבדוק למע' הוכחנו לבדוקן ומפ'
לא אמרו אלא במרתף שמכניסין בו חמץ
בגין מרתף שמסתפק ממנו יין לשלוחו
ופעמים שהשמש עומד למנוח יין ופחו
בידו וכשהיין בלה נכנס למרתף להביא
בידו וכשהיין בלה נכנס למרתף להביא
יין . שתי שורות על פני כל המרתף בנמ'
מפרט בגמרא גמ' ה' קס'ד מאן
דאמר נהי' נהי' חמץ כשאר השחר
שחרית של י' ת' לילי' לילי' ממש לא
גרסי' דהא ודאי לילי' הוא חמץ : הבק'
קס'ד דה' ק' ולבוקר דהיינו אור כלומר
ששמו אור האש' שולחו : מי בת הא'
בקר דלשתמע ולאור דהיינו בוקר ד'
דתימני' למור דאור ש' דבר הוא וקרי'
לבקר אור : הבקר אור בת הא' אור לאו'
ש' דבר הוא לא הבוקר האיר והאנשים
שולחו כמאן דאמר כפרא נהר ולפי' דרכו
לימד' הכתוב דרך ארץ מאחי יוסף ש'
שהתנינו עד שהאיר המזרח כדרכ' . י'
יהוד' אכל אור שהוא ש' דבר אינו אלא
לילה : כפי טוב הינוח לדרך יכנס ערביית

Romae anno 1589 .
Foelificiffimi Pontificatus XISTI . V . anno . V .

Figure 13.

Table 1: Types in Order of First Occurrence

<p>1579</p> <p>1. Granjon's English-Sized Armenian [Arm 98] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1579)</p> <p>2. Granjon's Syriac on Paragon [Sy 130] or Petit-Parangon (1579)</p>	<p>1585</p> <p>5. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Great-Primer [Ar 260] or <i>Trismégiste</i> (1585)</p> <p>7. Granjon's Arabic on Paragon [Ar 130] or <i>Petit-parangon</i> (1585)</p> <p>12. Granjon's English-Sized Hebrew [Hb 2.6] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1585)</p>
<p>1580</p> <p>3. Granjon's Arabic on Two-line Pica [Ar 160] or <i>Palestine</i> (1580)</p> <p>11. Granjon's second English-Sized Roman [R 95] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1580)</p>	<p>1586</p> <p>6. Granjon's English-Sized Arabic [Ar 98] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> (1586)</p>
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1520	'Badius', The, English-Bodied Greek [Gk 78] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> ,	370–1
1521	Vatel's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or <i>Cicéro</i>	373
1521	Vatel's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 100] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	372
1522	Colines's Pica Greek [Gk 78] or <i>Cicéro</i> ,	94, 100, 374
1523	'Gromors', The, Minion Greek [Gk 49] or <i>Mignonne</i> ,	94
1528	Colines's 'Sophocles' Greek on English [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> ,	95, 375
1529	Petreius's Second English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	376–7
1530	Schoeffer's, Peter II, English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	378–9
1532	Augereau's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	380–1
1532	'Estienne', The, First Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or <i>Petit-texte</i>	129
1540	'Neobar', The, Second English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	382
1543	Garamont's Royal Great Primer Greek [Gk 118] or <i>Gros-romain</i>	130–1, 394–5
1545	'Estienne', The, Second Brevier Greek [Gk 52] or <i>Petit-texte</i>	132
1545	Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Long Primer [Gk 5.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i>	398
1546	Garamont's Royal Pica Greek [Gk 80] or <i>Cicéro</i>	133, 392–3
1548	Granjon's so-called 'Nonpareil' Greek for Rouille, <i>i.e.</i> Long Primer Greek [Gk 67] or <i>Petit-romain</i>	408–9
1548	Le Bé's Great Primer Greek [Gk 114] or <i>Gros-romain</i>	400
1548	Le Bé's Greek Titling on Two-line Brevier [Gk 3.9] or <i>Lettres de deux Points de Petit-texte</i>	401
1549	Haultin's Small Pica Greek [Gk 76] or <i>Philosophie</i>	272–3, 404–5
1550	Garamont's Royal Two-line Pica Greek [Gk 150] or <i>Palestine</i>	134, 396–7
1551	'Estienne', The, Greek Titling [Gk 5.5 mm] on Two-line Long Primer or <i>Lettres de deux points de Petit-romain</i>	135
1553	Haultin's Brevier Greek [Gk 54] or <i>Petit-texte</i>	270–1, 402–3
1553	Haultin's Titling on Two-line Brevier Greek [Gk 4] or <i>Deux Points de Petit-texte</i>	275, 408
1554	A Great Primer Greek [Gk 116] or <i>Gros-romain</i> possibly by Villiers or Du Boys	422–3
1556	Granjon's First Pica Greek [Gk 82] or <i>Cicéro</i>	412
1556	An English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or <i>Saint-augustin</i> possibly by Villiers	420–1
1560	Granjon's Long Primer Greek [Gk 66] or <i>Petit-romain</i>	410–11
1560	Haultin's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 96] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	274–5, 406–7
1561	Granjon's English-Bodied Greek [Gk 90] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	414–15
1564	Granjon's Two-line Great Primer Greek [Gk 240] or <i>Trismégiste</i>	418
1565	Granjon's Paragon Greek [Gk 135] or <i>Petit-parangon</i>	416–17
1565	Granjon's Greek Titling on Two-line Small Pica Roman [Gk 6.2] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Philosophie</i>	419
1566/74	Granjon's Nonpareil Greek [Gk 40] for Plantin	409

1569	Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Great Primer [Gk 9.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Gros-romain</i>	398–9
1572	Garamont's Greek Titling on Two-line Double Pica Roman [Gk 14.5] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Gros-parangon</i>	399
c. 1574	Granjon's Second Pica Greek [Gk 84] or <i>Cicéro</i>	413
1666	A Greek Titling on Two-line Pica Roman [Gk 6.9] or <i>Lettres de deux points de Cicéro</i> , perhaps by Granjon	page 419

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1527–28	'Estienne', The, First Square Sephardic Hebrew [Hb 2 mm] on English or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	104, 136–7
1532	'Estienne', The, Second Square Sephardic Hebrew [Hb 2.2 mm] on English or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	138
1539	'Estienne', The, Rabbinical Hebrew [Hb 2 mm] on English or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	140
1539	'Estienne', The, Third Square Sephardic Hebrew [Hb 2.4 mm] on English or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	141
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1543	Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew [Hb 4 mm] on Two-line Pica or <i>Gros-parangon</i>	143
1543	Picard's Square Sephardic Hebrew [Hb 6 mm] on Two-line Great Primer or <i>Petit-canon</i>	142–3
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1585	Granjon's English-Sized Hebrew [Hb 2.6] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	470–1
1589	Granjon's Rabbinical Hebrew on English [Hb 2] or <i>Saint-augustin</i>	472–3
1589	Granjon's Great Primer Hebrew [Hb 3] or <i>Gros-romain</i>	472–3
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1556	Haultin's Solmization Notation to Petrei's Two-line Great Primer Music [M 9.2] or <i>Trismégiste</i>	281
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1583	Granjon's Arabic on Two-line English [Ar 200] or <i>Petit-canon</i>	452–3
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1579	Granjon's Syriac on Paragon [Sy 130] or <i>Petit-Parangon</i>	442–6
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 1616: 226, 228t, 346t, 348t, 352t, 360t, 414–5t
 Gando, N. (Paris),
 1758: 220t, 223t, 226–7t, 228t, 232–3t, 238t, 250t, 253t, 264t, 272t, 335t, 339t, 341t, 342t, 350t, 360t, 398t, 402t, 419t, 420t
 Gando, Père et Fils, (Paris),
 1760: 226–7t, 350t
 Genath, J.J. (Basle),
 1615: 224t, 228t, 258t, 266t, 339t, 348t, 352t
 Goeree, W. (Amsterdam),
c. 1730: 223t, 224t, 230t, 360t, 413t, 414–5t

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Granjon, R. (Antwerp, Rome),

1570: 223*t*

1579: 427*t*

1580: 443*t*, 451*t*

1582: 453*t*

1583: 453*t*

1585: 455*t*

1589: 472*f*

Groot, J.W. de (Leyden),

1749: 230*t*, 232–3*t*, 360*t*, 410*t*, 413*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*, 419*t*

Haas, W. (Basle),

c. 1770: 275*t*, 408*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*

Halle, J.F. (Frankfurt),

1727: 226–7*t*, 250*t*, 264*t*, 336*t*, 352*t*, 410*t*, 412*t*, 414–5*t*

1740: 226–7*t*, 250*t*, 264*t*, 339*t*, 352*t*, 360*t*, 410*t*, 412*t*, 414–5*t*

Hornschuh, H. (Leipzig),

1608: 232–3*t*, 256*t*, 258*t*, 272*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 348*t*, 352*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*

Hout, J. van (Leyden),

c. 1593: 224*t*

Imprimerie royale, (Paris),

1643: 130*t*, 133*t*, 134*t*, 220*t*, 232–3*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 348*t*, 350*t*, 360*t*, 392*t*, 394*t*, 396*t*, 398*t*, 399*t*

1691: 130*t*, 133*t*, 134*t*, 392*t*, 394*t*, 396*t*

1787: 130*t*, 133*t*, 134*t*, 392*t*, 394*t*, 396*t*

1819: 134*t*, 392*t*, 394*t*, 396*t*

James, J. (London),

1782: 264*t*, 270*t*, 272*t*, 402*t*, 402*t*

Janssonius, J. (Amsterdam),

1666: 223*t*, 224*t*, 230*t*, 232–3*t*, 270*t*, 272*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 348*t*, 402*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*, 419*t*

Janz., Widow of Broer (Amsterdam),

1653: 339*t*, 342*t*, 346*t*

Kannewet, J. (Amsterdam),

1771: 232–3*t*, 251*t*

Keyser, H. (Stockholm),

1691: 224*t*, 226–7*t*, 348*t*, 352*t*, 413*t*, 414–5*t*

Lamesle, Cl. (Paris),

1742: 220*t*, 223*t*, 226–7*t*, 228*t*, 232–3*t*, 238*t*, 250*t*, 253*t*, 264*t*, 272*t*, 335*t*, 339*t*, 341*t*, 342*t*, 350*t*, 360*t*, 398*t*, 402*t*, 419*t*, 420*t*

Le Bé, G. I (Paris),

post 1543: 400*t*, 401*t*

Le Bé, G. II (Paris),

c. 1599: 220*t*, 223*t*

Luther, H.E. (Frankfurt),

1745: 220*t*, 226–7*t*, 250*t*, 270*t*, 336*t*, 346*t*, 348*t*, 352*t*, 360*t*, 402*t*, 413*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*

Luther, J. (Frankfurt),

1664: 220*t*, 224*t*, 226–7*t*, 232–3*t*, 250*t*, 251*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 346*t*, 348*t*, 352*t*, 360*t*

Luther, J.E. (Frankfurt),

1665: 232–3*t*, 398*t*, 419

1670: 232–3*t*, 270*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 413*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*

Luther, J.N. (Frankfurt),

1718: 226–7*t*; 250*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 346*t*, 352*t*, 360*t*

Luther, Widow of J.E. (Frankfurt),

1702: 220*t*, 224*t*, 226–7*t*, 250*t*, 264*t*, 266*t*, 336*t*, 346*t*, 348*t*, 352*t*, 360*t*

Mappa, A.G. (Delft, Rotterdam),

c. 1781: 223*t*, 224*t*, 230*t*, 270*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 345*t*, 358*t*, 398*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 413*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*, 419*t*

1785: 270*t*, 398*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 413*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*, 419*t*

Moretus, J.J. (Antwerp),

post 1730: 250*t*

c. 1736: 223*t*, 224*t*, 254*t*

Moxon, J. (London),

1669: 228*t*

Oxford University Press (Oxford),

c. 1686: 250*t*, 272*t*, 342*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*, 420*t*

1693: 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*

1706: 230*t*, 339*t*

c. 1757: 272*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*, 420*t*

Pistorius, J. (Basle),

1704: 220*t*, 223*t*, 224*t*, 226–7*t*, 228*t*, 232–3*t*, 253*t*, 264*t*, 266*t*, 325*t*, 330*t*, 334–6*t*, 339*t*, 348*t*, 350*t*

c. 1710: 220*t*, 228*t*, 376*t*, 378*t*, 410*t*, 414–5*t*, 416–7*t*, 419

Plantin, C. (Antwerp),

1567: 220*t*, 232–3*t*, 250*t*, 251*t*, 254*t*, 264*t*, 272*t*, 274*t*, 314*t*, 325*t*, 326*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 346*t*, 352*t*, 354*t*, 355*t*, 402*t*, 406*t*, 410*t*, 416–7*t*

1575: 220*t*, 230*t*, 251*t*, 272*t*, 314*t*, 326*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 346*t*, 348*t*, 354*t*, 355*t*, 356*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*

c. 1585: 220*t*, 234*t*, 235*t*, 250*t*, 258*t*, 264*t*, 270*t*, 272*t*, 274*t*, 314*t*, 326*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 346*t*, 348*t*, 352*t*, 355*t*, 356*t*, 358*t*, 360*t*, 402*t*, 406*t*, 410*t*, 416–7*t*, 468*t*

Ploos van Amstel, Gebroeders (Amsterdam),

1767: 223*t*, 224*t*, 230*t*, 336*t*, 342*t*, 345*t*, 348*t*, 419

Putte, I. vander (Amsterdam),

1748: 223*t*, 232–3*t*

c. 1749: 232–3*t*, 336*t*, 342*t*, 345*t*, 348*t*

Rolu, J. (Amsterdam),

c. 1700: 228*t*, 257*t*, 258*t*, 348*t*

Roman, J. (Amsterdam),

c. 1762: 223*t*, 226–7*t*, 236*t*, 256*t*, 270*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 348*t*, 360*t*, 362*t*, 402*t*, 410*t*, 420*t*

Ronaldson, J. (Philadelphia),

1822: 270*t*, 402*t*

Schippelius, J.H. (Frankfurt),

1755: 220*t*, 226–8*t*, 336*t*, 339*t*, 342*t*, 348*t*, 352*t*, 413*t*

Schippelius, Widow of J.H. (Frankfurt),

1768: 228*t*, 342*t*

- Schmidt, J.A. (Amsterdam),
c. 1695: 224*t*, 257*t*, 258*t*
- Silvius, W. (Leyden),
 1582: 226–7*t*, 250*t*, 264*t*, 272*t*, 274*t*, 314*t*, 326*t*, 342*t*,
 352*t*, 402*t*, 406*t*, 410*t*
- Stampa Vaticana (Rome),
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 339*t*, 352*t*
- Voskens, B. (Hamburg),
c. 1660: 342*t*, 345*t*, 352*t*, 360*t*
- Voskens en Clerk, (Amsterdam),
post 1728: 230*t*, 232–3*t*, 236*t*, 339*t*, 345*t*, 256*t*, 358*t*,
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- Voskens, Widow of D. (Amsterdam),
c. 1695: 223*t*, 224*t*, 230*t*, 236*t*, 250, 253*t*, 256*t*, 264*t*,
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 1714: 398*t*, 410*t*, 413*t*, 416–7*t*, 419*t*
- Wolsschaten, B. van (Antwerp),
post 1725: 223*t*, 224*t*, 228*t*, 250*t*, 232–3*t*, 314*t*, 326*t*,
 339*t*, 342*t*, 352*t*, 356*t*, 360*t*
- Wolsschaten, M. van (Antwerp),
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